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CONTENTS OF VOLUME LI.

JANUARY NUMBER.

PAGE

NEW AMERICAN HISTORIES—PECK AND DRAPER 5
J. T. CRANE, D.D., Newark, N. J.

INDIA AS A MISSION FIELD 30
REV. T. J. SCOTT, Budaon, India.

JOHN TAULER AND HIS THEOLOGY 45
Prof. CHARLES W. BENNETT, Berlin, Prussia.

THE METROPOLIS OF THE PACIFIC 63
E. THOMAS, D.D., San Francisco, Cal.

THE NEGRO IN ANCIENT HISTORY 71
Rev. EDWARD W. BLYDEN, Professor in Liberia College, West Africa.

GEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES OF THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN 94
J. S. JEWELL, M.D., Professor of Anatomy in Chicago Medical College.

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 120
FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE 125
SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES 127
QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE 135
NOTE FROM DR. SCHAFF 163
PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION 164

APRIL NUMBER.

THE RELIGION OF THE ATHENIANS 165
B. F. COCKER, D.D., Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE CHURCH SCHOOL 191
Rev. J. H. VINCENT, A.M., New York.

SCHLEIERMACHER; HIS THEOLOGY AND INFLUENCE 211
Prof. J. A. REUBELT, Indiana Asbury University, Greencastle, Ind.

GROWTH IN LANGUAGE 228
Prof. D. H. WHEELER, Northwestern University, Evanston, Ill.

METHODISM: ITS METHOD AND MISSION 242
J. T. PECK, D.D., Albany, N. Y.

THEODICY 270
C. K. TRUE, D.D., Upper Newton, Mass.

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE 292
SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES 298
QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE 301

JULY NUMBER.

PAGE

TESTS OF A VALID MINISTRY AND A TRUE CHURCH..... 325
E. S. JANES, D.D., Bishop of M. E. Church, New York.

LITERALITY OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN..... 338
LUTHER LEE, D.D., Flint, Mich.

WHEDON ON MATTHEW..... 346
A. C. GEORGE, D.D., St. Louis, Mo.

WHITE'S MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW..... 365
Rev. HENRY M. BAIRD, Ph.D., University of the City of New York.

THE APPLICATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO ASTRONOMY..... 392
Prof. GEORGE B. MERRIMAN, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

THE PROPHECY OF JACOB RESPECTING THE MESSIAH..... 411
HENRY M. HARMAN, D.D., West Virginia University, Morgantown, W. Va.

BIBLICAL MONOGRAPHS..... 422
SAUL AND PAUL, PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D.
THE BOOK OF ENOCH, Rev. M. J. CRAMER, A.M., Leipzig, Germany.
ST. PAUL'S CLOSING PÆAN, EDITOR.

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 436
FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 441
SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 442
QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 447

OCTOBER NUMBER.

MEMORABILIA OF JOHN GOODWIN..... 485
Rev. D. A. WHEDON, D.D., Bristol, R. I.

WUTTKE ON PRE-PLATONIC ETHICS..... 505
Translated by Prof. J. P. LACROIX, Ohio Wesleyan University.

SAUL'S INTERVIEW WITH THE WITCH OF ENDOR..... 528
Rev. MILTON S. TERRY, Peekskill, N. Y.

WHITE'S MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW. [SECOND ARTICLE]..... 544
Rev. HENRY M. BAIRD, Ph. D., University of the City of New York.

RELIGION AND THE REIGN OF TERROR..... 569
Rev. J. A. M'AULEY, A.M., Georgetown, D. C.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS..... 589
Rev. W. H. WITHROW, A.M., Toronto, Ontario.

FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE..... 601
FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE..... 605
SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES..... 605
QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE..... 612

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METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1869.

ART. I.—NEW AMERICAN HISTORIES—PECK AND DRAPER.

The History of the Great Republic, Considered from a Christian Stand-point. By JESSE T. PECK, D.D. 8vo., pp. 710. New York: Broughton & Wyman. 1868.
Thoughts on the Future Civil Policy of America. By JOHN WILLIAM DRAPER, M.D., LL.D., Professor of Chemistry and Physiology in the University of New York. 8vo., pp. 317. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1865.

THE two volumes whose titles we have given are in sharpest contrast with each other. Both authors generalize, and aim at the reasons of things. They both seek the laws by which nations grow, and civilization advances; but here the parallel ends. The one, imbued with fullest faith in the spiritual and the invisible, studies the interior life of the people, sees the divine hand every-where laid upon human affairs, and regarding all else as secondary and incidental, recognizes mind alone, the finite and the Infinite, as the great builder of nations and of history. The other analyzes the soil, watches the barometer and the thermometer, notices the topography, and assumes that the darkest problems in human history are to be solved by isothermal lines and the use of the globes. His axioms are, that "all mundane events are the results of the operation of law," and "all over the world, physical circumstances control the human race." Now and then he favors us with some more specific declaration in regard to cause and effect, as when he informs us that "the instinctive propensity to drunkenness is a function of the latitude," and that Milton's "Paradise Lost" would

never have been written had it not been for the Gulf Stream. As a rule, much learning is not likely to make a man mad; nevertheless, there are minds so peculiarly constituted that they can hardly pursue intently any branch of scientific research without falling victims to some theoretical crotchet, which gives reason a twist and renders it wholly unreliable within the circle of the delusion. We do not question Professor Draper's proficiency in the natural sciences, nor do we fail to recognize the value, as well as the extent, of his acquisitions; but when he proceeds to construct weak materialistic theories out of his multitudinous and rich but abused facts, we confess that we regard the raw material as of much more value than the manufactured article, and are reminded of the mouse's nest that was made of bank bills.

It is not wise, indeed, to forget natural laws, or deny the part which they play in shaping the destiny of men and of nations. But for the Nile, whose annual overflow clothes with fruitful harvests a valley six hundred miles long, the Egypt of history would have been impossible. But the Nile still flows; and the annual tribute which the swelling floods bring from the southern mountains are as rich as when hundred-gated Thebes stood in her grandeur. And yet the greatness of Egypt is seen only in the massive relics of dead centuries. The old Roman, stern, patriotic, law abiding, was not the mere creature of the zone which he inhabited; else the modern Italian would show more of the iron strength of his ancestors. Empires wax and wane, not as climate and soil change, but in obedience to subtler influences and less material laws. The materialistic fancies of certain pretentious writers, the "oppositions of science falsely so called," are as shallow as they are impious. Both men and nations are doubtless shaped in some degree by the peculiarities of their material surroundings; but the most potent of all formative influences cannot be measured by the geometer, not tested in the alembic of the chemist. The unseen is stronger than the visible. As a man "thinketh in his heart, so is he."

A sound reasoner, even if lacking in religious knowledge, will not mistake materialistic fatalism for true philosophy; but if he believes in the God of the Bible, he will see the Divine hand guiding the current of events, and feel that the great Sovereign has neither abdicated nor been dethroned. As the power of

gravitation, silent, but ever present and ever potent, guides the descent of the falling leaf, holds the hills upon their foundations, and the stars in their orbits, and yet allows the human will its area of true freedom of action, so underneath all human agencies, and through all material forms and forces, and more powerful than all, the Divine purpose rules, winning all things into harmony with itself, and moving steadily onward to its grand results. The pen of the historian needs to give this fact a fuller recognition. There is a class of mind which seems to exult in the rejection of every truth of Revelation, and yet is weakly credulous of every thing besides; that works with insidious zeal to make us forget all except the things which are seen, and reject as unworthy of consideration every thing that is allied to what Atheism delights to call the supernatural. Yielding to none in regard for scientific research and its fruits, and holding as firmly as any the existence of definite material law, the Christian finds no ultimate basis but Divine wisdom and Divine agency. If the wildest Darwinian theory of development could be absolutely demonstrated, still the great question would remain, Who set in motion this complicated enginery of cause and effect? True wisdom will trace with profoundest interest the action of natural law, and mark the skill with which the golden links are joined, each with its fellow, and yet feel at all times, that however long the chain, the hand of God holds the end which is out of sight. Herein appear the folly and the effrontery of a pretentious and yet feeble, unbelieving philosophy, which to-day traces the chain one link further back than yesterday, and straightway rushes to the conclusion that nothing exists save material law and its effects. The rustic who believes that the world is a vast plain which rests upon a rock, and that rock upon another, and "so all the way down," is just as wise and worthy of respect as he who, with sage face and infinitude of learned phrases, assures us that there is no God, but only one cause growing out of another, and so all the way up. "Vain man would be wise, though man be born like a wild ass's colt."

This infidel abuse of science ought to be rebuked. We owe it to science and reason, as well as to religion, to "witness a good confession" of a wiser faith. This Dr. Peck has done, and well done, in his recent work. The plan and purpose of the

volume are clearly stated in the title-page. The author does not propose to write a new history of the Republic, that shall be more accurate or complete in its narration of events, or in its estimate of historic characters, than those which have preceded it. As the title of the book declares, Dr. Peck's work is not so much a new history as a reconsideration of history, rehearsing the main facts, as briefly as is consistent with their use in illustration, to show the hand of Providence in the founding and the building of the Great Republic, and its true place in the history of human progress. The author thus states the underlying principle upon which he has built his edifice:

> The theory of this book is, that God is the rightful, actual Sovereign of all nations; that a purpose to advance the human race beyond all its precedents in intelligence, goodness, and power, formed this great Republic; and that religion is the only life-force and organizing power of liberty. Incapable, as he trusts, of the absurdity of any pretensions to originality in discovering either principles or methods of the Divine government, or of having in any sense superseded the labors of other men, he simply claims to have made, with perfect candor and some thoroughness, his humble contribution to what must be admitted to be a very important, if not in some sense a newly-defined, method of American history.—*Preface*, page viii.

These antecedent convictions are in the highest degree consistent with both reason and revelation. If God does not superintend the affairs of men, then are they adrift upon the fitful currents of chance, or, at the best, at the mercy of merely human aims and agencies, narrow, feeble, and short lived. It is evident that God is giving the American people boundless material wealth, and every other element of national power; and seeing that much is required of those to whom much is given, he must demand of us a purer national life, and a greater advancement in personal virtue, corresponding with our superior advantages. The bestowal cannot be aimless; the aim must be at least inclusive of this. And if liberty be a good thing, and, at the same time, a perilous gift to men except where virtue and intelligence prepare them to use it wisely, then is religion the only solid rock on which to found it, so that it may stand when the winds of stormy passion blow, and the waves of corruption beat. We not only agree heartily with Dr. Peck's methods of considering American history, but

believe that this is the only true method of writing the history of any nation; and that on any other plan the work of the historian, however minute and accurate within its circle, fails to go into the real depths of the theme, and above all, fails totally to teach the lessons which history ought to give, and without which it is superficial and well-nigh valueless. The moral and religious life of a man is his real life, the chief source of his present joys and sorrows, and the arbiter of his destiny in the life beyond. In regard to a nation, the true inquiry is, not what cities were founded, what battles were fought, what tyrants lived and died, but, What were the people? What did they know of God, nature, and themselves? What value did they set upon truth, honesty, honor, purity, piety? What did they most of all seek for in life? What did they most of all hope for in death? These things are not fixed by the soil, the climate, the natural scenery, and yet they affect more than all else, for weal or woe, the national welfare. Would that the history of the whole world were rewritten, "considered from a Christian stand-point!"

The task which our author proposed to himself was not an easy one.

Assuming that there will be no captious reader, anxious to discover and reject all that savors of the "supernatural," the work includes so wide a field, involves interests of such vast proportions, the nice weighing of so many influences, the measuring of so many forces, material, intellectual, and moral, and the interpretation of so many and so diversified events, that the labor of the mere historian is light in comparison with it. Our author has done his work thoroughly, and with skill and judgment. In the selection of representative events, and the estimate of their value, as well as in his general plan and method, he has been singularly happy. The history is divided into five periods. The Period of Preparation extends from the Discovery of America to the time of the agitations which ushered in the war of the Revolution. The Period of Independence includes the Revolutionary War, and reaches onward to the inauguration of George Washington, the first President under the present Constitution. The Period of Development extends to the beginning of the Great Rebellion. The Period of Emancipation treats of the contest through

which the nation has just passed in the defense of the national life. The Fifth Period glances at the Future of America, as foreshadowed in the wondrous past, and the present hopeful state of our country. The whole is a body "fitly joined together and compacted by that which every joint supplieth." All the sections find unity in the chapters, all the chapters in the periods, and all the periods in the theme announced in the title of the volume; so that the discussion is not irregular and fragmentary, but exhaustive, neither omitting any thing essential to the argument, nor inserting any thing that does not tend to the conclusion. The author does not indeed trace these periods with the pen of the minute historian, attempting to enter the field where Bancroft, Hildreth, and others have won their fame. Nor does he select, here and there, the single facts which seem to favor his theory, while others are designedly kept out of sight, lest they undermine the logic of the work. On the contrary he comes before us, as the spies returned to Kadesh-barnea, not indeed with the vintage of every hill, nor bearing the whole harvest of any field in the land of promise, but bringing enough to show the character of what has been left behind. The materials thus gathered are wrought into a compact argument; and yet the descriptions are so vivid, the narrative so clear, the whole so full of vigor and enthusiasm, with so much of pathos and power, that not only the slow and patient reasoner, but even "he that occupieth the room of the unlearned," will read on to the end with unabated interest. In fact, it is curious to observe how Dr. Peck now and then loses the author in the preacher, and breaks forth in a fervid strain like an exhortation at a camp-meeting. This is no detriment to the book. A bloodless historical essay, the hide of history stripped off and dried, might please a few who have themselves grown dry and shriveled in recondite studies; but "the more excellent way" of the enthusiastic author has a charm for readers of every sort, and therefore a larger area of influence and usefulness. The possessor of many books will find here no tedious repetitions of common-place knowledge, and yet he that has no other book upon the subject, but masters this, will not be ignorant in regard to the history of his country.

The hand of God appears at the very beginning of American history. Professor Rafn, a noted Danish antiquarian, claims

to have discovered proof, in certain ancient Icelandic manuscripts, that the old Northmen visited this continent eight or nine centuries ago. This may be true; but if so, it is evident that the visit effected nothing, and the world in general knew not that it had been made. The sea that lies westward of Europe and Africa was believed by the multitude to extend to the edge of the world's wide plain. Unexplored, unknown, mysterious, it was called *Mare Tenebrosum*, the Dark Sea, and regarded with superstitious awe. A Spanish writer before Columbus declared that the coasts of Spain and the East Indies were not far distant from each other; and Aristotle, long before him, avowed the same idea. An Arabian scholar, too, as early as the twelfth century, conjectured that there must be a westward route to China and the East. These opinions were entertained by at least a few. Commerce was the great source of wealth to the Western nations, and yet the boldest navigators of the times dreaded the Dark Sea. Even Columbus might not have had courage for the enterprise which he undertook had he not been misled by the erroneous geography of his day. From Spain eastward to China is only about one third of the circumference of the earth. Columbus believed that it was three fourths of the distance, and that the westward route was therefore the short as well as the straight path to the East. Consequently he set forth upon his voyage, not seeking a new continent, but a new way to the old. Was it by accident that the American continent lay so long silent and unknown among the shadows of the Dark Sea? If the Northmen visited it in the year 983, why was the record of their achievement never found till it had become useless? Discovered again in 1492, why did a whole century pass before the people who were above all others to shape the destiny of America, set foot upon its shores? We can only interpret the facts on the assumption that God has his plans, as well as men, and that his time to lay the foundation of the Great Republic had not yet come.

And why not? The times give the answer. The art of printing was yet a recent discovery, and its work of instructing and elevating the popular mind had hardly been begun. The Romish Church swayed the souls and bodies of men. That famous morning when the astonished people of Wittenberg

read the theses which Luther had nailed by night on the church door, was twenty-five years after that other famous morning when Columbus and his joyous sailors, beginning their watch before the dawn, caught the first sight of the New World. The age of superstition and ghostly despotism had not closed, but the darkness began to lift, and there was light on the horizon. The day came not suddenly. Souls thirsting for the water of life, and turning away from the broken cistern to the original fountain, felt the stern power of Rome. Imprisonment, torture, death, awaited them. Centuries passed away in bloody conflict before liberty of conscience, among even the most enlightened nations, was seen to be the most sacred of human rights. During the worst period of this conflict America was settled. In the interval between the voyage of Columbus and that of the Mayflower, Luther and Melanchthon preached and wrote, and the Reformation began; the Inquisition toiled at its bloody work; Latimer, Hooper, Ridley, Cranmer, and thousands of others, were burnt in England; the massacre of St. Bartholomew's day occured in France; the heroic Netherlanders, under the wise leadership of William the Silent, suffered untold horrors in the cause of religious liberty, and finally overcame the ferocious enemy; and the Protestants of Bohemia began their thirty years' war against Roman despotism.

How curiously are human events, apparently the most remote from each other, often found welded together like the links of a chain. The newly invented printing-press roused the slumbering mind of Europe, brought active minds in closer communion, disseminated knowledge, and prepared the way for progress in all the departments of learning and improvement. While the German reformers were searching the word of God, and sending the truth abroad on the wings of every wind, Columbus, Vasco di Gama, and Americus Vespucius explored the seas for new lands, and new paths to the old. So when the religious conflict began, and God's true worshipers were seeking a refuge from murderous hands, the needed asylum opened its bosom to all who were ready to leave their native land for the sake of liberty of conscience. The love of liberty was the strong magnet which drew across the stormy ocean the English Puritan, the French Huguenot, and the Dutch Remonstrant. Had this country been colonized at an earlier date, it would

have been peopled by those who were capable only of planting on these shores the superstitions and the institutions of the Dark Ages. Had the settlement been postponed till the conflict was ended, no controlling religious motive would have gathered the emigrants and driven them forth into voluntary exile. Surely the Divine Hand was in this; not, indeed, urging men to deeds of cruelty and violence, but opening the sea for the feet of his suffering people, and causing even the wrath of man to praise Him, and aid in the founding of a nation destined to be, above all others, the powerful advocate of human rights, civil and religious; whose mission it shall be to spread the truth, and war against oppression and wrong, world without end.

If the hand of the Lord was in these things, we might expect to see a further revelation of his plans in the process of colonizing the new territories, and especially in the choosing of those to whom he is about to give the goodly heritage. It is interesting to observe how the nations who had been foremost in the relentless persecution of God's people were thwarted in their plans. The Pope, in solemn decree, divided the new world between two of his most unscrupulous vassals, Spain and Portugal, but a power greater than Rome decreed otherwise. Spain had crushed out the truth by her murderous Inquisition; and Portugal had been equally zealous to banish the Bible, and those who read it, from her shores. France, fresh from the slaughter of the Huguenots, sought to gain a foothold upon the soil of the future Republic, but its destinies were not to be given into her gory hands. Protestant Holland planted herself at the mouth of the Hudson, and laid the foundations of the commercial metropolis of the new world; but her narrow home territory and scanty population unfitted her to occupy the broad spaces waiting to be peopled. And so England, already the land of an open Bible, populous, industrious, enterprising, brave, tenacious of purpose, ardent in her love of liberty, became the custodian of the future home of freedom. It is true that the principles of religious liberty had not yet been fully recognized even in Protestant England; nevertheless she was in advance of other nations, and was still advancing. In estimating the past we are not always just. Constitutional freedom is the slow growth of ages; and if we would measure the work done by any given age, we must compare it with the

times which preceded it, not with the aggregate results of a thousand years of conflict and suffering.

The author traces with care the leading events of the Period of Preparation, showing how largely the idea of liberty, especially of religious liberty, inspired the hopes and entered into the plans of the colonists. Good men are sometimes narrow in their views; strong men are sometimes inconsistent. They who battled stoutly for their own rights were not always ready to concede the same rights to others who differed from them in doctrine and modes of worship; and the contest between the remains of the old despotic principle and the new spirit of freedom went on with steady progress on the side of the right. Among the men prominent in these strifes there is no nobler name than that of Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island. "He was," as Bancroft tells us, "the first person in modern Christendom to assert, in its plenitude, the doctrine of the liberty of conscience, the equality of opinions before the law; and in its defense he was the harbinger of Milton, and the precursor and the superior of Jeremy Taylor." All along the line of the colonies, from Massachusetts to Georgia, one of the most prolific sources of internal agitation and dissension, and one of the problems most difficult of solution, was to determine how far the civil authorities were under obligation to interest themselves in behalf of religion, and in what degree they might seek to shape the opinions of the people. Roger Williams advanced at once to the position, now an axiom in the American mind, that the Church and the State should be completely separated, and soul-liberty be recognized as the right of every man. The strength put forth in these conflicts was not lost. The principle of religious liberty is the germ of universal freedom; and in their long and vexatious strife for its attainment the people were trained to a clear perception, and a sturdy maintenance, of their rights, and were thus prepared for the stern ordeal through which they were to pass in after years in resisting oppression at the hands of the mother country.

The Second Period is that of Independence, and includes the agitations which preceded the Revolution. The colonies were in constant collision with their governors, the proprietaries, or the Crown. The chartered companies were eager to make money out of the settlements within their several territories;

the governors whom they sent over looked after the interests of the proprietors rather than those of the colonists; the King was jealous of his prerogatives, and determined to extend them if possible; the Parliament often legislated with sole reference to the interests of English manufacturers and shipowners.

The colonists meanwhile, engaged chiefly in agriculture, were scattered over a broad and fertile land, where each tilled the fields which his own strong arm had won from the primeval forest, and lived a simple, but free, self-reliant, independent life, feeling no instinctive sense of allegiance to any sovereign save Him who gives to men seed-time and harvest, sunshine and rain. In regard to the ownership of the soil, the right to manufacture and to traffic, the rights of the ballot, of the press, and of colonial legislation, there were strifes and controversy, and finally war, which brought into full play every manly attribute, and taxed every element of power. The length of the disputes which terminated in war, and the severity of the war itself, were, in the end, not disadvantageous. While by stout remonstrance, and eloquent appeal, and labored argument, in which the great truths of human equality and human rights were boldly enunciated, they were contending against tyranny, every mind was trained to recognize the value of liberty, and every heart was fired with hatred of oppression in all its forms. It is only when truth is assailed that its real strength is displayed; and it is only when freedom is in danger that its true bounds are shown and its sacred character vindicated. The Declaration of Independence is not "a mere string of glittering generalities," but a clear and strong statement of the conclusions to which the people had come in their researches into the nature of government, and the obligations which it involves. Thus prolonged discussion taught the people correct theories in regard to human rights, and cultivated an intense patriotism; while the war itself invested freedom with the double luster which comes of heroic suffering and heroic achievement. That the Divine Hand was in the conflict, guiding the current of events, and bringing out the grand result, does not require great faith to believe, especially when we see to what an extent the religious element was present and active in the life of the nation. Let any great truth be fixed in the soul of a man or of a community, and it becomes a factor in all future reasoning

and action. The great mass of the colonists, especially those of the Northern States, were thoroughly imbued with the principles of religious liberty. They claimed it as their birthright, given of God; and to men thoroughly convinced of the existence of this one inherent right it was natural, perhaps inevitable, that they should be restive under despotism of any kind. Thus among the fathers of the Republic, the political was intimately connected with the religious life of the people; nor will it ever cease to be so, except where the schemes of corrupt and guilty men are at war with common justice and humanity, as well as with the word of God.

Of American freedom, the resultant of these varied forces, and the reward of this long struggle, our author thus expresses his appreciation:

> American liberty—what language can express the glow of rapture with which we contemplate it! We feel the thrill of its life, and the throb of its joy, as it courses through our veins. Liberty to think and to utter our thoughts; liberty to write, and print, and read, and no fear of servile police, or loathsome cells, or murderous injustice; liberty to study and proclaim God's holy word, kneel at his sacred altar and claim for ourselves the blood of atonement, with no intervening priest, and no artificial terrors from the thunders of the Vatican: with what gratitude ought we to recognize privileges so exalted as the gift of Providence alone.—Page 333.

The Third Period is that of Development, comprising the seventy-two years that elapsed between the inauguration of Washington as President of the United States and the breaking out of the rebellion. One third of the volume is devoted to this account of our progress in population, liberty, government, internal resources, commerce, war power, learning and the arts, manhood and humanity, depravity and religion.

In the year 1775 the population of the colonies was estimated to be 3,017,678. At the present time our people must number 38,000,000, at the lowest estimate. Of this number about 6,000,000 are of foreign birth and 4,500,000 are colored. Among the immigrants national peculiarities are short lived. The parents may be English, Irish, or German, but their children are Americans, and none but the closest observers are able to detect the lineage. Nor do we look upon this influx of population from other lands as endangering our institutions. Other causes may be regarded with distrust, but we have no fear that

the Republic will fail because the people, whether native or foreign born, will cease to love a free representative Government. Our adopted citizens, as our suave politicians have learned to call them, have not always used their newly acquired privileges wisely. As a class their influence has too often tended to make reforms more difficult, and to keep the legislation of the country at a lower moral level than it would otherwise have attained. On the great questions of slavery, the observance of the Sabbath, and the restriction of the liquor traffic—the vital questions which the present generation of Americans must meet—their weight has been on the wrong side; and yet, even on these points, there has always been a minority for the right, intelligent, earnest and steadily growing in numbers. If any of our readers are apprehensive that Rome will destroy the liberties of the Republic, we point them to recent events in Europe. As a political power Romanism is steadily declining. When Austria has broken the chains that bound her, and Spain is marching on to freedom, religious as well as civil, there would seem to be little probability that America will bow down to receive the yoke which they have found intolerable. With the right settlement of the great political questions which now agitate us, we anticipate an improvement in all departments of our national life. Only by justice and order can liberty be preserved. Intelligence and religion must guide the people, or patriotism will never rise to the level of a true virtue, and the whole national structure will lack solid strength. These potent principles are doing their work. We believe that we are building on the rock. Our progress seems slow; we trust that it is sure. It took almost a century to settle the question whether a man whose religious belief commands the suffrages of a minority only ought to possess all the rights of citizenship, and still another century to determine whether freedom belongs to all men, irrespective of race and color. These questions the piety and intelligence of our people have settled, we trust, for all time. Whatever may be the state of parties in civil affairs, whatever the relative strength of our various ecclesiastical organizations, none need fear that the conclusions to which we have come will ever be disputed by Americans.

With the growth of the population there has been a corresponding development of material resources. In the decade

ending in 1860 the farms of the nation doubled in aggregate value, and yet at that date only one fifth of the entire area had been inclosed, and only one third of the inclosed lands were cultivated; in other words, only one acre of every fifteen throughout the national domain has yet been turned with the plow. The industry of the people in other directions has been crowned with success, increasing with equal ratio. Manufactures, gold, silver, iron, coal, petroleum, are sources of wealth whose streams constantly deepen and widen. In climate, in soil, in river systems, in breadth of area, in advantages of location, in wealth—agricultural, mineral, and of the forest—in industry, enterprise, and ability to will and to do, no nation ever had so goodly a heritage, or was better prepared to enjoy it. Commerce, too, binds us to other lands, and produces its abundant fruits for us and them. On the sea as well as on the land, and in ships of the navy as well as the mercantile marine, the skill, enterprise, and courage of the Americans are conspicuous, and the sea, as well as the land, pays tribute to our greatness.

The military strength of the nation has been developed in an equal degree. In colonial times conflicts with the savages kept alive the courage of the people, and trained them to the use of arms. This stern experience prepared them for the long and weary struggle for independence, and cultivated the soldierly qualities which achieve success. Since that time we have fought the Barbary States for the free navigation of the Mediterranean; we have fought England for the free navigation of the ocean; we have fought Mexico for territory; and last and fiercest, sternest strife of all, fought the southern rebels for the national unity and the national existence, and succeeded in every case. A celebrated British statesman declares that from the last contest we come forth "the most formidable war power of the world." May the justice and humanity of the American people be equally developed, that this colossal strength may never be exerted among the nations save in the cause of peace, humanity, liberty, and the rights of man!

Learning and the arts are not neglected among us. The idea of common schools, which shall provide at least an elementary education for all our children, belongs originally to New England, but is becoming national. In the southern States

the principle of universal education has not yet been incorporated in the local law every-where. The Romish Church everywhere seeks to fence in her people from others, and keep every thing in the hands of the clergy. Still, the principle of universal education in the public schools is essentially American, and must prevail. In the cities and larger towns the free schools are constantly enlarging in area of study, and improving in their general management. In addition to their religious teaching the Sunday-school gives incidental secular instruction to those otherwise destitute of educational privileges; and the pure morals of the Gospel are inculcated every-where in connection with the great truths of Revelation. "In 1786 Bishop Asbury, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, established the first Sunday-school proper on the Western Continent."—*Republic*, page 445. We have at this time probably five millions of children in the Sunday-schools of the various Churches, the Methodist Episcopal schools alone containing a million and a half.

The next grade of our educational institutions above the common schools is what is commonly called the academy or seminary. Of these, hundreds have been established throughout the land; some by individual liberality and enterprise, others by local municipal authorities, and many by the various Church organizations. They contain tens of thousands of students, who receive an education which includes facilities for the study of natural and mental science, the higher mathematics, and ancient and modern languages. Our colleges are numerous, and are steadily rising in character and in completeness of equipment for their work.

The periodical press comes forward to aid in the dissemination of knowledge, and to prepare the American people to become intelligent citizens. In 1860 there were 4,051 periodicals of various kinds published in the United States.

It is of little avail to attempt to estimate the value of the press in this Republic. It has its vicious elements; is seized by infidels, Romanists, spiritists, and demagogues, to mislead the people for selfish ends, or to promote a perverted class interest. But this exceptional use of the great power of the nineteenth century does by no means render its freedom questionable, or its influence, as a whole, pernicious. Its teachings, good and bad, illustrate the freedom of true republicanism; while its collisions of mind and prin

ciple reveal the safety of free discussion, and bring out with enhanced power all the great doctrines of liberty. Licentiousness in the press, as well in as every thing else, must, of course, be suppressed; but the Americans are sensitive in regard to any other limitations. The purest and noblest in our nation say, "Let the battle go on; let error and fiction war with truth; let the selfish passions of leaders and parties dash against the fortress of liberty; let infidelity and superstition assault the pure principles of the Gospel and the true Church of God; there is no danger."

Nor are the fine arts neglected among us. In painting, Allston, West, Jarvis, Inman, and Peale, of an earlier day, and more lately Elliott, Fraser, Trumbull, Stuart, Durand, Church, and others, show that crossing the ocean has not quenched the fires of genius, and that in a republic, and not in the shadow of a throne only, it finds appreciation and reward. In sculpture, Greenough, Powers, Palmer, and others, have attained a success which honors them, and prepares the way for still greater efforts.

While our civilization shows the impress of true religion, the millennium has not yet come. We have among us a dangerous class increasing with the growth of population. Intemperance, which is the shame and the curse of civilized states, is eating into our national life like an ulcer. Neither religion, nor patriotism, nor humanity, nor all three combined, can devise weapons potent enough to cope with this hideous enemy. For a whole century the Methodist Episcopal Church has borne unwavering testimony against it. Sixty years ago the Old Temperance Society began its career. Thirty years since the Total Abstinence pledge was adopted as the basis of reform. Since then the Sons of Temperance, and other kindred organizations, have been toiling in the field, and have done nobly. And still these agencies are only like so many arks floating above a drowning world. The flood of death is not abated, nor even abating. For a period which stretches into the future beyond the limits of human vision, alcohol seems destined to be the bane of the so-called Christian nations, wasting their substance, fostering every vice and crime known to fallen humanity, filling earth with tears and blood, and peopling hell with the damned. Socialism, Mormonism, and that compound of imposture and folly which we call spiritism, show that our people are not so enlightened but that victims

may be found to the grossest superstitions; nor so moral as to prevent their sinking into the worst forms of vice. Of Mormonism, however, we ought to say, in justice to ourselves, that its apostles have been far more successful in other countries than at home. Nevertheless, it is humiliating to know that the institutions of the heathen find even temporary legal sanction in any recognized territory of the United States. Romanism, too, is growing rapidly by immigration; and recent Popish allocutions, as well as utterances nearer home, assure us that it has lost none of its arrogance. Rome still claims that it has a right to use the secular arm to coerce men to submit to its demands, and a priest resident in New Jersey has had the hardihood to publish a pamphlet defending the principle. This latter publication, however, we construe as a significant proof that while Romanism is spreading more widely on the surface, it is losing its power over the minds of men. It is contrary to Popish strategy to avow such views and designs, and thus throw down a challenge, not only to Protestantism, but to modern civilization itself. We suspect that the rank and file of the Catholic community are becoming insubordinate, and therefore it is necessary to threaten them with dungeons and tortures. Moreover, it is the fixed policy of the priesthood to keep alive bitter feelings between their people and the Protestants, that the ignorant Romanist may regard every Protestant as his enemy, and shut his ears against him.

In the political world, also, wide spread depravity and corruption are developed. Money is freely used for electioneering purposes, including the direct purchase of votes, and thus the very fountain of our legislation is poisoned. It is hardly reasonable to suppose that they who have secured office by bribery will themselves be found beyond the reach of bribes in discharging their official duties. The political press is venal and unscrupulous, and too often the deceiver, instead of the instructor, of the citizen. Only the coolest and most intelligent of the people really arrive at an understanding of the matters at issue in our political contests; and even they are sometimes at a loss for the means of judging, because every alleged fact and mooted question is so deeply buried in an avalanche of opposing lies, that certainly no ordinary eye can reach the depth. On this general subject our author discourses thus:

The freedom granted to the citizen by the government of the people may be greatly abused. Demagogues may use it for selfish ends; party spirit may rise above national claims; bad men may aspire to office and succeed; bribery and misrepresentation may determine at elections, pass laws, and corrupt the seat of justice. All this has occurred here, and it is no relief to us to show that it is so every-where; that bribery and corruption in elections are reduced to a system in England, and so utterly shameless as to allow of no attempt to deny them, or obviate their damaging power. If it be true *in theory* that all this is easier and more likely to occur in a republic than under a constitutional monarchy, it is not true *in fact.* These are vices which do not inhere in systems of government. They are back of all governments. They arise from a common depravity, indicate a common danger, and require a common remedy. The race is coming to feel the imperative demand for a divine regeneration of society, the grand model of which is found in every true Christian in whose heart, purposes, motives, and acts old things have passed away, and all things become new. Until this grand consummation is reached in the common humanity of our nation we must battle with political dishonesty.—Page 510.

But there has been a development of genuine piety as well as of depravity. The chapter devoted to this part of the discussion consists of a series of papers prepared by clergymen of the various leading denominations, showing the part which each has had in the building up of the nation. It is claimed in behalf of the Congregational Churches of New England, that at the very foundation of the American State they cultivated the most ardent love of civil liberty. The Presbyterian Churches have been foremost in the establishment of institutions of learning, and in inculcating reverence for the Sabbath, and the whole moral code of the Scripture. The entire course and spirit of the Baptist Church have been in full sympathy with American institutions, and the battle for liberty of conscience was fought by them both in New England and Virginia. The Methodist Churches, by their doctrines, their evangelical spirit, and their methods of labor, more than any other, reached the people, keeping pace with the advancing lines of settlement and the spread of population, and thus furnishing evangelical agencies suited to the wants of a new and growing country. The Protestant Episcopal Church trained the people to recognize authority and value law and order. Other minor bodies have been busy, each doing in its own way its part of the great work.

Nor has the complete separation of Church and State which characterizes us worked in any degree to the detriment of religion. Every department of Christian activity is cultivated among us with a liberality in the use of money, a zeal and a success not below the rest of the Christian world. In England the churches of all kinds are capable of accommodating with seats at one and the same time fifty-seven per cent. of the entire population. In the United States sixty per cent. can be thus accommodated. Fifty-four thousand churches have been erected, and their Pastors are supported without a dime from tithes or State treasury. At this very time no other nation on the face of the globe is so multiplying its houses of worship as are the Americans. And notwithstanding the inflow of foreign immigrants, the membership of the evangelical Churches has more than kept pace with the population. Leaving children under ten years of age out of the calculation, there were, in the year 1800, about *nine* Church members in every hundred of the people; in 1832 there were *fourteen;* in 1860 there were *twenty-four.* We are persuaded that our poor are at least as well cared for as in any other land. Reformatory institutions of various kinds, asylums for the deaf and dumb, for the blind and the insane, for idiots and inebriates, have sprung up every-where among us, and have gathered about them the appliances needed to render them efficient in their good work. The American Bible Society, the Seamen's Friend Society, the Young Men's Christian Associations, the various Sunday-School Unions, Tract and Missionary Societies, with other kindred agencies, show that the American Churches are progressive in their spirit, generous in their benefactions, active in their labors, and courageous to assault the strongholds of sin and error.

The author's Fourth Period is that of Emancipation. Slavery was planted on the American shores at a very early day. The Spaniards began the nefarious work by enslaving the hapless natives of the West Indies, who were exterminated by the cruel bondage to which they were reduced. African slavery was introduced into Cuba on the plea of humanity, it being urged as the only mode of preserving the remnant of a race which was fast disappearing. In 1620 it made its way from the islands to the continent. A Dutch vessel brought

twenty negroes to Jamestown, in Virginia, and sold them to the planters. Thus began a traffic which transferred, as it is estimated, four hundred thousand Africans from their native land to the New World. And slavery is a gigantic crime that contains within it all forms of wrong. The "patriarchal" idea of it as a divine institution, involving lofty responsibilities on the side of the master, and a wholesome subordination on the part of the slave, and blessing both, may be made to show well on paper, but it has never been successfully embodied in actual life. Slaves may despair of deliverance; they may sink down helpless, hopeless, crushed; but they are never content, nor is the master ever at ease. Slavery can be kept in existence only by the steady application of a stern, relentless force, which neither fears God nor regards man. In our own land it has wrought its due results. It first corrupted the North by the gains of the slave-trade, and then debased and brutalized the South by the inevitable effect of the institution itself. The nation has never been at rest in regard to the evil. The great statesmen of the earlier day, Washington, Jefferson, and their compeers, were unanimous in condemning the institution; sometimes hopeful that it would gradually disappear without conflict or disaster, sometimes fearful that some great calamity would grow out of it.

But the invention of various machines made the cultivation of cotton exceedingly profitable, and slaves rose in value. The financial interests of the South became involved with slavery, and it became a great power in the land. Under its shadow there grew up a school of politicians, self-seeking, unscrupulous, and adroit, who subordinated all national obligations and interests to those of their own section, and cared less for the interests of their section than for their own personal exaltation. These crafty plotters rallied their people for the support of slavery, and thus made the South a political unit. They went into the national conventions called by the great parties, and by compactness, audacity, and skill controlled wherever they went. Their cunning projects were for a long time so successful that they began to consider themselves omnipotent. Northern politicians bowed down to them with an abject and eager obsequiousness which was scarce exceeded by the poor negro wincing under the lash, and which created, and

we must confess in some degree justified, the contempt which the South professed to feel for the North. The South, as time passed on, became still more exacting and imperious. First demanding, in 1820, the repeal of the resolution passed in 1798, limiting slavery to the territory then occupied by it, it obtained what was called the Missouri Compromise, by which the institution was permitted to overspread the new Territories of the United States as far north as 36° 30′. It next demanded the repeal of the Compromise of 1820, on the plea that it was unconstitutional, neither Congress nor the territorial legislatures having any legal right to exclude it. Northern meanness and sycophancy yielded, southern arrogance triumphed, and from that moment war, though then below the horizon, was inevitable. The northern politicians, who had sold justice, honor, and humanity for office, could not drag their constituents down into the depths of the infamy into which they had themselves plunged. A new political party arose, not to assail southern institutions on their own soil, but to resist the aggressions of slavery. The strife which began on the plains of Kansas became finally the greatest, bloodiest struggle of modern times. The contest, which first employed argument and then the ballot, was fought at last with steel. War flamed along a hundred battle fields. Year after year of fearful slaughter followed and left the contest still undecided. Meanwhile the nation was passing through a moral regeneration—coming out of darkness to the light. By a comparatively slow, and yet steady process, the intelligence and moral power of the North gathered in solid strength, not merely on the side of law and the Union, but of universal freedom. President Lincoln's proclamation of "liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof," was doubtless demanded as a war measure; but it was no less demanded by the moral sense of the North as a measure without which the logic of loyalty was incomplete, and its great purpose lacked its crowning glory. God gave victory to the right; and from the chaos of bloody war the nation emerged regenerated, disenthralled, freed from the infinite crime and the crushing incubus. The victory of the North was the triumph of intelligence, patriotism, humanity, and religion, over treason, ambition, barbarism, and wrong.

The volume closes with a glance into the future history of

America, as foreshadowed in the past and the present. This constitutes the author's Fifth Period. It need not be said that he is hopeful, and even sanguine. If this nation is true to liberty, humanity, and to God, it has before it a grander history than ever shone in the records of the past. No other people combines the elements of strength now given into American hands. England is rich and brave, and loves law and order and liberty. France possesses intelligence and enterprise. Italy possesses sunny skies and a fertile soil. Prussia has the true Protestant love of schools and learning. Russia has broad realms and a vast population. But America has all these—intelligence, enterprise, courage, liberty, numbers, wealth, a genial climate, and a broad and fertile domain, where her teeming millions find an ample home, and where, we trust, in the coming ages the lofty destiny of a truly Christian people awaits her.

The dying rebellion bequeathed us a burden and a problem—all it had to give. It is not an easy thing so to manage the national debt as to deal justly and honorably with the national creditors, and yet impose no oppressive taxation. It is not easy to say what measures will soonest heal the wounds of war, and restore the southern States to the Union in spirit and in truth, and at the same time secure effectually the civil rights of southern loyal men of both races. Still the burden is not intolerable, nor is the problem incapable of solution. The debt can not only be borne, but paid to the uttermost dollar. The interest amounts to about one cent a day to each of our people; and a burden of that size is not intolerable, especially when our shoulders are made strong by the conviction that it is the price of national existence. A single fact ought to relieve the apprehensions of the faint-hearted, if we have faint hearts among us; though the enormous expenses of actual war have scarcely ceased, we have already paid not only the interest falling due, but one tenth of the principal of the debt. Another fact will give increasing courage and confidence. The Preliminary Report of the Eighth Census shows, that at the close of the ten years preceding the war the real and personal property of the nation was increasing at the rate of one thousand millions of dollars annually. Surely a people of such resources will be able to manage an indebtedness of twenty-five hundred millions.

We do not doubt that the increase of the value of real estate since the war is more than equal to the entire debt of the United States.

The problem of reconstruction is not yet settled, but we trust soon will be. The leaders of the two great parties are antagonistic in their plans and platforms, because both their views and their interests are in conflict. On the principle of impartial suffrage, the political power in the reconstructed States will remain, at least for a time, in the hands of the Republicans. If the colored citizen South is disfranchised, the men who led the rebellion will control their respective States. The Democratic leaders have little hope of getting control of the General Government without the help of the States recently in rebellion. The plan of the Republicans is, therefore, to reorganize the late rebel States as speedily as possible, the leading rebels being disfranchised, and the freedmen elevated to the rank of voters. The policy of the Democrats is to prevent acquiescence in this mode of adjustment, and secretly encouraging all possible resistance and confusion in the Southern States, to point to the anarchy thus created as proof that the Republican plan of reconstruction is unwise and impracticable. It is true that no genuine patriot and statesman will seek to manage so vital a national question on so sordid a principle as the one indicated; but unfortunately there are in the ranks of both the parties politicians who are neither patriots nor statesmen. Still, a solid principle underlies the whole question. We believe that it is wrong, dangerous, and in every way unwise to declare by law that five millions of the American people, natives of the soil, shall have no voice in the government, bear no responsibility in regard to it, but remain forever foreigners, aliens, pariahs, a degraded class, deprived of the incitements to honorable effort which others feel, and branded as lower in the scale of humanity than other men. We do not demand universal suffrage in behalf of the colored man, but so far as race is concerned let suffrage be impartial. Establish a definite standard of moral and intellectual qualification, if you will, and place it as high as you will, but give the negro an equal chance with the rest. He asks no more. True statesmanship, to say nothing of humanity and religion, will bestow no less.

But we are persuaded that this question will in time be settled, as other difficult questions have been settled before it. Not many years ago the Jews were disfranchised, and despised and persecuted in almost every country of Europe. Two hundred years ago, in New England, if a man's religious opinions were not esteemed orthodox, his right to vote was denied as stoutly as is the Georgia negro's to-day. The progress already made is a pledge of an increasing measure of justice and humanity in the laws of civilized States in the years to come, and we believe that the period is not far distant when color will not deprive any man of the reward to which his intelligence, his moral worth, or his labor of any kind, may justly entitle him. When the question of "negro equality" becomes useless as a party instrument both to opposers and advocates, it will cease to be agitated by politicians; and when legal barriers are removed from his path, the law will have done for the black man all that it can do, and he, like others, must be content with what he fairly earns by work or worth.

We have faith in the future of this nation. We believe in freedom, in equal rights, in liberty of conscience, in the voluntary system of sustaining religious institutions. No mode of government does its work perfectly. Under any form—monarchical, aristocratic, or republican—justice will be incomplete, and property and person in a degree unsafe: there will be thieves in the public treasury, and corrupt men in high places; there will be vice, and pauperism, and crime, and suffering, and agitation, and a thousand proofs that the race is fallen. Under no form of government will virtue and vice, industry and idleness, truth and falsehood, goodness and wickedness, find at once their exact reward, and every man, good and bad, go to his own place. Still we believe in the American idea, and in the success of the institutions based upon it. As the divine principle in dealing with man is to place his welfare in his own hands, and hold him responsible, visiting him with good or evil as his own conduct determines: so democratic institutions lay upon the people the responsibility of securing their own welfare, and shaping their own destiny, promising them only that degree of freedom, safety, and prosperity which their intelligence, virtue, and piety deserve. Because we believe in God, and liberty, and religion, and not

that we trust in mere human wisdom and strength, and schemes and theories of men, we share the high hopes of our author, with the glowing expression of which he closes his volume:

> Our example must shine in uninterrupted light. Our literature—volume and periodical—will pass into other languages, and it will be the calm expression of liberty. Our representative citizenship will assume the dignity, and command the consideration, throughout the world, due to great organic, living truth. Our missionaries of religion, with the most scrupulous obedience to all governments in which they are found, will be perpetual representatives of progress in the true American spirit. Our foreign ministers and consuls, with influence ever increasing, will be the calm, clear, manly expositors of the doctrine of liberty for princes, courts, and people. Our ships abroad will be laden with the word of God, and messages of salvation to the perishing. "Liberty to the captives" will move over the world by our grand steam navies, and flash through the air by our telegraphs; and the power of our growing prosperity, under the genius of Christianity, will be the silent, pervading influence which will blend harmoniously with all freedom every-where as the grandest missionary of progress ever known among men.

Dr. Peck has made to American literature a contribution of great and permanent value. The general plan of the work is good, and the execution in all respects admirable. The author is broad in his views, accurate in the statement, and wise in the interpretation of facts, candid and generous in his spirit, clear and eloquent in his style, and above all, has full faith in God and the right. Leaving the beaten path, he goes below the surface, and digs for the treasures hidden in the field. He points out the moral springs of human action, and confesses a Divine government in human affairs, and thus writes in full view of principles, without a recognition of which the story of war and heroes, and the rise and fall of empires, is but the chaff and not the grain of history. For this very reason the work will not be popular with men of a low moral grade. Its reasonings will be to the materialist a stumbling-block, and to the demagogue foolishness; but to the intelligent Christian patriot it is a book to be loved, and read again and again. It ought especially to be studied by every young American.

It may be added that the publishers have given the volume an outward seeming worthy of its contents; and that

the valuable portraits of distinguished men, the paper, the type, and the whole mechanical execution, set it before the reader as "apples of gold in pictures of silver." We are glad to know that, as a literary venture, it is abundantly successful, and remunerative to all concerned.

Art. II.—INDIA AS A MISSION FIELD.

There are many questions profoundly interesting connected with the past, present, and future of *India;* but we desire simply to present its merits as a *mission field.* Has this magnificent country, grand in its wonderful history, stretching far back into the hoary past, and no less grand in its resources, capabilities, and the new life that after a slumber of ages begins to thrill its countless population, special present claims on the attention and evangelistic enterprise of the Christian Church? On the one hand is Christendom, as the conquest of Christ, wrested from the power of darkness, ready to push the conflict? on the other, is the heathen and non-Christian world now assailable at any point the Church may select? The forces numerically considered stand thus: professional Christendom, three hundred and thirty-five millions; the nominal Christian world, nine hundred and fifty-three millions. The field to be conquered is yet great in extent, and the enemy to be engaged of vast number. Is India a specially hopeful point of attack for any Christian denomination wishing to make the most of its resources in this conquest of the world? And, India gained, what is the probable result on future efforts for the complete evangelization of the race?

In reply to this query, let us look at the claims of this field in this point of view. In the pursuit of truth, or in the vanquishment of error and the spread of light, whether in physics or metaphysics, the establishment of civil liberty and the rights of man or the progress of true religion in the earth, there are certain vital points which, mastered, aid mightily in the eradication of error, and contribute greatly to future success. A thoughtful survey of the whole subject leads to the conclusion that India, as a mission field, is one of these vital points in the evangelization of the world; and Churches which are

sending forth missionaries, and are expending large sums of money in the maintenance of missionary operations in this field, should be greatly reassured in their efforts by this survey.

The past is full of grand and important lessons for the generation now on the stage of the world's busy theater. "God in History." has rightly become one of the studies of the age. Allusions to the wonderful providence of God in locating his covenant people, the prospective religious instructors of the race, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, have become commonplace. The Sunday-school scholar has been made to admire the divine wisdom of Him who "declareth the end from the beginning," in placing the chosen race in the eastern end of that vast basin around which the world's activities were so largely to stir, so that, secluded as it was during the period of its growth and early tuition, it eventually became the highway of the surging nations as they rolled back and forth, diffusing leavening light and truth far and wide in the surrounding darkness. And when the Gospel dispensation, the world's perfect and complete great lesson in religion, was ushered in, do we not see the Divine Wisdom still manifest in the direction taken by the Gospel? Why did it not go eastward instead of westward? The nations spreading away to the Pacific in the East were no more hostile to it than the proud, idolatrous Romans, and the peoples swallowed up in their vast empire; while they had not the combination and political engineering to crush out the new faith that so boldly, in apparent helplessness, struck a deadly, an uncompromising issue with ancient idolatry and pride of worldly wisdom. In the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," and the prohibition of the Holy Ghost from preaching the word in Asia, we have more than a faint hint of God's providence touching the *direction* in which the Gospel was spread. It was He who knows all the future, and whose sleepless care and divine wisdom never fail in the work of redemption which he has undertaken for our lapsed race, that directed the movement of Christianity to the westward. He knew the capabilities of nations, and foresaw their future development; and was present with the Apostles and brethren in the councils of Jerusalem and Antioch. Westward around the great basin of the Mediterranean rolled the Gospel wave, through Egypt and Carthage—through Asia Minor, Greece, and

Italy. The ocean of Pagan Europe was to break in devastation over Rome, and a new social and political continent was in time to emerge, retaining in its landscape all that was really valuable in the old, with new virtues and new capabilities, and by and by rule the world as it is doing to-day. It is no disparagement of Christianity in its blessed work of promoting man's highest good morally, socially, and politically, to say that Europe does not owe all its social and intellectual development to the Gospel alone. Doubtless it would be difficult in the extreme to estimate the great benefit that Europe has reaped from the presence of Christianity. At the same time, it has had circumstances of climate and country, and the conflict and blending of peoples, that have rendered it *capable* of a progress for which other parts of the globe have not been prepared. Divine Providence guided Christianity where it could co-operate with these capabilities. Its associations and affinities, in a human point of view, so to speak, would have turned it rather toward the East; but there was a Divinity that, by visions of the night, and impulses of the Holy Ghost, shaped its end.

This lesson is of easy application. It is the highest wisdom in the Church, in working her evangelizing organizations, to trust prayerfully and implicitly to the guidance of the Holy Ghost in selecting points for missionary operations. With this reliance on the promised direction of the Holy Spirit, there should be a careful and thoughtful study of God's providence among the nations and peoples now being thrown open to the Gospel. These two, the Divine Spirit and the well-read "signs of the times," will surely lead the hosts of the Lord to the best points of attack in reclaiming the world to him. India is now receiving a larger share of missionary effort than any other part of the Christian world. This, doubtless, is the result of more than earthly wisdom. All missionaries and missionary societies experience periods of depression on account of the apparent smallness of visible results, and the difficulty of keeping up supplies. If there is any element of success—any moral power in being *reassured*, a survey like the present is far from being useless. It will lead us to thank the Lord and take courage. We are pressing on in the surest path to a glorious victory.

Nature marked out India for a great country. Geographically considered it is completely a unit, consisting of a broad tongue of land projecting into the Indian Ocean, and walled off from the rest of Asia by the vast Himalayan chain, and flanked on the east and west by immense river systems, the approach to which is defended again by lofty, rugged mountains. Thus fitted by nature as the common home of a great nation, India has, from a period of great antiquity, been occupied by a remarkable people, who entered it at a very early date in the world's history. A tropical or mild climate through all its latitudes renders the question of clothing less difficult than in colder countries, while a soil of great fertility yields with moderate labor an abundance to clothe and sustain a population difficult to be borne by many portions of the globe. These causes have made India from a very early period the seat of an intelligent and prosperous people, and the coveted prize of ambitious conquerors, and destine it to occupy an important leading position in renovated Asia. This point should not be overlooked in an economical productive expenditure of missionary resources.

The *availability*, so to speak, of a race or people is a proper consideration in the planting of missions. What is the apparent capability or promise of the people for whom it is proposed to establish a mission, becomes an important question. In the lapse of ages, through diverse conditions and circumstances, a marked difference has developed among the races and peoples of the earth. Decided diversities are apparent in their intellectual, social, political, and moral capabilities. Races and peoples have a hereditary character, just as individual men. The perpetuated and accumulated impress of surroundings has grown into marked and distinguishing traits and peculiarities. Hence the capabilities and hopefulness, even in a missionary point of view, of different peoples greatly vary. A striking illustration of this point is found in the American Indians, whose wild and reluctant nature renders them unapt pupils in the school of Christianity and civilization. Large tracts of Africa are peopled by degraded savage tribes, so dwarfed, physically and mentally, and perhaps morally, that it is a question with learned and thoughtful Christian men whether, as tribes, they can be reclaimed.

Viewed from this stand-point of thought, India, in regard to its inhabitants also, is a land of promise. Here we find a teeming population of one hundred and eighty millions, nearly one seventh of the entire human race, crowded into this broad arable peninsula, and distinctly shut off by mountain and sea from the rest of the world, and as one great people associated in a grand common theater of action. The population of India consists of the remains of aboriginal tribes, of Hindoos, who are settlers of a later date, and of Mahommedans, who are either the descendants of the original Moslem invaders or converts from Hindooism. The aboriginal tribes seem to be of Scythian origin, and some of them bear relationship to the Lapps and Finns of Northern Europe. They are generally docile, and are proving hopeful to missionary effort. About one tenth of the population of India is Mohammedan, and much of this relatively small portion is but little removed from Hindooism. Thus Hindoos form the large body of the population. The infusion of Saracenic blood doubtless has tended to give energy and enthusiasm to the too apathetic Hindoo. We speak more at length of the Hindoo population, because it is the predominant, the really national population of the country. As before remarked, a large part of what is counted as Mohammedan population is substantially Hindoo.

The race that now really rules the world and bids fair to gain much greater supremacy is the European or Caucasian. To this race the Hindoos belong. *Aryan* is another name for this great family, the original seat of which was Central Asia, from which, at a period of high antiquity, two leading streams of emigration flowed out: one to the West, which seems to have divided, one branch flowing through Southern, the other through Northern Europe: the other great Aryan stream flowing southward, has given to India its Hindoo population. There is reason to believe that before the time of David and Solomon the Hindoos had firmly established themselves in Northern India, and were an energetic, intellectual people. The great branch that had flowed westward met, in after ages, with the mighty leaven of Christianity; and after more than thirty centuries these great streams of the ancient Aryan race have mingled, by a singular and perhaps significant providence, on the plains of Hindostan, the one

X 706203

bringing the precious life-giving lessons of the Sacred Scripture to supplant the subtle and profound philosophy and wisdom of the other, by which it has so long failed to know God.

But this historical allusion has grown almost to a digression. We wish particularly here to call attention to the mental, religious, and social substratum that underlies the character of the present Hindoo race, indicative of its capability and hopefulness in an evangelistic point of view. Simultaneously with their settlement in India the Hindoos seem to have begun to develop into a wonderfully intellectual people. Probably they brought some of their earliest religious writings with them, as the hymns of the *Rig Veda.* But it seems certain that, after their invasion of Northwestern India, the Hindoo philosophers began their labored and profound speculations. When their brethren who had pushed far to the west were wandering, warlike savages, in the forests of ancient Europe, they were dealing in really masterly speculations, and were discoursing profoundly on philosophical and theological questions that only a highly-cultivated mind could suggest; some of which, with no greater success, have engaged the attention of enlightened Europe in recent times. Their speculations on the origin and history of the universe of matter, the mode of the Divine existence, the origin aud destiny of the human spirit, reveal the subtle and profound intellectualism of the Hindoo people in that early age. In illustration of this statement, we have the singular fact that the genesis of the material universe, as presented in the modern nebular hypothesis, in nearly all its transitions is substantially the same as that thought out and expounded by Hindoo thinkers centuries before Greece had a philosopher. It should not be very flattering to the refined pantheists and idealists of the enlightened West, to know that they are but treading with feeble steps where oriental giants walked perhaps thirty centuries ago. The limits of this article do not allow an elucidation of the fact that India has been one of the early centers of the world's intellect. These early grapplings of mind with profound questions of nature and existence grew in time into a voluminous literature, which, unlocked by the study of Sanscrit, has in more recent times become the wonder of Europe.

Now this early intellectual superiority of the Hindoo race

undoubtedly remains as a substratum among the Hindoos of modern India. Circumstances in more recent ages have not been so favorable for its manifestation; but intercourse with the people, especially as an educator, discovers clearly that modern Hindoos are the lineal descendants of those ancient sages. One is surprised at the precocity of boys whose opportunities have been limited. India is capable of yet becoming the intellectual teacher of Asia.

There is a remarkable *religious* substratum underlying the character of this people. Most of the ancient systems of philosophy revolved chiefly about the material universe, or man himself. Anaximander, a representative of the Ionic school, set aside the notion of God as useless in an explanation of the universe. Confucius said that filial piety is the root of all the virtues. But one is struck with the exhaustive speculations and teachings of Hindoo philosophy touching the Divine Being. As the beginning of all things he is the eternal *Brahm*—the infinite pure unity; and again all things are resolved into God, so that he is literally "all and in all." To ignore the idea of *self* completely, and become wrapped and lost in the contemplation of Deity, is the highest piety. This abnormal religious tendency has made India far more populous of gods than Athens of old, and has sent forth to lives of extremest asceticism tens of thousands who profess to think hourly and momentarily of God alone. It has laden the Hindoos with a multifarious burden of religious rites and ceremonies, which neither they nor their fathers have ever been able to bear. Had the Apostle passed through the cities of Hindostan, more than once he would have had occasion to remark: "I perceive that in all things ye are too *superstitious*"—(δεισιδαιμονεστερους—worshipers of gods.) With the Greek, patriotism was the ruling motive; with the Roman, law; but with the Hindoo, it was religion. This theocentric tendency of the Hindoo mind is still present as a substratum, and perhaps, when thoroughly reached by the Divine light and leaven of the Gospel, India may present to the world its brightest example of a "people whose God is the Lord." The thoughtful missionary finds one of the most hopeful sources of encouragement for the future of this land here.

There is a *social* substratum among the condition of the

Hindoos which, baneful as it has been, as developed in the very ancient caste system of the country, nevertheless has in it elements of future prosperity. Where there is no uniting mechanism in society, no unification and subordination, there can be no large and powerful growth of a common people. There need not be homogeneousness of all parts of society, but there must be union, subordination. Wandering predatory tribes, with every advantage of climate and material resource, never grow in civilization and develop into a State. The law and social order of Rome, infused into the lawless semi-civilized hordes of Europe, laid the foundation of its present greatness. The spirit and legislation of the Koran united the independent marauding tribes of Arabia, and they grew into a power that shook the world for centuries. The absence of any uniting principle or organism has left the vast and fertile continent of Africa, with its teeming millions, an undeveloped waste to the present day. But from the remotest antiquity the Hindoos seem to have been united in a common social organization of the strictest discipline and subordination. Priest, and warrior, and merchant, and manual laborer, have all acknowledged their places, so that for ages the mechanism of the great social clock moved harmoniously. All classes have accepted their places as of Divine allotment. A too great rigidity has precluded growth beyond a certain point, most certainly; but the ideas of organic compact and division of labor, and of due subordination in the "social fabric," acquired and ingrained by a growth of centuries, are invaluable to the future development of this people. National characteristics like these are not the growth of a day.

Such, then, is the intellectual, religious, and social groundwork of the leading race of India. Here is something encouraging on which to build. Religion, intelligence, and proper social habits and tendencies in regard to dependence and subordination are the three fundamental elements of true national greatness and prosperity. It may be safely affirmed that in the history of modern evangelical efforts the Gospel has not been carried to a nation or people who promise so much for the future. From a careful study of antiquity it appears that India was the fertile center from which philosophy, science, religion, and ancient civilization spread into the surrounding nations. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, logic,

and other sciences, with various philosophical systems, can be traced in their earliest development to India. In after ages she fell into a moral and mental apathy all the more remarkable from her former religious and intellectual activity. But now we behold the sublime spectacle of this ancient Aryan race, from the confluence of a kindred stream that wandered away to the Occident ages ago, awaking to new life with an energy and rapidity that betoken a glorious future. It is a marked providence of God that has given this great people to the tuition of enlightened Protestant England. France and Portugal were before in occupancy.

The largest missionary force in any foreign field has been gathered into this wide harvest, all ready for the laborer. Over six hundred European and American missionaries are distributed through the country from the Punjaub to Ceylon.

Having thus glanced at some of the advantages of country and people, rendering this a peculiarly promising field, attention is asked to what may be called *providential* aids in the prosecution of the missionary enterprise in India. First note the presence of the British government. The jealousy of other nations have caused them, at times, to reflect on British rule, and the aggressions of British power in India. It would not be a human government that never committed a blunder or was chargeable with a fault. But any one thoroughly acquainted with the history and results of English rule in India can hardly fail to see that it has been an untold blessing and mercy to the land. Is it a small thing to rescue a mild, intelligent, reflective, and religiously inclined people from the heartless ravages of fanatical Moslem power, and give them stability, security, and justice? Is it a small thing to deliver a vast people, by the strong arm of law, from the cruel, crushing customs of their own religious folly—to quench flames that consigned annually to an untimely and most shocking death hundreds of unoffending widows—to paralyze uncounted thousands of brutal arms, and save multitudes of wailing infants from an inhuman, barbarous death, unknown to the very beasts of the field? In a word, is it a small thing to take hold of a vast country all in anarchy, and full of ignorance, lawlessness, and rapacity, and give it wholesome law, and order, and improvement in art, and enlightenment in science? All this

British power and rule have done for India. But the point that we wish to present is, that the presence of this government affords to the people of India every facility and advantage that this enlightened age possesses for development in all that belongs to human well-being. By so much is it an aid to the missionary. Besides this, it gives *security* to the missionary in this work. No one acquainted with the spirit and practice of Islamism can doubt how missionaries and their work would fare in India were the ægis of British power removed. Contiguity to Europe, and the restraint of Christian governments, secure some toleration to evangelistic efforts throughout most of the Turkish empire: but it would hardly be so in India under Moslem rule. Moreover, even the Hindoos, comparatively mild, and free from violent bigotry as they seem, would present a different attitude in the absence of British dominion. Missionaries can readily see that they would be much restricted in their efforts, and often cut off from promising openings. Besides all this, government gives liberal monetary aid in the maintenance of mission schools and medical missions. All this is direct aid to evangelistic work.

We mark another providential aid to the spread of Christianity in India in the independent educational effort of the government. To the enlightened Christian it must be gratifying and encouraging to know that Victoria's government spends annually one million four hundred thousand dollars for the education of her Indian subjects, and that hundreds of thousands of boys and girls are receiving enlightened instruction; and that the dark cloud of superstition and idolatry is being lifted away by the mental light that comes stealing through the darkness, softly as the approach of morning twilight. Government is doing a noble work for the enlightenment of India. Calcutta can boast its University, which is no mere name. Connected with this, on a regular plan of education, are more than a score of colleges, scattered through all parts of India. Besides the University and its affiliated colleges, there are thousands of smaller schools of all grades throughout the land, the number of which is rapidly increasing. Education is conducted both in English and the vernacular, and is substantially that of the most approved European and American system. Intellectual education and

enlightenment being the friend of Christianity, the English government is accomplishing an immense work for the final triumph of the Gospel in India. Where in any other part of the world do we find such an aid extended to one hundred and thirty millions of non-Christian people?

Another providential aid in the evangelization of India is found in the English language itself. This aid has special phases which are now to be brought under consideration. We do not indulge the speculation that the English language is to become the vernacular of India. There are many conclusive reasons why such a result is improbable. Nevertheless it is destined to exert a most powerful influence on the races of India in aid of civilization and Christianity. The English language, spoken and written, is now a settled fact in India. No human power can eradicate it. Were India, freed from the English, to continue henceforth forever isolated from the West, the English linguistic element would remain a power in it, shaping and shading the mental and moral life of the people. Such is the extent to which it has already incorporated itself in the language and literature of the country. We are dealing here with a subtle, puissant agent. No human mind can follow up and estimate the all-pervading, potent influence of the language and literature of Greece on the moral and mental life of conquering Rome, and in turn, of conquered Rome on the moral and intellectual life of the conquering hordes of the North. In both these striking illustrations of this subject the influence was palpable and unbounded, and still rolls on in an ever-widening wave. A language, with its literature, is not the growth of a day. Countless social and political vicissitudes, with centuries of thinking and writing, wrought out the language and built up the literature of classic Greece and Rome.

No less numerous have been the changes while the mental travail of many added centuries have been exhausted in making the English language and literature what they are at the present time. This power, with all its capability of shading and fashioning the life and destiny of the people, is present in India. It has always been a question with the English government just how far to make an effort for the spread and establishment of English in the country. A desire on the part of the natives

to learn the language, and a growing conviction of its convenience and importance in the government and enlightenment of the people, have led to increased efforts to introduce English extensively throughout India. The education imparted in the University and numerous colleges of the country is chiefly in English. Much of the work of the government in various departments require more or less knowledge of English. This has established a demand for an acquaintance with it which is increasing. In illustration of the extent to which English is being studied, it may be stated, that in the Northwest Provinces alone, a division of one of the three British Presidencies, more than forty thousand pupils were studying English in the schools and colleges in 1867. It is true that the government, in its neutral policy, has excluded text-books of a directly religious character, but yet the books studied rapidly undermine the faith of the natives. An incident among thousands illustrates this. A pupil entered Bareilly College a bigoted Hindoo, but at the end of two years, so much had *English* affected his mind, that he used, as he passed from the college, to spit with contempt on a sacred tree that stood near by. This effect must be much lightened where missionaries use, as they do, religious text-books. Suffice it to say on this point, that thousands of natives can speak and write English somewhat readily, and intelligently read English books. Several native presses are issuing English papers, and printing books for natives. Here there is a mighty influence present in India, the aid of which, in the cause of evangelization, must be great beyond calculation. The reader can dwell at leisure on the ramifications of this influence as it finds its way through translations of English books, and the intercourse of the student of English with less favored relatives and associates.

The suggestion has some ground that the influence of English literature may not always be good. And it is to be regretted that already, in India, English deistical books are consulted by a certain class of educated natives. Nevertheless, there is a greatly preponderating weight of influence brought to bear through the English language and literature in favor of Christianity, so that missionaries recognize here one of their most hopeful evangelizing aids.

Somewhat kindred to the help just presented is that of the

Indian vernacular languages themselves, in which the missionary finds providential facilities for imparting Christian truth to the native mind. We are dealing here with no mere fancy. Those who have gone with the Gospel of salvation to people of other tongues, and who have labored for the establishment of Christianity in their midst by translating the Word of God and building up a Christian literature, can testify to the formidable difficulties that are often to be overcome. It is a matter of special gratulation when a language is met which, by its affinities or capabilities, or both these, presents a convenient and expressive medium for the ready impartation of divine truth. Our China mission recently furnished an illustration of missionary perplexity from this source in a spirited discussion as to the most suitable word for the Divine Being, couching the Christian conception. Sometimes the work of years must be undone, and sometimes years are required to build up a theological language for the people. We can here only state the fact briefly, that the vernaculars of India are singularly adapted as media for the communication of every shade and form of religious thought and truth. Enriched from three of the most wonderful developments of human speech, they are expressive, flexible, and fertile for every possible purpose. They have drawn from the theological terminology of Arabic, the graceful phraseology of Persian, and from the profoundly metaphysical capabilities of Sanscrit. The language of no country on the globe has a combination of more felicitous factors. Words for the one God, trinity, regeneration, atonement, repentance, incarnation, hell, heaven, etc., are at hand for the use of the missionary. Great facility has been thus afforded for making the numerous versions of the Sacred Scripture and the hundreds of books and tracts that already are circulating in this country.

We have thus presented some of the points which constitute India pre-eminently the grandest and most hopeful foreign mission field now open to the evangelistic efforts of Christendom. We have glanced at the physical geography and natural history of India, which mark it as a great country. The ethnographic relations of the inhabitants, and their intellectual and religious characteristics, have been presented as a most hopeful basis for missionary effort, and as auguring the

future greatness of this people. Some marked providential helps in the work of evangelism have been presented—as the presence of a powerful, enlightened, and liberal Christian government—its special efforts for the education of its heathen and non-Christian subjects—the spread of the English language and literature among the people, and the remarkable aptitude and availability of the vernacular languages and dialects of the country as media for the communication of the Gospel and Christian truth. No other country presents such a favorable combination of facilities for missionary work. We may lift up our eyes and see a vast field "all white to harvest." A great door and effectual is wide open—we may hear the voice of not one, but millions, saying, "Come over and help us."

The success so far achieved clearly indicates that the opening here is a *real* one. All things seem now ready—the Holy Ghost no longer forbids; and "the fullness" of these Eastern "Gentiles" seems ready to "come in." Figures will give a more lively appreciation of what has been done. Let it be borne in mind that about a half century covers the period of free and active missionary effort in India. Fourteen entire versions of the Word of God have been made in various languages and dialects, and in whole or in part in twenty-five different languages and dialects. In the last ten years alone upward of two million copies of the Sacred Scriptures, in whole or in part, have been distributed. Within the same period about one thousand distinct works, books, and tracts have been issued in the vernaculars, and a circulation of at least ten million copies of these has been effected. In the accomplishment of this, thirty mission presses are at work, some of them very large. Already a Protestant native Church of but little short of two hundred and fifty thousand members has been raised up; and at the present ratio of increase the entire population of India would become Christian in something more than one century. This calculation does not include the Romanist missions, whose converts double those of Protestant missions, which, however, have entered the field much later. Such is the promising foundation laid for Christianity in India, the grandest country of Asia. We can hardly mistake her destiny. She is to the great oceans stretching south and east,

and to the eastern countries whose shores are laved by them, what Palestine was to the Mediterranean and the Levant. India has now extended through all her mighty frame electric machinery, political and evangelistic, which must very rapidly vitalize her myriad population with a better, nobler life. She seems destined, as from antiquity, still to lead the van of Asiatic countries. She has given to this vast continent science, philosophy, false religion, and idolatry: to her it may be reserved to give these countries the Gospel of the Son of God. This is a worthy field of conflict for the six hundred missionaries engaged here to-day, who should be soon joined by twice six hundred more. It would seem that the final great battle of idolatry, and perhaps of Mohammedanism, doctrinally, must be fought here. Politically this great people has been given to the Son; and the time may not be distant when from the peninsula of Hindostan, radiant with the light of Him who "lighteneth every man that cometh into the world," and washed by the blood that flowed from Calvary, floods of light and truth will pour over all the populous East. A glance at a map of Asia will recall the peculiar position in the continent that India occupies. Russian swords are fast cutting a highway down to Cabul in the northwest; while Great Britain, by an exploring expedition, is at this hour peacefully opening a highway in the northeast, up through Burmah, to the head waters of the great rivers of China. Soon the electric current will be established, and over these two highways Christianity and Christian civilization will be spreading north through the vast, populous area of Central Asia. The great weight of the world's population still lies in Asia. In pushing far to the West, Christianity fled to the wilderness, where, nurtured and developed into a mighty power, and divinely fitted to elevate and bless these countless millions, it moves back upon the East, "traveling in the greatness of its strength, and mighty to save." In Persia, Tartary, India, Burmah, and China, the great body of the human race is massed. What a conquest there is for Christianity yet to make! but the key position is already secured in *India.*

Art. III.—JOHN TAULER AND HIS THEOLOGY.

The statement of a modern writer * that "mysticism has no point of contact with the scientific spirit of our times, but has a simple historic interest," must be accepted with wide qualifications. Rather, may it not have a direct and powerful influence on *every* age? since the principles from which it springs lie deeply planted in the human mind, and will unfold and develop themselves just so surely as seeds will germinate and reproduce their kind whenever the proper conditions of growth are fulfilled.

Just as the same plants by neglect or unwise husbandry, by excess of heat or cold, may yield imperfect, gnarled, and acrid results,—or, again, by careful pruning, by skillful adjustment of light and shade and moisture, may gladden the heart of the toiler with a luxuriance of melting, luscious fruits—so may mysticism, unrestrained, degenerate into the abominations of the Indian system, a deification of self, an indifference to the rights and wants of our fellows, and a destruction of all moral distinctions; or, regulated and controlled by reason, instructed by the Scriptures of divine truth, and sanctified by the Spirit, the soul may be led to God, the Center of all light, all knowledge, all blessing, only to be sent forth again, an angel of love and mercy, to minister to the great family of sorrow.

Of all moral darkness that has settled down upon the Christian world, none was more dense than that experienced during the thirteenth century. The historic student is compelled to travel no more arid waste.

The Papacy, never more really sunken and despicable in itself, was never more arrogant in pretension. As has so frequently happened in her subsequent history, spiritual fulminations supplied the lack of temporal power and personal worth. The deeper was the moral degradation, the loftier was the Papal claim. In Italy the implacable war between the rival factions, Guelph and Ghiberline, had reached even to the chair of St. Peter's. The powerful family of Colonna, now numbering among its members two cardinals, was in open

* *Noack*, "Die Christliche Mystik," 1853.

rebellion against Boniface VIII.* Rome being unsafe, Clement V. had, in 1305, taken refuge under the shadow of the French throne at Avignon, thus placing St. Peter's keys in the hands of the French King. During the disgraceful struggle of John XXII. with Louis of Bavaria, by an edict of excommunication thousands and tens of thousands of innocent people were deprived for many years of all means of grace. The clergy being absorbed in thoughts of temporal aggrandizement, all concern for the spiritual welfare of the Church had well-nigh died out. "Nothing was left but the sanctuary of the human heart." †

Though the schoolmen reckoned among their number the most acute and powerful thinkers of both the great religious orders, (Dominican and Franciscan,) still in vain could the earnest, burdened soul betake itself for consolation to this ruling philosophy. In other centuries, and under the influence of a more generous system, great minds, as Origen and Bœthius, had found at least a temporary satisfaction in pondering the momentous subjects of the Platonic speculation. But now almost the last spark of this divine philosophy had been quenched by the cold, barren scholasticism every-where prevailing. The truly sharpened intellect was busy with dead logical formulas from which had been pressed all saving truth. Soulless dialectics brought no food to the hungry mind. Its intellectual brilliancy was accompanied by no life-giving principle. Sin-burdened hearts especially found here no peace. Rather was its splendor like that of northern icebergs, in whose presence dwells perpetual death.

The art of this period that still survives is confirmatory of the written record, and tells of the same sad story of a world from which had been banished the tender, loving Saviour. The stiff, heartless Byzantine art had represented Christ with the relentless sternness of a judge; even the face of the child Jesus wore more of a repulsive frown than a gracious invitation. Mary herself was now too severe for sympathy with

* Dante speaks of Boniface, *Inferno*, xxvii, 85–88:

> "The leader of the modern Pharisees,
> Having a war near unto the Lateran,
> And not with Saracens nor with the Jews."—*Longfellow's Trans.*

† *Böhringer*, "Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen. Vol. i, p. 8.

human woes and weakness. The human mind must have *some* mediator. Hence the frequent canonization of saints, and the reliance upon the intercessions of those who had truly felt human sorrows, and would certainly be touched with the feeling of our infirmities. No wonder, then, that when Cimabue so broke away from the stiffness and severity of this school as to throw over the face of his Madonna and child a ray of sunshine and holy benevolence, the Florentines in joyful procession conducted the artist and his work to its future resting-place in San Maria Novella.

From this sketch the state of public morals could be easily foretold. The masses must not be expected to surpass their leaders. If Pope and Sacred College cherish the most infernal spirit of jealousy and ambition, we may not look for disinterestedness in the inferior clergy. If lust and debauch have done their sad work on orders devoted to chastity by most solemn vows, into what depths of impurity may not the common people plunge? If oaths, ratified under the most awful solemnities, vanished before temptation as flax before the flame, what guaranty for probity in every-day commercial life? More than realized are our worst deductions. At this time Christianity had little to do with ethics; it was not a power for daily restraint and guidance. The state of business morals was sad indeed; usury, over-reaching, and all manner of dishonesty being openly and shamelessly practiced. Even the clergy allowed all to be done for money.* Adultery was commonly practiced; the assignation of children was frequent. In fine, it was an age of cruelty, lust, slavery, and wrong of every kind. Oppression stalked abroad unchecked, manners were harsh, language gross. "Might made right;" chastity and innocence could scarcely find a home even in the cloister. Specially in the Rhine country and along the Elbe was the social condition terribly deplorable. Commerce upon these rivers was constantly interrupted by bands of lawless men, urged on by necessity or sheer love of booty. In the absence of legal restraint and protection industry languished; faith in man was well-nigh extinct; society seemed hastening to speedy dissolution. As is ever the case in an absence of genuine piety, afflictions drove men to terrible excesses; natural affections

* See "Nicholas von Basel," in Giesebrecht's "Damaris" for 1865, p. 194.

died; love and sympathy were supplanted by the most intense and heartless selfishness. "In many hundred years there has not been such need that the people should hear the truth from the lips of the Preacher."* "The universal love is quenched in every quarter of the globe."

We have already remarked that the germs of peculiar forms of political and religious life ever lie hidden in the soil of society, and that they only await favorable influences to develop into a harvest of blessing or of woe. The foregoing sketch will reveal the influences at work, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, that awakened to a more powerful life than ever before the tendencies to mysticism ever lying latent in the human mind.

The mysticism then developed may be regarded as a powerful protest *chiefly* against the terrible corruptions of the Romish Church, and the cold, barren speculations of scholasticism. The wide-reaching distractions in the State—the dissolution of social relations, caused partially by the terrible natural phenomena of earthquakes, famine, and pestilence, so far spreading in this period—the unbridled passions of Pope and Prelates—the decay of purity of life in the cloisters—all tended to drive thinking men who were longing for a better life, to seek *direct* communion with God—to obtain a vision of the Almighty, *immediate*, undimmed by any interposing vail of form or symbol, unchanged by any distorting medium. †

Remarks the pious Spener: "God's grace is abundantly manifested in the fact, that in every time of deepest gloom in human history a few have been found in whose hearts truth has found a home, and who have been stout witnesses of this truth to others." ‡ These few have ever been the conservators of truth; and no more true is it that God, for the ten's sake, would have spared the cities of the plain, than that the prayers and faith and labors of the faithful few in every subsequent age have been the "salt," saving the world from utter putridity. Such a man was John Tauler, the profound philosophical mystic—the bold, earnest, practical preacher, the warm-hearted philanthropist and friend.

He was probably born at Strasburg in 1290. § Of honor-

* "Nicholas von Basel," p. 179.
† *Schmidt*, "Johan. Tauler, von Strasburg," p. 90.
‡ Preface to Tauler's Works.
§ Authorities greatly differ as to time and place.

able family, he was early devoted to the priestly office, connecting himself with the Dominican order. Soon after we find him studying theology in Paris, where were teaching some of the most eminent schoolmen of the age. The popular philosophy seems to have had little attraction for young Tauler; for his attention was rather directed to the mystical and speculative writers of the Church, such as Pseudo-Dionysius, the Victors, St. Bernard, and before all others, to Augustine. Strasburg had long been a center of mystical thought. On his return from Paris Tauler was powerfully influenced by the celebrated Master Eckart, Nicholas of Strasburg, and other earnest thinkers and practical workers, who seem to have made Strasburg the center of their consultation and effort. Among the many societies that were called into being by the interdict of John XXII., and by the consequent forsaking of the churches and people by the clergy, was the "Friends of God." This society was composed of persons from all classes of society, and from all the religious orders, bound together for purposes of religious edification and for keeping alive the truth in the community. It extended throughout and even beyond the Rhine country, and included among its members some of the most deeply religious men of this century, nearly all of whom were of a strongly mystical tendency. With this society Tauler connected himself, and in it labored all his life. He soon began to arrest attention by the vigor and eloquence of his sermons at Strasburg, Basel, and Cologne. Delivered mostly in the German language, the character of his discourses charmed the common mind. While Master Eckart was wondered at as a prodigy, and venerated by a people unable to comprehend the subtleties of his speculations, or to wander into the region of obscure twilight where he delighted to linger, Tauler's sermons came home to the popular understanding, and touched the popular heart. The admiring crowds found in him a real shepherd of souls, who led them from the dreary, arid wastes into green pastures and beside the still waters. Few men had had the boldness to protest against the ruling fashion of thought, fewer still had succeeded in finding that true, abiding peace which man's soul so much covets. Even Tauler himself, up to this time, seems to have preached to the people truths which he him-

self embraced with the intellect rather than experienced in the heart.

In 1346, when his fame as a preacher had become wide-reaching, and when he had already aroused the jealousy and hatred of the Church authorities by the plainness of his charges and the severity of his rebukes, occurred a visit that was destined to play a most important part in Tauler's future history.

Nicholas of Basel had heard of the fame of the great Strasburg preacher. That Nicholas had heard Tauler's sermons on occasion of the latter's visit to Basel is not certain; certain it is, however, that the substance of these discourses had been reported to him. In the fourteenth century, to make a journey on foot from Basel to Strasburg to hear a preacher must have been regarded as no small evidence of interest and devotion. To Strasburg came this pilgrim to find the truth. It would seem that this Nicholas was one of those few, chosen men among the laity whom God blesses with a humble mind, with a clear revelation of the plan of salvation, and honors as the instrumentality of leading others to the fountains of living waters. Belonging to the heretical sect of the Waldenses, he also stood at the head of the society of the "Friends of God" in Basel. Gifted, it would seem, with rare practical sense, with a keen insight into the springs of human conduct, and, more than all, blessed with a quickened spiritual instinct to distinguish between the spurious and genuine in religious teaching and experience, this layman took his place in the congregation at Strasburg, to be fed by the manna that God would give the people by the hands of the preacher whose fame had spread so far and wide. After listening to Tauler five times, Nicholas's judgment of the preacher is remarkable, namely, that he was a sweet-tempered, kind-hearted, excellent man, powerful in the Scriptures, but ignorant of the light of grace in the soul. After enunciating in a carefully-prepared discourse twenty-four characteristics of a truly divine life in the soul, and preaching yet again on a perfect life, he is plainly told by this layman, (who in the mean time had made Tauler his confessor,) that although a great priest, his preaching amounted to absolutely nothing, because the preacher did not practice his own precepts; that God can teach the soul more of truth in one hour than this learned priest, should he preach

until the judgment day. His *doctrines* were scriptural; but how could truth flow through such muddy and impure channels and not itself become contaminated. Nicholas declares Tauler a perfect Pharisee, laying grievous burdens upon men's shoulders, while he would not touch one with his fingers; he charges him with seeking the honors of men more than the glory of God; he declares that Tauler is yet in the darkness of his sins, as is manifest from the few who are turned from wickedness to God. With a humility almost unheard-of in that age of ecclesiastical superiority and assumption, the confessor desires to become the pupil. Nicholas then relates to Tauler some of his own experience; he speaks of the mistakes he had committed in his own efforts to come to God; what tortures he had endured to make himself humble and acceptable in God's sight. A voice told him this was all of the devil, for God alone could teach him. Then the reason was used to find God. This, too, was a grand error and a sin; for, "Had we such a God as our reason could grasp and comprehend, *I would not give a fig for him.*" Tauler's sense of ecclesiastical dignity was still a stumbling-block in the way of his conversion, and he plainly confesses to Nicholas: "It greatly troubles me that you are only a layman, while I am a noted master of the Scriptures, and yet you are my teacher." Nicholas refers to instances in the history of the Church where holy men and women had been taught by the Spirit through children as an instrumentality, "and why may not this same Spirit use *me* as *your* teacher?" The study of the love of Christ in the agonies he had endured for our salvation, constituted the substance of the discipline that Tauler was to practice. Keen and penetrating were the pangs he felt in view of Christ's love. The awful depths of depravity of a man who had professed to be a leader of the people, a shepherd of God's flock, a teacher of purity, were discovered in all their ugliness and hatefulness to God. His whole nature was stirred, unutterable agonies were suffered. To add to his sorrows, his fellow-monks made him the object of special taunt and ridicule. Their lazy souls could not comprehend the terrible earnestness of their comrade. In the absence of a teacher to tell him of the simplicity of faith, this great man struggled on in his cell for two long years, searching for God in the deep darkness of

his own depravity, yet resolved to find him or perish in the attempt. Finally, after suffering sorest trials even from his friends, being reduced to the merest skeleton by long-continued fasting and sickness, on the night of St. Paul's, (January 25,) as he tells us, he was visited by the sorest temptation yet experienced. But while sitting in his cell, suddenly recurred to him the thought how much Christ Jesus had suffered for him, and how light his own trials in comparison with those of his suffering Lord. A prayer for mercy followed; then came an answering voice, speaking peace and pardon; a new power streamed through every avenue of his soul; a new light was cast upon his pathway; trust, and calm, and joy were his. His friend Nicholas tells him he is now first truly converted; now is he *truly* enlightened; now can he begin to preach and instruct the people, since he himself has been instructed by the Holy Ghost. Now will a hundred-fold more good be done by every single sermon, since the truth, before *theoretically* correct, will flow through *pure channels*, and be listened to a hundred-fold more gladly by the people.

We have dwelt upon this event thus long because it was a great epoch in the life of Tauler. To this visit of Nicholas may, indeed, partially be attributed the rescue of Tauler from the vortex of speculation, and his salvation from the gross excesses into which many of the mystical thinkers of his own and subsequent times so unhappily plunged.

After a disgraceful failure in an attempt to preach, and a still further discipline of soul, the man comes forth clad in the power of the Holy Ghost. His first sermon after his conversion (from Matt. xxv, 6) is no less remarkable for the truths it enunciated than the results that followed it. The subject of the discourse is a "community of suffering with Christ, and a perfect oneness of will with the will of Christ." "God," says he, "will suffer his Church to remain in the furnace of affliction until all sin is purged away. Then will God unite this Bride to the Bridegroom in everlasting bonds, and the Holy Spirit will so fill the Bride with love that she will forget and lose herself in the will of the Bridegroom." During the progress of the discourse a man cries out, "It is true! It is true!" and falls down as dead. Numbers are slain by the power of the truth, a dozen lying like dead men upon the

floor of the church, or having been borne away by their friends. He is besought to discontinue his sermon lest the people die. The reader of this history is reminded of Wesley after his instructions from the Moravians; of Chalmers, when his congregation was impressed with the vast change that had passed over the man in his conversion; and of those marvelous manifestations of power that accompanied the utterances of many of the early Methodist itinerants.

Still Tauler remained true to the Church. The Waldenses, with whom he had much intercourse through Nicholas von Basel and others, outwardly did the same, in order to save themselves from persecution. It would not, perhaps, be justifiable to conclude that Tauler actually belonged to this sect, yet certain it is, however, that they exerted upon him a most marked influence. It is not a little remarkable, that in this way the Waldenses themselves found opportunity to work so powerfully upon the most noted doctors of the Church, especially the Dominicans, whose business it was to combat heresy.*

The stanch adherence of the citizens of Strasburg to the cause of Louis of Bavaria had involved them especially in the consequences of the Bull of Excommunication issued by John XXII. in 1324. By this interdict the churches were closed, the clergy were forbidden to celebrate masses, the dying were denied the consolations of religion, and the dead refused the rites of Christian burial. The ban was continued by Clement V., since the stubborn Strasburgers would not recognize his favorite Charles V., though this prince visited their city in person. To add to the horrors that Strasburg had previously suffered, in 1348 there appeared in the city the "black death," a pestilence that had already raged for a whole year in other sections of Germany. This terrible scourge is estimated to have swept away twenty-five millions of the population of Europe.† Strasburg alone furnished sixteen thousand victims. By this plague untold woes were multiplied upon society. The shock of mind during its prevalence was beyond all precedent or belief. Citizen fled from citizen, neighbor from neighbor. At last (so far had terror stifled all feeling) brother forsook brother, sister sister, the wife her husband, the parent

* *Schmidt*, pp. 36, 37.

† *Hecker*, "Der Schwarze Tod" im 14ten Jahrhundert," p. 40.

his own children, and, leaving them unassisted and uncared for, betook himself to his own fate.*

Influenced by the edict, still more by fear, the priests forsook their congregations, leaving them to die unshrived, or to fall victims to the fatal delusions that were every-where multiplied. The course pursued by Tauler in the midst of these scenes was firm and uniform. For many years before his interview with Nicholas of Basel he had boldly set at naught the commands of the Pope, and had continued his ministrations to the people. After conversion his sense of the holy duties of the priesthood were too keen to allow of any compromise. Associated with such men as Thomas of Strasburg, and Ludolph from Saxony, (the former General Prior of the Dominicans at Strasburg, the latter Prior of the Carthusians,) he not only persisted in preaching in his native city, but extended his labors into the surrounding country and into the neighboring villages and cities. Not only by the continuance of their practical religious labors among the people did these men disregard the edicts of excommunication, but already, long before the appearance of the plague, in vigorous writings had they boldly denied the right of the Pope to refuse the benefits and consolations of religion to a multitude of ignorant and innocent people on account of a personal quarrel between himself and the temporal princes. They assumed the position that Christ had died for *all* men, and that whosoever truly repented and believed on him should be saved; against such a one, though he die excommunicate, had even the Pope no power to close the kingdom of heaven.† In such an age it was not to be hoped that such views would pass unnoticed. The writings were seized and burned; the writers were expelled from the city. The cloisters over which Rudolph was Prior received the refugees. In this retreat nearly two years were passed in writing. At length, in 1348, on the occasion of the visit of Charles IV. to Strasburg, they were summoned before that ruler to give an account of the doctrines for which they had been expelled. It is probable that the people for whom Tauler had so tenderly cared, and who naturally cherished for him the warmest affection, were instrumental in bringing about this interview. Be this as it may, Charles is

* *Boccaccio*, as quoted by Hecker, p. 63. † *Schmidt*, p. 52.

constrained to declare his perfect agreement with the principles they had taught, and issued his request that these preachers should not be further molested. Nevertheless, the assembled bishops condemned their teachings as heretical, and forbade them, under pain of personal excommunication, to publish them further.* Thus shackled in his native city, Tauler betook himself to Cologne. Here the state of morals was scarcely better than in Strasburg. Life in the cloister, among both monks and nuns, was, if possible, even more scandalous. In spite of all anathemas and martyrdoms, the enthusiastic Beghards had greatly multiplied in Cologne. This sect of mystics, not always directed by sound judgment in their leaders, scarcely restrained by a healthy religious experience, had, in connection with many benevolent and truly Christian acts, too often pushed the doctrines of their order to their legitimate results, and landed in the wildest fanaticism. Against the dangerous excesses of this sect, especially, did Tauler direct his efforts. But to his great honor be it said, during all the unwise attempts to suppress this and other heretical parties, as well as during the horrible cruelties visited upon the Jews during the prevalence of the pestilence, Tauler, though a Dominican, from which Order had come the fiercest inquisitors and the most heartless persecutors, had never by word or deed been implicated in these wrongs. His natural mildness of character—probably also his close connection with "The Friends of God"—had taught him other and more liberal principles. Thus, in this age of darkness do we find, in the suggestions of this clear thinker, this devoted Christian, germs of that doctrine of "liberty of conscience" which only a later and more genial period could unfold and mature. Tauler could distinguish between strenuously opposing a *principle* and persecuting a *sect.*

Owing to lack of records a partial obscurity rests upon the few last years of Tauler's history. In 1361 we again find him in his native city, being slowly brought down to death by a painfully lingering disease of twenty weeks' continuance. During this sickness once more met the man and the master. Nicholas of Basle obeyed Tauler's summons, and hastened to his sick-bed. To him who had been chiefly instrumental in

* *Schmidt*, p. 58.

leading him to a higher life, Tauler now commits those writings which he wishes the world to see, yet it is done with the injunction of strictly withholding his own name. The motive is expressed in his own words: "You know well that the life, the words, and the works which God has spoken and wrought through me, a poor, unworthy, sinful man, are not mine, but those of the Almighty God, whose they will ever be."

He died June 16, 1361, and was buried in his cloister at Strasburg, being followed to his grave with true sorrow by multitudes of his own Order, and lamented by tens of thousands of the people to whom he had been so true a friend, so faithful a spiritual adviser.

It is now time to turn from the man to a more careful study of his teachings.* The limits of this article will confine us to a brief examination of the following topics:

I. His Theology—including the doctrine of God, the Trinity, and the creation.

II. His Anthropology—including the nature of man and the doctrine of sin.

III. His Soteriology—or the mutual relation of God and man in the work of salvation.

IV. His Ethical System.

We have before said that Tauler had been largely influenced by the Platonic views of Augustine and the Pseudo-Dionysius, modified by the ascetic notions of St. Bernard. It was, however, his teacher, Master Eckhart, that had exerted upon him the deepest immediate influence. This earnest, vigorous thinker, though deriving the substance of his system from earlier writers—especially Augustine, the Pseudo-Dionysius, and Thomas Aquinas—had, nevertheless, by his daring originality infused into these doctrines a new spirit, influencing the thought of his contemporaries, and laying the foundation for much of the bold speculation of the future. In judging of Eckhart's and Tauler's systems, however, we must not forget that they labored more as promulgators of Christian truth than as mere servants of the Church; that they regarded the Christian *people* more than the *schools;* that in their scientific discussions they

* Dr. Carl Schmidt—"Johannes Tauler von Strasburg" part iii—has given a fair summary of Tauler's System. To this are we much indebted.

had respect chiefly to their adaptation to awaken and quicken the moral consciousness.

I. *a.* Tauler, in common with his masters, makes the idea of Substance the point of departure in his entire theological and ethical system. Substance is that from which all names, forms, modes, and relations have been abstracted. It is the abstracted predicate, the uncreated, simple, modeless unity, which no created intelligence, whether man or angel, can comprehend. There is but one Substance, or Essence, and this is God. He is the purest Substance, in which all manifoldness unites, all distinction is lost. He is, therefore, above all form of expression, above all names, (since names only express God's humanly-conceived relations;) he is all that which man *cannot* represent in conception, in word, or in picture; he is, in one word, the pure, uncreated, Nothing. God, so far as expression is concerned, is a Nothing—a Not-God, a Not-Spirit, a Not-Personality, a Not-Image—and yet, as the "Negation of all negations," he is at once the illimitable Self-Existence, the Possibility, in which the All becomes not One, but absolute Oneness. Tauler calls him the "Divine Darkness," which is at the same time the "Essential Light."

b. While Tauler represents the Trinity as a profound mystery, to be received by faith alone, he is, nevertheless, often found attempting to explain the relations of the Persons of the Godhead.*

The Godhead, as such, is inactive, is unrevealed. But he will not and cannot so remain; it is in his nature to reveal himself, to communicate himself, to work. But this work is nothing more than a begetting, a generation; and in so far as he thus works, is he called the Father. The Father, then, returns into himself, and with his understanding apprehends and recognizes himself. This apprehension he expresses with a word; this Word, this Logos, is the Son; and this utterance, this expression of himself, constitutes the eternal begetting of the Son. In the Son the Father recognizes his own likeness; in this Image he loves himself. So also the Son loves the Father, in whom he discovers his own image; and this mutual Delight which each finds in the other, this reciprocal Love, is the Holy Ghost, which proceeds from the Father and the Son.

* See, among others, his second sermon on Trinity, sermon on Christmas.

The Father, then, is the active, effective Omnipotent; the Son is the Omniscience or the Eternal Wisdom; the Holy Spirit is the Eternal Love.

Though Tauler sees in this view a difference of Persons in a unity of Nature or Substance, yet these personalities seem really to indicate different relations or modes of the Godhead, rather than difference of Person in the true, orthodox sense.

c. Tauler again and again insists that the world was made by God; that God is absolutely independent of all creatures; that these are only a semblance, an accident, a non-substance. Such is his characterization of these created things in opposition to the one, indivisible, real Essence.

Expressions in his writings in regard to the creation and the nature of the created seem perfectly to agree with the ideas of God before enunciated. The created can exist only in so far as it is *in God and God is in it, and works in it.* Creatures, therefore, *have* good in themselves, but *are* nothing; what of good is in them is God; and so is God *in* all things, and yet, at the same time, highly exalted *above* all. What, therefore, in the creature is not good, what is finite, created, (that is, what constitutes it a creature,) is absolutely nothing, has no reality; so that in the last instance God alone remains: all out of him vanishes.*

II. *a.* The nature of man is twofold, an inner and an outer man, soul and body. This nature is a sort of mean between two extremes, time and eternity. The inner man pertains to eternity and aspires Godward; the outer man belongs to time and tends toward the finite. The soul, the inner man, has originated in the very essence and ground of the Godhead; it was eternally in God in its uncreatedness, a real substance with him. It was, and is, everlastingly with God, *not as an idea, but actually and truly, in just so far as it is spirit.* Therefore it is that Tauler regards the soul just as incapable of definition, just as destitute of modes, as God himself; here, also, names express relations, not the reality. Yet Tauler, in common with others, must use a term to express this essence of the soul. He calls it the "inmost spark," etc. Then, in common with Augustine and others, regarding this "center of the soul" as an image of the Trinity, manifesting itself in the threefold manner

* *Schmidt*, page 98.

of the memory, which connects with hope; the understanding, associated with faith; and the free-will, whose final goal is love, he, with others who build upon Plotinus,* places over all the "synteresis" the faculty or power of immediate knowledge and reception of God.

b. His doctrine of sin is an immediate sequence of his anthropology. We find his opinions most freely and fully stated in his "Imitation," etc. The *possibility* of sin Tauler finds in the duality of man's nature; the *cause* of sin in man's free will; the *essence* of sin itself in forsaking God and turning to created things in order to seek in them satisfaction for self-love and sensuous desires. Or, to adhere to his own language, "Sin is even this, that man forgets the nothing which he is in God, and will be something in himself, will endow himself with qualities. In the first man the two parts of the nature were in harmony, the lower was subject to the higher, and hence the goal of the resultant action was God alone. But by the power of free choice man turned toward the outer, the sensuous, and fell, since the original harmony of his nature was thereby destroyed. Thus through Adam's fall is original righteousness lost; thereafter was the race filled with evil *inclinations and tendencies.* But it has not been *radically* changed; is not *essentially* ruined." His view of the nature of man would not permit him to regard the soul, in its essence, as contaminated by the fall; it must ever remain, in its inmost substance, as pure as at the beginning. Adam has simply transmitted to the race an *inclination* to sin; but as with Adam so with every man, real sin comes not from necessity but from free choice. Just herein consists the difference between inherited and actual sin—the former is only an inclination, the latter is a deliberate choice. Yet, since through Adam's transgression the inclination to evil is transmitted to the entire race, all are in so far sinners, and would be lost but for the gracious aid that God vouchsafes.

III. The return of man from this severance, from this manifoldness, to union, to oneness, to peace, and to God, is the great burden of Tauler's preaching and writing. He says, "The whole creation of God has no other object or end than to call back the soul of man to his Maker, to heal the breach that sin has made." Hence he still finds in all souls a longing after

* τὸ ψυχῆς οἷον κέντρον. Ennead, VI, 9, 10.

God. The heathen world is a standing proof of this. But so long as the race is unassisted, and seeks after God by its own unaided powers, so long will it fail to find him. Man may, and does, while unassisted, come to the knowledge that God *is*, (the very *feeling after him* implies this,) but he must ever fail to discover *what* he is. This will be revealed only to the man enlightened by grace. Tauler never despises the reason; indeed, no writer more exalts its powers and capabilities; but he would turn it from seeking God by its own unaided powers in merely outward things into the innermost spirit of the man, where the Divine is nearer to the soul than its very self. Here alone can God be found in his essential nature. Since the man by his unaided powers cannot return to God, God must work in him; indeed, all is truly *his* work. This direct and immediate working of God upon the human soul Tauler calls grace. The man, it is true, cannot of himself do any thing acceptable; nevertheless there belongs to him a work, namely, a rising up to meet God in his approach to save him. If the man does this, if his will responds to God's invitation, so comes saving grace to such a man. On the part of the sinner nothing more is demanded than a readiness to receive God. Tauler uniformly teaches that the *revelation* of this saving grace is through Christ; the *mode* of return to union with God is by imitating Christ, by following Him who is the way, since he is one with God. Thus it will be seen that Tauler is somewhat widely removed from the rigid Augustinianism that for the most part ruled in his Order.

IV. In Tauler's system ethics hold the first rank in importance. His mysticism being by far more practical than speculative, the duties of man to God and to his fellow are discoursed upon on nearly every page of his works. "By combining the teachings of Paul and Augustine with the neo-Platonic elements of the pseudo-Areopagite, Albertus Magnus, and Thomas Aquinas, had Master Eckhart already laid in his doctrine of God a deeper foundation for Christian ethics."*

Tauler agrees with Eckhart in developing his entire ethical system from the stand-point of *pure love*. Only from the union of the soul with God in love can originate virtuous action. While he divides virtues into three classes, namely, 1, *Natural*,

* *Überweg*, "Geschichte der Philosophie," part ii, p. 207.

as meekness, tenderness, mercy; 2, *Moral*, as wisdom, justice, and emperance; 3, *Supernatural*, as faith, hope, and love; the foundation principle of his ethics is, nevertheless, *the unity of all virtue*, that is, that all virtues are only different outgrowths or manifestations of one common, central, indivisible, energizing principle, *an unselfish, holy love.* Virtuous action has no reference to ends to be secured. Happiness, the kingdom of heaven, eternal life, are not justifiable ends of a moral purpose. Work for the work's sake; love for the sake of loving; and if there were no heaven, no hell, love God for his own sake. Virtue is a condition. Morality consists not in *action*, but is a *state* of the soul. The work does not sanctify us, we sanctify the work.

From principles such as these can be readily inferred what would be his views of a Christian life. Herein, especially, appears the grand superiority of Tauler's system to the fanaticism of some of the mystical sects of his own time, as well as the dangerous, perplexing casuistry of Scholasticism. To him were equally offensive the lazy retirement of orders into cell and cloister, the self-inflicted torture of the ascetic, and the arrogant pretensions of the "Brethren of the Free Spirit." To each and all would this sturdy worker say: "If you wish to come into union with God, or if you are already divine, (as you pretend,) *prove it* by imitating this Father in scattering blessings among the sorrowing, by healing the broken-hearted, and by instrumentally bringing to life dead souls."

Conclusion.

1. While the defenders of Master Eckhart, by pressing his distinction between the world of *ideas* and the world of *created things*, have endeavored to save his system from the charges of Pantheism, Tauler, by declaring that all was absolutely in God *in essence*, seems to have left no open door of escape. His speculative views of God, the creation, and the nature of man, when pressed legitimately to their last results, appear to land us in the blankest Pantheism.

2. But it must be remembered that his system was more practical than speculative. By repeatedly asserting the real creation of all things by God—by his earnest appeals and exhortations to an active religious life, by his scathing rebukes

of the hypocrisy and fanatical excesses of his times, and, most of all, by the deeply-grounded and eminently practical system of ethics that he developed, he largely prevented the evils that might otherwise have flowed from his speculations.

The perfect union in his mysticism of the practical and contemplative, its inner harmony and symmetry, which raised a front equally against the speculative and practically antinomian Freethinking and Quietism of his time; in one word, against all that would theoretically or practically blot out the consciousness of simple dependence on God,* gives to Tauler's system its immense importance, and entitles Tauler himself to the first place among the deep thinkers of his school.

3. He was one of the founders of a German theological and philosophical language, a language now developed into such rich results. His writings contain the seed-thoughts of future theories and systems. His zeal and earnestness did much to keep alive the flame of Christian truth in his own age. Great and grievous errors he undoubtedly made; "but his faults were those of his age, his virtues were his own." "Even as there is sculptured upon his tombstone at Strasburg a figure, with finger pointing to a lamb, so would he thereby signify, that in all his doctrines he referred directly to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world." † "A heart that has laid Christ at the foundation of his hopes will find in Tauler such a light for improvement, for worship, for purity, for sanctification to God, for God's fear, for spiritual wisdom, that he will rejoice in the fruitful and precious results to his soul." ‡ His stout and persistent protest against the Romish doctrine of works, against the utility of ascetticism, and the efficiency of the confessional; against the mediatorial character of any man, be he Bishop, Cardinal, or Pope; and against the right of the Pope to interfere in the temporal affairs of government, made him the efficient forerunner of that great Reformation that was to follow two centuries later.

In any view, will a study of Tauler's writings richly repay the historic student who seeks the hidden springs and causes of subsequent revolutions in Church and State.

* *Böhringer*, "Die Kirche Christi u. ihre Zeugen," Vol. ii, p. 295.

† Melanchthon. ‡ John Arnd, 1621.

Art. IV.—THE METROPOLIS OF THE PACIFIC.

The city of San Francisco is situated on the bay of the same name, latitude 37° 41′ north, and longitude 122° 30′ west from Greenwich. The Golden Gate opens from the Pacific Ocean into the bay about seven miles northwest from the center of the business front of the city, which faces the east. The city, as it now lies, is built on a group of hills, the general slope of which is south and east. The Gate is one and one half miles in width at the narrowest point. There are three small islands in the bay, Angel's, Alcatraz, and Yerba Buena.. These islands, and the bold bluffs which guard the entrance of the bay, afford the completest natural means for defense.

The Bay of San Francisco was discovered in 1769 by Father Junipero Serra, a Franciscan missionary. With several companions Serra left San Diego for the purpose of establishing a mission at Monterey; but bearing too far eastward, they passed the point of destination, and at length the eye of the good father fell upon the waters of a beautiful bay. Until then no mission on the Pacific had been named after the patron saint of the order. The visidator, or superintendent of the missions, had said: "If St. Francis wishes a mission let him show you a good port, and then it will bear his name." On the discovery of this magnificent harbor Serra said, "This, then, is the port to which the visidator referred, and to which the saint has led us, blessed be his name." The mission was planted in 1776, some two miles from the embarcedaro, or landing, on a beautiful slope of land watered by several streams, and commanding a fine view of the bay and the range of hills beyond. The old church, built of adobe or unburned brick, is still standing, and now, as for nearly one hundred years, its bells call to matins and vespers.

It is some eight miles from the ocean beach to the shore of the bay on which the city fronts. The waters of the bay extend some forty miles south from the city, making a peninsula between it and the ocean ranging from eight to sixteen miles in breadth. This southern portion of the bay receives several streams, which drain a large area of country, mountains and valleys, the principal of which is the Gaudaloupe. Twenty

miles north of the city San Francisco connects with San Pablo Bay, and this, eight miles further north, with the Bay of Suisun. Together these bays make a splendid harbor, measuring some eight miles in length by an average of ten wide, completely land-locked, except the narrow entrance from the ocean, and affording anchorage and roadstead for the merchant and war marine of the world. The Bay of Suisun receives the waters of the San Joaquin and Sacramento Rivers and their tributaries. These drain a district of country eight hundred by one hundred miles in extent—rugged, towering mountains, rich foothills, and fruitful valleys. These rivers are navigable for steamers of light draught an aggregate of some seven hundred miles. Besides these there are innumerable smaller streams and sloughs, into which vessels pass bearing passengers and merchandise, and return with the produce of the lands. The carrying trade of many millions of people may be done on these bays and rivers.

Our coast-line now extends to the Arctic Sea, with the slight exception of British Columbia, which will soon be ours by purchase or annexation, and which is commercially dependent upon San Francisco in any event—a distance of nearly two thousand miles. There are several harbors on this coast, but none of considerable capacity except Puget Sound; and in no possible contingency can these serve any other purpose than to augment the commercial importance of San Francisco. On the southern coast are Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, San Diego, Guymas, Mazatlan, Manzanillo, Acapulco, Fonseca, San Juan del Sur, and Panama harbors, measuring a coast-line of three thousand miles; ports of more or less capacity, connecting with a country of vast extent and fabulous wealth, whose immense products will yet be poured into the lap of the queen sitting at the Golden Gate.

Westward, twelve days by steam connects us with the Hawaiian Islands, at Honolulu; eight more with the Empire of Japan, at Yokohama; and six more with the Celestial Empire, at Hong Kong; and so steam communication with Australia, India, and Europe is completed, and the circuit of the globe is made in eighty days sailing time. All these lines of communication are now open, and magnificent steamships, sustained by adequate subsidies, and freighted with men and merchandise,

are making this circuit, thus marking an epoch in the commercial history of the world. All the year round the friendly "trades," six months from the northwest, and six from the southwest, fill the sails of splendid clippers pointing to the Golden Gate as the passage to the city whose opulent mart will soon dictate the exchange of all nations.

Our climate, removed as we are from extremes of heat and cold, is bracing, balmy, healthful. Ordinary sanitary police, with the breeze that brings health every day from the waters of the Pacific, will guarantee our population against the invasion and ravages of epidemic diseases. Substantially, this boon is the heritage of all the dwellers on the Pacific slope, and it will yet tempt multitudes here from other lands.

The territory depending upon and contributing to the growth of San Francisco as its chief commercial center is immense, within our own national domain measuring, in round numbers, scarcely less than two million square miles—more than all the Atlantic, Middle, and Western States, and capable of supporting a population of five hundred millions. Western Mexico, and Central and South America, are already ours; Polynesia, Australia, Japan, China, so soon as the continental railroad is completed, will concentrate their trade here. English, French, and other European merchants doing business with the East will find it for their interest to transact it through San Francisco. The most opulent cities of history have drawn their wealth from the Orient.

The resources and productive capabilities of our own and other countries bordering on the Pacific are beyond all ability to estimate. The precious metals, deposits of gold and veins of silver, in the ranges of mountains extending from Panama to the Arctic Ocean, will not be exhausted in ages, though myriad hands, with aid of science and art, are employed in extracting them. Cinnebar, copper, tin, are found in abundance. Coal veins are opened in British Columbia, Washington Territory, and California already, and scientific tests warrant the belief that the supply will be found adequate to the demands of our rapidly-increasing population. The forests of the Sierra and Coast Ranges of Mountains, particularly in Northern California, Oregon, and Washington Territory, are vast, and will become a source of industry and wealth, more particularly as they

abound in varieties of timber suitable for ship-building. Measures are now under consideration that promise to transfer the building of our merchant marine from the North Atlantic to the North Pacific. The furs of the North Pacific coast are renowned the world over, and the supply will increase with the growing demand. The North Sea and the rivers adjacent abound with the best varieties of fish known to the markets of the world. Our whalers return from the Otchkotch every season freighted with treasures drawn from her waters. All fruits known in tropical and semi-tropical regions are produced, in finest qualities, in our valleys and on our hill-sides, and every month in the year are found in our market, fresh from the orchard and the garden. California had in 1866 fifteen million four hundred thousand and seventy-seven vines in vineyard, and probably that number has been more than doubled since. All the solid grains, as corn, wheat, barley, oats, with proper culture are grown in great abundance, the average yield per acre being more than double that of the best grain-producing sections of the Atlantic. Silk, cotton, hemp, flax, are already among the staples of this coast. Granted an adequate population, intelligent, enterprising, led by men of broad views and generous plans, and the developed resources of the Pacific slope will amaze the world. This population, these men, are here and are coming. Two lines of steamships are running between San Francisco and New York, connecting with other lines to Europe. The continental railroad approaches completion; the north Pacific railroad, from St. Paul's, Minnesota, to Puget Sound, and a southern line from San Francisco to Galveston, Texas, or some more eligible terminus, will soon be constructed, with numerous branches and cross lines; and all these lines of communication will so facilitate and cheapen travel and the cost of transportation as to secure the advent of multitudes from other states and other lands to our golden shore, to share our opportunities and participate in the grandeur of our destiny. Cities and towns will spring up over all this side of the continent; the hand of intelligent industry will be laid upon our productive soil; arts and manufactures will flourish, and all will contribute to the wealth and magnificence of the commercial metropolis.

The first tenement was erected in Yerba Buena, now San

Francisco, in 1835; and up to 1846 not more than twenty or thirty houses were built. In March, 1848, the treaty ceding California to the United States was ratified in Washington, and in the following May it was approved by the Mexican Congress. In 1848, when the rush of incoming population commenced, there were some two hundred dwellings of all descriptions, finished and unfinished, in the city, and a population of four hundred and fifty souls. From that period the growth of the city has been rapid; and though twice nearly destroyed by fire, and suffering severely from vicious government for a time, and passing through serious commercial revulsions, it has advanced in wealth and population until it has about one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, and is only a little less than the second city on the continent in commercial importance; and this astonishing expansion is distinguished by evidences of healthful vigor, indicating that a future of increasing marvel is before it.

The annual export of gold has averaged fifty million dollars, or nine hundred and fifty millions in nineteen years; and a discriminating estimate suggests that as much more has been taken away by private hands and consumed in permanent improvements among us. Two hundred and twenty-two vessels have been employed in exporting wheat from this city during the past year, including one hundred and sixty full cargoes to Europe, the estimated value of which is sixteen million dollars; and yet it is ascertained, upon carefully prepared data, that not more than three per cent. of the agricultural land of California is under cultivation. People in the Atlantic States and in Europe who have supposed that ours was only a mineral producing region, and that the mines would soon be exhausted, can appreciate the fact that our land will average thirty bushels of wheat to the acre, and that its quality is such as to command the highest price in every market.

Of wool, the produce of two million one hundred and sixty-six thousand three hundred sheep the past year was twelve million pounds. These are given as indices of the character and amount of our exports, and as intimating what they must be in the future.

There are sixty periodicals published in the city, ten of

which are religious. The public schools of San Francisco are her honor and pride. There are forty-one buildings belonging to the department, which have cost $458,378. The teachers were paid the last year $209,136 92. The whole cost of the department for the same period was $320,058 88. The number of pupils enrolled is thirteen thousand eight hundred and thirty-two; number in the city under fifteen years of age, twenty thousand four hundred and thirty-two. Personal and denominational enterprise and munificence have established several schools of high grade, some of which are handsomely endowed. The educational advantages of the city are excellent.

There are ten Roman Catholic churches in San Francisco. Besides these, the Papists have two colleges, provided with substantial and commodious buildings, and well endowed; one orphan asylum, a convent, a Magdalen asylum, and other institutions, giving Popery a strong central position among the agencies that are shaping the sentiments of the people, and determining the future of the city. Protestantism, too, is powerful here. In the city there are five Baptist churches, (one colored,) five Congregational, six Protestant Episcopalian, twelve Methodist, (including two German, two colored, one Southern, and one Wesleyan,) seven Presbyterian, one Swedenborgian, one Unitarian, four German Lutheran, one Swedish, and one Campbellite, making an aggregate of forty-three Protestant congregations, besides several small congregations not in the above enumeration. The Hebrews have four congregations; two of their houses of worship being among the most costly and commodious in the city. Benevolent and reformatory associations are numerous, and many of them are operating effectively. Among the oldest and most cherished charities of the city are the Ladies' Protection and Relief Society, and the Protestant Orphan Asylum. Mutual protection and relief associations flourish here as they do not in older communities. Men came here as adventurers; they were strangers to each other; and it became necessary to establish relations of mutual confidence for the common good, and for the protection of persons and property. Hence these associations.

With such natural advantages, such resources, and such a

genesis, ordinary sagacity will anticipate the future of the Metropolis of the Pacific. It was not until two hundred and ten years after its settlement that New York took rank as the first city of the continent; and its growth and opulence commenced with the opening of the Erie Canal, which made New York merchants the factors of the Atlantic sea-board. Ninety-one years from the date of the commencement of that city, long after it had ceased to be a Dutch colony, its population was but seven thousand souls. In nineteen years San Francisco has acquired a population of one hundred and thirty thousand. In 1800 New York contained only sixty thousand four hundred and eighty people; and in 1820 its population was not as large as that of San Francisco to-day. The home territory on which its growth depends is much larger; the climate of this territory is immeasurably more healthful and delightful; its products are more diversified and valuable; and in natural wealth it is incomparably richer than its great Atlantic rival. The opening of the Erie Canal and the subsequent construction of railroads, webbing the East and the North, and stretching away into the distant West and Northwest, indicate the historic era of the rapid growth of New York. Add multiplied and speedy modes of ocean communication, and the data on which that growth has been maintained are given.

In 1840 Chicago contained about four thousand eight hundred inhabitants. The conditions indicated in respect of New York are largely applicable to that city. Previous to the building of railroads, that lie like net-work over all the Northwest, it was only a trading-post among the wigwams of the Indians. The era of railroad building on the Pacific slope is now fairly opened. The Central Pacific, spanning the continent, and putting us in connection with the commercial metropolis of the Atlantic in six days' time, will be completed in less than two years; the lines on the north and south surveys will be constructed in ten years; in the mean time a line will thread the mountain valleys and passes to the chief commercial city of Oregon, and forks and branches will connect these grand trunks with San Pedro, San Diego, Guymas, and other ports on the lower coast, and so open to settlement and enterprise our vast national domain from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the two oceans to the Queen's dominions and

the Arctic Sea on the North; and all must contribute directly and certainly to the growth and opulence of San Francisco. Besides, the multiplied facilities of speedy and safe communication with Polynesia and Asia are sure to swell the population of the coast, and hasten the development of its various resources. In less than forty-seven years New York increased her population from one hundred and twenty thousand to nearly nine hundred thousand. This astonishing growth was realized under the circumstances before named. New York has more, and more powerful, rivals on the Atlantic sea-board than San Francisco has, or can have, on the Pacific. The concentration of capital and trade here is beyond peradventure. The soberest view of our future is, that thirty years will give this city one million inhabitants, and the opposite shore of the bay one hundred thousand, and that its expansion will then only have fairly commenced; while the shore of the beautiful Pacific, its valleys, foot hills, and mountains, fanned by the breezes and wet by the dews that rise from its bosom, will swarm with ten millions of people, and ring with the notes of intelligent industry and enterprise. Solid blocks of brick or granite will cover an area of eight miles square; suburban towns will mark the lines of the chief thoroughfares; and the evidences of thrift and growth will multiply on every hand. "Rome is Italy," "Paris is France," San Francisco is California and the Pacific Slope, and more; for all the Orient is destined to yield her tribute.

The Church must fix her faith and expend her liberalities here. Mindful of her mission to the world; occupying regions beyond; threading the valleys and scaling the mountains by her messengers, and filling the whole land with the joyful sound; yet the highest wisdom, the best culture, the purest devotion, the loftiest heroism, and the most enlarged benevolence of the Church are demanded in San Francisco. Church extension movements must keep pace with the rapidly extending area of the city. An efficient organization for this purpose is the demand of the hour. Sunday-schools and mission stations are to be planted. Sites for church and school purposes are to be secured. Altar fires, lighted by the Church, must blaze on every hill-top and encircle the city. Perpetual oblations of living sacrifices must send their incense to the

skies. The pulpits of the Church must ring with notes of law and Gospel, sin and salvation. Her book and publishing interests are to be kept abreast with the wants of this field, and the demands of the times. Her educational interests must find development in the founding of schools of law, and medicine, and theology; for here our great public libraries are being gathered; world-renowned lecturers will sojourn here, and here are gathering throngs of peoples from every shore, and destined to every land, to be reached and saved by the young evangelists while in course of training for the pastoral office or the mission field. If this city is filled with the light and power of Gospel truth, the nations cannot long sit in darkness.

Art. V.—THE NEGRO IN ANCIENT HISTORY.*

Presuming that no believer in the Bible will admit that the negro had his origin at the head waters of the Nile, on the banks of the Gambia, or in the neighborhood of the Zaire, we should like to inquire by what chasm is he separated from other descendants of Noah, who originated the great works of antiquity, so that with any truth it can be said that "if all that negroes of all generations have ever done were to be obliterated from recollection forever the world would lose no great truth, no profitable art, no exemplary form of life. The loss of all that is African would offer no memorable deduction from any thing but the earth's black catalogue of crimes." † In singular contrast with the disparaging statements of the naval officer, Volney, the great French Oriental traveler and distinguished linguist, after visiting the wonders of Egypt and Ethiopia, exclaims, as if in mournful indignation, "How are we astonished when we reflect that to the race of negroes, at present our slaves, and the objects of our extreme contempt, we owe our arts and sciences, and even the very use of

* This is, so far as we know, the first article in any Quarterly written by a hand claiming a pure Ethiopic lineage.

† Commander Foote, "Africa and the American Flag," p. 207.

speech!" And we do not see how, with the records of the past accessible to us, it is possible to escape from the conclusions of Volney. If it cannot be shown that the negro race was separated by a wide and unapproachable interval from the founders of Babylon and Nineveh, the builders of Babel and the Pyramids, then we claim for them a participation in those ancient works of science and art, and that not merely on the indefinite ground of a common humanity, but on the ground of close and direct relationship.

Let us turn to the tenth chapter of Genesis, and consider the ethnographic allusions therein contained, receiving them in their own grand and catholic spirit. And we the more readily make our appeal to this remarkable portion of Holy Writ because it has "extorted the admiration of modern ethnologists, who continually find in it anticipations of their greatest discoveries." Sir Henry Rawlinson says of this chapter: "The Toldoth Beni Noah (the Hebrew title of the chapter) is undoubtedly *the most authentic* record we possess for the affiliation of those branches of the human race which sprang from the triple stock of the Noachidæ." And again: "We must be cautious in drawing direct ethnological inferences from the linguistic indications of a very early age. It would be far *safer*, at any rate, in these early times, to follow the general scheme of ethnic affiliation which is given in the tenth chapter of Genesis." *

From the second to the fifth verse of this chapter we have the account of the descendants of Japheth and their places of residence, but we are told nothing of their *doings* or their *productions*. From the twenty-first verse to the end of the chapter we have the account of the descendants of Shem and of their "dwelling." Nothing is said of their *works*. But how different the account of the descendants of Cush, the eldest son of Ham, contained from the seventh to the twelfth verse. We read: "And Cush begat Nimrod: he began to be a mighty one in the earth. He was a mighty hunter before the Lord. . . . And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh, in the land of Shinar. Out of that land he went forth into Asshur, (marginal reading,) and builded Nineveh, and the city Reho-

* Quoted by G. Rawlinson in Notes to "Bampton Lectures," 1859.

both, and Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah: the same is a great city."

We have adopted the marginal reading in our English Bible, which represents Nimrod as having founded Nineveh, in addition to the other great works which he executed. This reading is supported by authorities, both Jewish and Christian, which cannot be set aside. The author of "Foundations of History," without, perhaps, a due consideration of the original, affirms that Asshur was "one of the sons of Shem!" thus despoiling the descendants of Ham of the glory of having "builded" Nineveh. And to confirm this view he tells us that "Micah speaks of the land of Asshur and the land of Nimrod as two distinct countries." We have searched in vain for the passage in which the Prophet makes such a representation. The verse to which this author directs us (Micah v, 6) is unfortunate for this theory. It is plain from the closing of the verse that the conjunction "*and*," in the first clause, is not the simple copulative *and* or *also*, but is employed, according to a well known Hebrew usage, in the sense of *even* or *namely*, to introduce the words "land of Nimrod" as an explanatory or qualifying addition in apposition to the preceding "land of Assyria." *

We must take Asshur in Gen. x, 11, not as the subject of the verb "went," but as the name of the place whither—the *terminus ad quem.* So Drs. Smith and Van Dyck, eminent Oriental scholars, understand the passage, and so they have rendered it in their admirable Arabic translation of the Bible, recently adopted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, namely, "Out of that land he (Nimrod) went forth unto Asshur—Assyria—and builded Nineveh." De Sola, Lindenthal, and Raphall, learned Jews, so translate the passage in their "New Translation of the Book of Genesis." † Dr. Kalisch, another Hebrew of the Hebrews, so renders the verse in his "Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis." ‡ All these authorities, and others we might mention, agree that

* See Conant's Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, (17th edition,) section 155, (a); and for additional examples of this usage see Judges vii, 22; 1 Sam. xvii, 40; Jer. xv, 13, where *even* represents the conjunction *vau* (and) in the original.

† London, 1844.

‡ London, 1858. See Dr. Robinson's view in Gesenius's Hebrew Lexicon, under the word Cush.

to make the passage descriptive of the Shemite Asshur is to do violence to the passage itself and its context. Asshur, moreover, is mentioned in his proper place in verse 22, and without the least indication of an intention of describing him as the founder of a rival empire to Nimrod.* Says Nachmanides, (quoted by De Sola, etc.): "It would be strange if Asshur, a son of Shem, were mentioned among the descendants of Ham, of whom Nimrod was one. It would be equally strange if the deeds of Asshur were spoken of before his birth and descent had been mentioned."

The grammatical objection to our view is satisfactorily disposed of by Kalisch.† On the absence of the ה (*he*) locale he remarks: "The ה locale, after verbs of motion, though frequently, is by no means uniformly, applied. (1 Kings xi, 17; 2 Kings xv, 14; etc.) Gesenius, whose authority no one will dispute, also admits the probability of the view we have taken, without raising any objection of grammatical structure."

But enough on this point. We may reasonably suppose that the building of the *tower of Babel* was also the work, principally, of Cushites. For we read in the tenth verse that Nimrod's kingdom was in the land of Shinar; and in the second verse of the eleventh chapter we are told that the people who undertook the building of the tower, "found a plain in the land of *Shinar*" which they considered suitable for the ambitious structure. And, no doubt, in the "scattering" which resulted, these sons of Ham found their way into Egypt,‡ where their descendants—inheriting the skill of their fathers, and guided by tradition—erected the pyramids in imitation of the celebrated tower. Herodotus says that the tower was six hundred and sixty feet high, or one hundred and seventy feet higher than the great pyramid of Cheops. It consisted of eight square towers, one above another. The winding path is said to have been four miles in length. Strabo calls it a pyramid.

But it may be said, The enterprising people who founded Babylon and Nineveh, settled Egypt, and built the Pyramids,

* See Kitto's Biblical Cyclopedia, article, *Ham.* London, 1866.

† Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis. Heb. and Eng. P. 263.

‡ It is certain that Mizraim, with his descendants, settled Egypt, giving his name to the country, which it still retains. The Arabic name for Egypt is *Misr.* In Psalm cv, 23, Egypt is called "the land of Ham."

though descendants of Ham, were not *black*—were not negroes; for, granted that the negro race have descended from Ham, yet, when these great civilizing works were going on the descendants of Ham had not yet reached that portion of Africa, had not come in contact with those conditions of climate and atmosphere which have produced that peculiar development of humanity known as the Negro.

Well, let us see. It is not to be doubted that from the earliest ages the black complexion of some of the descendants of Noah was known. Ham, it would seem, was of a complexion darker than that of his brothers. The root of the name Ham, in Hebrew חָמַם, (Hamam,) conveys the idea of *hot* or *swarthy*. So the Greeks called the descendants of Ham, from their black complexion, *Ethiopians*, a word signifying *burnt* or *black* face. The Hebrews called them Cushites, a word probably of kindred meaning. Moses is said to have married a Cushite or Ethiopian woman, that is, a *black* woman descended from Cush. The query, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin?" seems to be decisive as to a difference of complexion between the Ethiopian and the Shemite, and the etymology of the word itself determines that the complexion of the former was black. The idea has been thrown out that the three principal colors now in the world—white, brown, and black—were represented in the ark in Japheth, Shem, and Ham.

But were these enterprising descendants of Ham *woolly-haired?*—a peculiarity which, in these days, seems to be considered a characteristic mark of degradation and servility.* On this point let us consult Herodotus, called "the father of history." He lived nearly three thousand years ago. Having traveled extensively in Egypt and the neighboring countries, he wrote from personal observation. His testimony

* While Rev. Elias Schrenk, a German missionary laboring on the Gold Coast, in giving evidence on the condition of West Africa before a committee of the House of Commons in May, 1865, was making a statement of the proficiency of some of the natives in his school in Greek and other branches of literature, he was interrupted by Mr. Cheetham, a member of the committee, with the inquiry: "Were those young men of *pure* African blood?" "Yes," replied Mr. Schrenk, "decidedly; thick lips and black skin." "And woolly hair?" added Mr. Cheetham. "And woolly hair," subjoined Mr. Schrenk. (See "Parliamentary Report on Western Africa for 1865," p. 145.)

is that of an eye-witness. He tells us that there were two divisions of Ethiopians, who did not differ at all from each other in appearance, except in their language and hair; "for the eastern Ethiopians," he says, "are straight-haired, but those of Libya (or Africa) have hair more curly than that of any other people."* He records also the following passage, which fixes the physical characteristics of the Egyptians and some of their mighty neighbors: †

> The Colchians were evidently Egyptians, and I say this *having myself observed it* before I heard it from others; and as it was a matter of interest to me, I *inquired* of both people, and the Colchians had more recollection of the Egyptians than the Egyptians had of the Colchians; yet the Egyptians said that they thought the Colchians had descended from the army of Sesostris; and I formed my conjecture, *not only because they are black in complexion and woolly-haired*, for this amounts to nothing, because *others are so likewise*, etc., etc.‡

Rawlinson has clearly shown § that these statements of Herodotus have been too strongly confirmed by all recent researches (among the cuneiform inscriptions) in comparative philology to be set aside by the tottering criticism of such superficial inquirers as the Notts and Gliddons, *et id omne genus*, who base their assertions on ingenious conjectures. Pindar and Æschylus corroborate the assertions of Herodotus.

Homer, who lived still earlier than Herodotus, and who had also traveled in Egypt, makes frequent mention of the Ethiopians. He bears the same testimony as Herodotus as to their division into two sections:

> Αἰθίοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίαται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν,
> Ὅι μὲν δυσομένου Ὑπερίονος, οἱ δ' ἀνιόντος— ‖

which Pope freely renders:

> "A race divided, whom with sloping rays
> The rising and descending sun surveys."

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* Herodotus, iii, 94; vii, 70.

† It is not necessary, however, to consider *all* Egyptians as negroes, black in complexion and woolly-haired; this is contradicted by their mummies and portraits. Blumenbach discovered three varieties of physiognomy on the Egyptian paintings and sculptures; but he describes the general or national type as exhibiting a certain approximation to the Negro.

‡ Herodotus, ii, 104.

§ Five Great Monarchies, vol. i, chap. 3.

‖ Odyssey, i, 23, 24.

And Homer seems to have entertained the very highest opinion of these Ethiopians. It would appear that he was so struck with the wonderful works of these people, which he saw in Egypt and the surrounding country, that he raises their authors above mortals, and makes them associates of the gods. Jupiter, and sometimes the whole Olympian family with him, is often made to betake himself to Ethiopia to hold converse with and partake of the hospitality of the Ethiopians.*

But it may be asked, Are we to suppose that the Guinea negro, with all his peculiarities, is descended from these people? We answer, Yes. The descendants of Ham, in those early ages, like the European nations of the present day, made extensive migrations and conquests. They occupied a portion of two continents. While the Shemites had but little connection with Africa, the descendants of Ham, on the contrary, beginning their operations in Asia, spread westward and southward, so that as early as the time of Homer they had not only occupied the northern portions of Africa, but had crossed the great desert, penetrated into Soudan, and made their way to the west coast. "As far as we know," says that distinguished Homeric scholar, Mr. Gladstone, "Homer recognized the African coast by placing the Lotophagi upon it, and the *Ethiopians inland from the East all the way to the* extreme West." †

Some time ago Professor Owen, of the New York Free Academy, well known for his remarkable accuracy in editing the ancient classics, solicited the opinion of Professor Lewis of the New York University, another eminent scholar, as to the localities to which Homer's Ethiopians ought to be assigned. Professor Lewis gave a reply which so pleased Professor Owen that he gives it entire in his notes on the Odyssey, as "the most rational and veritable comment of any he had met with." It is as follows:

I have always, in commenting on the passage to which you refer, explained it to my classes as denoting the black race, (or Ethiopians, as they were called in Homer's time,) living on the eastern and western coast of Africa—the one class inhabiting the country now called Abyssinia, and the other that part of Africa called Guinea or the Slave Coast. The common explanation that

* Iliad, i, 423; xxiii, 206.

† "Homer and the Homeric Age," vol. iii, p. 305.

it refers to two divisions of Upper Egypt separated by the Nile, besides, as I believe, being geographically incorrect, (the Nile really making no such division,) does not seem to be of sufficient importance to warrant the strong expressions of the text. (Odyssey i, 22–24.) If it be said the view I have taken supposes too great a knowledge of geography in Homer, we need only bear in mind that he had undoubtedly visited Tyre, where the existence of the black race on the West of Africa had been known from the earliest times. The Tyrians, in their long voyages, having discovered a race on the West, in almost every respect similar to those better known in the East, would, from their remote distance from each other, and not knowing of any intervening nations in Africa, naturally style them the two extremities of the earth. (Homer's *εσχατοι ανδρων.*) Homer elsewhere speaks of the Pigmies, who are described by Herodotus and Diodorus Siculus as residing in the interior of Africa, (on a river which I think corresponds to what is now called the Niger.) It seems to me too extravagant language, even for poetry, to represent two nations, separated only by a river, as living, one at the rising, the other at the setting sun, although these terms may sometimes be used for East and West. Besides, if I am not mistaken, no such division is recognized in subsequent geography.*

Professor Lewis says nothing of the *Asiatic* division of the Ethiopians. But since his letter was penned—more than twenty years ago—floods of light have been thrown upon the subject of Oriental antiquities by the labors of M. Botta, Layard, Rawlinson, Hinks, and others. Even Bunsen, not very long ago, declared that "the idea of an '*Asiatic Cush*' was an imagination of interpreters, the child of despair." But in 1858, Sir Henry Rawlinson having obtained a number of Babylonian documents more ancient than any previously discovered, was able to declare authoritatively that the early inhabitants of South Babylonia *were of a cognate race with the primitive colonists both of Arabia and of the African Ethiopia.*† He found their *vocabulary to be undoubtedly Cushite or Ethiopian*, belonging to that stock of tongues which in the sequel were every-where more or less mixed up with the Semitic languages, but of which we have the purest modern specimens in the "Mahra of Southern Arabia," and the "Galla of Abyssinia." He also produced evidence of the widely-spread settlements of the children of Ham *in Asia as*

* Owen's Homer's Odyssey, (Fifth Edition,) p. 306.

† Rawlinson's Herodotus. Vol. i, p. 442.

well as Africa, and (what is more especially valuable in our present inquiry) of the truth of the tenth chapter of Genesis as an ethnographical document of the highest importance.*

Now, we should like to ask, If the negroes found at this moment along the West and East coast, and throughout Central Africa, are not descended from the ancient Ethiopians, from whom are they descended? And if they are the children of the Ethiopians, what is the force of the assertions continually repeated, by even professed friends of the negro, that the enterprising and good-looking tribes of the continent, such as Lalofs, Mandingoes, and Foulahs, are mixed with the blood of Caucasians?† With the records of ancient history before us, where is the necessity for supposing such an admixture? May not the intelligence, the activity, the elegant features and limbs of these tribes have been directly transmitted from their ancestors?

The Foulahs have a tradition that they are the descendants of Phut, the son of Ham. Whether this tradition be true or not, it is a singular fact that they have prefixed this name to almost every district of any extent which they have ever occupied. They have Futa-Torro, near Senegal; Futa-Bondu and Futa-Iallon to the north-east of Sierra Leone.‡

Lenormant was of the opinion that Phut peopled Libya.

We gather from the ancient writers already quoted that the Ethiopians were celebrated for their beauty. Herodotus speaks of them as "men of large stature, *very handsome* and long-lived." And he uses these epithets in connection with the Ethiopians of *West Africa*, as the context shows. The whole passage is as follows:

Where the meridian declines toward the setting sun (that is, southwest from Greece) the Ethiopian territory reaches, being the extreme part of the habitable world. It produces much gold, huge elephants, wild trees of all kinds, *ebony*, and men of large stature, *very handsome*, and long-lived.§

Homer frequently tells us of the "handsome Ethiopians," although he and Herodotus do not employ the same Greek word. In Herodotus the word that describes the Ethiopians

* See Article *Ham*, in Kitto's Cyclopedia. Last Edition.

† Bowen's "Central Africa," chap xxiii. ‡ Wilson's Western Africa, p. 79.

§ Herodotus, iii, 114.

is καλος—a word denoting both beauty of outward form and moral beauty or virtue.* The epithet (αμυμων) employed by Homer to describe the same people is by some commentators rendered "blameless," but by the generality "handsome." Anthon says: "It is an epithet given to all men and women distinguished by rank, exploits, or beauty." † Mr. Hayman, one of the latest and most industrious editors of Homer, has in one of his notes the following explanation: "Αμυμων was at first an epithet of distinctive excellence, but had become a purely conventional style, as applied to a class, like our 'honorable and gallant gentleman.'" ‡ Most scholars, however, agree with Mr. Paley, another recent Homeric commentator, that the original signification of the word was "handsome," and that it nearly represented the καλος καγαθος of the Greeks; § so that the words which Homer puts into the mouth of Thetis when addressing her disconsolate son (Iliad, i, 423) would be, "Yesterday Jupiter went to Oceanus, to the *handsome* Ethiopians, to a banquet, and with him went all the gods." It is remarkable that the Chaldee, according to Bush has the following translation of Numbers xii, 1: "And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the beautiful woman whom he had married; for he had married a beautiful woman." ‖ Compare with this Solomon's declaration, "I am *black* but *comely*," or, more exactly, "I am black *and* comely." We see the wise man in his spiritual epithalamium selecting a black woman as a proper representative of the Church and of the highest purity. The word שְׁחֹר, translated in our version *black*, is a correct rendering. So Luther, *schwarz*. It cannot mean *brown*, as rendered by Ostervald (*brune*) and Diodati (*bruna.*) In Lev. xiii, 31, 37, it is applied to hair. The verb from which the adjective comes is used (Job xxx, 30) of the countenance blackened by disease. In Solomon's Song v, 11, it is applied to the plumage of a raven.¶ In the days of Solomon, therefore, black, as a physical attribute, was *comely*.

* Liddell & Scott. † Anthon's Homer, p. 491.

‡ Hayman's Odyssey, i, 29. § Paley's Iliad, p. 215. Note. ‖ Bush, *in loco.*

¶ A correspondent of the New York Tribune, residing in Syria, describing the appearance of a negro whom he met there in 1866, says: "He was as *black* as a Mount Lebanon raven." (N. Y. Tribune, October 16, 1866.) Had he been writing in Hebrew he would have employed the descriptive word שְׁחֹר.

But when, in the course of ages, the Ethiopians had wandered into the central and southern regions of Africa, encountering a change of climate and altered character of food and modes of living, they fell into intellectual and physical degradation. This degradation did not consist, however, in a change of color, as some suppose, for they were black, as we have seen, before they left their original seat. Nor did it consist in the stiffening and shortening of the hair; for Herodotus tells us that the Ethiopians in Asia were *straight-haired*, while their relatives in Africa, from the same stock and in no lower stage of progress, were *woolly-haired.* The hair, then, is not a fundamental characteristic, nor a mark of degradation. Some suppose that the hair of the negro is affected by some peculiarity in the African climate and atmosphere—perhaps the influence of the Sahara entering as an important element. We do not profess to know the *fons et origo*, nor have we seen any satisfactory cause for it assigned. We have no consciousness of any inconvenience from it, except that in foreign countries, as a jovial fellow-passenger on an English steamer once reminded us, "it is *unpopular.*"

> "Vuolsi così colà, dove si puote
> Ciò che si vuole: e più non dimandare."*

Nor should it be thought strange that the Ethiopians who penetrated into the heart of the African continent should have degenerated, when we consider their distance and isolation from the quickening influence of the arts and sciences in the East; their belief, brought with them, in the most abominable idolatry, "changing the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like unto corruptible man, and to *birds*, and *four-footed beasts*, and *creeping things*," Rom. i, 23; the ease with which, in the prolific regions to which they had come, they could secure the means of subsistence; and the constant and enervating heat of the climate, indisposing to continuous exertion. Students in natural history tell us that animals of the same species and family, if dispersed and domesticated, show striking modifications of the original type, in their color, hair, integument, structure of limbs, and even in their instincts, habits, and powers. Similar changes are witnessed

* Dante.

among mankind. An intelligent writer in No. 48 of the "Dublin University Magazine" says:

> There are certain districts in Leitrim, Sligo, and Mayo chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the native Irish, driven by the British from Armagh and the South of Down about two centuries ago. These people, whose ancestors were well-grown, able-bodied, and comely, are now reduced to an average stature of five feet two inches, are pot-bellied, bow-legged, and abortively featured; and they are especially remarkable for open projecting mouths, and prominent teeth, and exposed gums, their advancing cheek-bones and depressed noses bearing barbarism in their very front. In other words, within so short a period, they seem to have acquired a prognathous type of skull, like the Australian savages.

But these retrogressive changes are taking place in other countries besides Ireland. Acute observers tell us that in England, the abode of the highest civilization of modern times, "a process of de-civilization, a relapse toward barbarism, is seen in the debased and degraded classes, with a coincident deterioration of physical type." Mr. Henry Mayhew, in his "London Labor and London Poor," has remarked that

> Among them, according as they partake more or less of the pure vagabond nature, doing nothing whatever for their living, but moving from place to place, preying on the earnings of the more industrious portion of the community, so will the attributes of the nomadic races be found more or less marked in them; and they are all more or less distinguished by their high cheek-bones and protruding jaws; thus showing that kind of mixture of the pyramidal with the prognathous type which is to be seen among the most degraded of the Malayo-Polynesian races.

In contrast with this retrogressive process, it may be observed that in proportion as the degraded races are intellectually and morally elevated, their physical appearance improves. Mr. C. S. Roundell, secretary to the late Royal Commission in Jamaica, tells us that

> The Maroons who fell under my (his) own observation in Jamaica, exhibited a marked superiority in respect of comportment, mental capacity, and physical type—a superiority to be referred to the saving effects of long-enjoyed freedom. The Maroons are descendants of runaway Spanish slaves, who at the time of the British conquest established themselves in the mountain fastnesses.*

* "England and her Subject Races, with special reference to Jamaica." By Charles Saville Roundell, M. A.

In visiting the native towns interior to Liberia, we have seen striking illustrations of these principles. Among the inhabitants of those towns we could invariably distinguish the free man from the slave. There was about the former a dignity of appearance, an openness of countenance, an independence of air, a firmness of step, which indicated the absence of oppression; while in the latter there was a depression of countenance, a general deformity of appearance, an awkwardness of gait, which seemed to say, "That man is a slave."

Now, with these well-known principles before us, why should it be considered strange that, with their fall into barbarism, the "handsome" Ethiopians of Homer and Herodotus should have deteriorated in physical type—and that this degradation of type should continue reproducing itself in the wilds of Africa and in the Western Hemisphere, where they have been subjected to slavery and various other forms of debasing proscription?

> *Ἥμισυ γάρ τ' ἀρετῆς ἀποαίνυται εὐρύοπα Ζεὺς*
> *Ἀνέρος, εὖτ' ἄν μιν κατὰ δούλιον ἦμαρ ἕλησιν.**

The Negro is often taunted by superficial investigators with proofs, as is alleged, taken from the monuments of Egypt, of the servitude of Negroes in very remote ages. But is there any thing singular in the fact that in very early times Negroes were held in bondage? Was it not the practice among all the early nations to enslave each other? Why should it be pointed to as an exceptional thing that Ethiopians were represented as slaves? It was very natural that the more powerful Ethiopians should seize upon the weaker, as is done to this day in certain portions of Africa, and reduce them to slavery. And were it not for the abounding light of Christianity now enjoyed in Europe the same thing would be done at this moment in Rome, Paris, and London. For the sites of those cities in ancient times witnessed all the horrors of a cruel and mercenary slave-trade, not in Negroes, but Caucasian selling Caucasian.†

* Odyssey, xvii, 322, 323.

† Cicero in one of his letters, speaking of the success of an expedition against Britain, says the only plunder to be found consisted "Ex emancipiis; ex quibus nullos puto te literis aut musicis eruditos expectare;" thus proving, in the same sentence, the existence of the slave-trade, and intimating that it was impos

But were there no Caucasian slaves in Egypt? If it be true that no such slaves are represented on the monumental remains, are we, therefore, to infer that they did not exist in that country? Are we to disbelieve that the Jews were in the most rigorous bondage in that land for four hundred years:

Not every thing which is not represented on the monuments was therefore necessarily unknown to the Egyptians. The monuments are neither intended to furnish, nor can they furnish, a complete delineation of all the branches of public and private life, of all the products and phenomena of the whole animal, vegetable, and mineral creation of the country. They cannot be viewed as a complete cyclopædia of Egyptian customs and civilization. Thus we find no representation of fowls and pigeons, although the country abounded in them; of the wild ass and wild boar, although frequently met with in Egypt; none of the process relating to the casting of statues and other objects in bronze, although many similar subjects connected with the arts are represented; none of the marriage ceremony, and of numerous other subjects.*

But we are told that the Negroes of Central and West Africa have proved themselves essentially inferior from the fact, that in the long period of three thousand years they have shown no signs of progress. In their country, it is alleged, are to be found no indications of architectural taste or skill, or of any susceptibility of æsthetic or artistic improvement; that they have no monuments of past exploits; no paintings or sculptures; and that, therefore, the foreign or American slave-trade was an indispensable agency in the civilization of Africa; that nothing could have been done for the Negro while he remained in his own land bound to the practices of ages; that he needed the sudden and violent severance from home to deliver him from the quiescent degradation and stagnant barbarism of his ancestors; that otherwise the civilization of Europe could never have impressed him.

In reply to all this we remark: 1st, That it remains to be

sible that any Briton should be intelligent enough to be worthy to serve the accomplished Atticus. (Ad. Att., lib. iv, 16.) Henry, in his History of England, gives us also the authority of Strabo for the prevalence of the slave-trade among the Britons, and tells us that slaves were once an established article of export. "Great numbers," says he, "were exported from Britain, and were to be seen exposed for sale, like cattle, in the Roman market."—*Henry*, vol. ii, p. 225. Also, Sir T. Fowell Buxton's "Slave Trade and Remedy"—Introduction.

* Dr Kalisch: "Commentary on Exodus," p. 147. London, 1855.

proved, by a fuller explanation of the interior, that there are no architectural remains, no works of artistic skill; 2dly, If it should be demonstrated that nothing of the kind exists, this would not necessarily prove essential inferiority on the part of the African. What did the Jews produce in all the long period of their history before and after their bondage to the Egyptians, among whom, it might be supposed, they would have made some progress in science and art? Their forefathers dwelt in tents before their Egyptian residence, and they dwelt in tents after their emancipation. And in all their long national history they produced no remarkable architectural monument but the Temple, which was designed and executed by a man miraculously endowed for the purpose. A high antiquarian authority tells us that "pure Shemites had no art."* The lack of architectural and artistic skill is no mark of the absence of the higher elements of character.† 3rdly, With regard to the necessity of the slave trade, we remark, without attempting to enter into the secret counsels of the Most High, that without the foreign slave-trade Africa would have been a great deal more accessible to civilization, and would now, had peaceful and legitimate intercourse been kept up with her from the middle of the fifteenth century, be taking her stand next to Europe in civilization, science, and religion. When, four hundred years ago, the Portuguese discovered this coast, they found the natives living in considerable peace and quietness, and with a certain degree of prosperity. Internal feuds, of course, the tribes sometimes had, but by no means so serious as they afterward became under the stimulating influence of the slave-trade. From all we can gather, the tribes in this

* Rev. Stuart Poole, of the British Museum, before the British Association. 1864.

† Rev. Dr. Goulburn; in his reply to Dr. Temple's celebrated Essay on the "Education of the World," has the following suggestive remark: "We commend to Dr. Temple's notice the pregnant fact, that in the earliest extant history of mankind it is stated that arts, both ornamental and useful, (and arts are the great medium of civilization,) took their rise in the family of Cain. In the line of Seth we find none of this mental and social development."—*Replies to Essays and Reviews*, p. 34. When the various causes now co-operating shall have produced a higher religious sense among the nations, and a corresponding revolution shall have taken place in the estimation now put upon material objects, the effort may be to show, to his disparagement—if we could imagine such an unamiable undertaking as compatible with the high state of progress then attained—that the Negro was at the foundation of all material development.

part of Africa lived in a condition not very different from that of the greater portion of Europe in the Middle Ages. There was the same oppression of the weak by the strong; the same resistance by the weak, often taking the form of general rebellion; the same private and hereditary wars; the same strongholds in every prominent position; the same dependence of the people upon the chief who happened to be in power; the same contentedness of the masses with the tyrannical rule. But there was industry and activity, and in every town there were manufactures, and they sent across the continent to Egypt and the Barbary States other articles besides slaves.

The permanence for centuries of the social and political states of the Africans at home must be attributed, first, to the isolation of the people from the progressive portion of mankind; and, secondly, to the blighting influence of the traffic introduced among them by Europeans. Had not the demand arisen in America for African laborers, and had European nations inaugurated regular traffic with the coast, the natives would have shown themselves as impressible for change, as susceptible of improvement, as capable of acquiring knowledge and accumulating wealth, as the natives of Europe. Combination of capital and co-operation of energies would have done for this land what they have done for others. Private enterprise, (which has been entirely destroyed by the nefarious traffic,) encouraged by humane intercourse with foreign lands, would have developed agriculture, manufactures, and commerce; would have cleared, drained, and fertilized the country, and built towns; would have improved the looms, brought in plows, steam-engines, printing presses, machines, and the thousand processes and appliances by which the comfort, progress, and usefulness of mankind are secured. But, alas! *Dis aliter visum.*

> "Freighted with curses was the bark that bore
> The spoilers of the West to Guinea's shore;
> Heavy with groans of anguish blew the gales
> That swelled that fatal bark's returning sails:
> Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic's waves,
> For guilty ages, rolled the tide of slaves;
> A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest—
> Constant as day and night from East to West,
> Still widening, deepening, swelling in its course
> With boundless ruin and resistless force."—MONTGOMERY.

But although, amid the violent shocks of those changes and disasters to which the natives of this outraged land have been subject, their knowledge of the elegant arts, brought from the East, declined, they never entirely lost the *necessary* arts of life. They still understand the workmanship of iron, and, in some sections of the country, of gold. The loom and the forge are in constant use among them. In remote regions, where they have no intercourse with Europeans, they raise large herds of cattle and innumerable sheep and goats; capture and train horses, build well-laid-out towns, cultivate extensive fields, and manufacture earthenware and woolen and cotton cloths. Commander Foote says: "The Negro arts are respectable, and would have been more so had not disturbance and waste come with the slave-trade."*

And in our own times, on the West Coast of Africa, a native development of literature has been brought to light of genuine home-growth. The Vey people, residing half way between Sierra Leone and Cape Mesurado, have within the last thirty years invented a syllabic alphabet, with which they are now writing their own language, and by which they are maintaining among themselves an extensive epistolary correspondence In 1849 the Church Missionary Society in London, having heard of this invention, authorized their missionary, Rev. S. W. Koelle, to investigate the subject. Mr. Koelle traveled into the interior, and brought away three manuscripts, with translations. The symbols are phonetic, and constitute a syllabarium, not an alphabet; they are nearly two hundred in number. They have been learned so generally that Vey boys in Monrovia frequently receive communications from their friends in the Vey country to which they readily respond. The Church Missionary Society have had a font of type cast in this new character, and several little tracts have been printed and circulated among the tribe. The principal inventor of this alphabet is now dead; but it is supposed that he died in the Christian faith, having acquired some knowledge of the way of salvation through the medium of this character of his own invention.† Dr. Wilson says:

* Africa and the American Flag," p. 52.

† Wilson's "Western Africa," p. 95, and "Princeton Review for July 1858," p. 488.

This invention is one of the most remarkable achievements of this or any other age, and is itself enough to silence forever the cavils and sneers of those who think so contemptuously of the intellectual endowments of the African race.

Though "the idea of communciating thoughts in writing was probably suggested by the use of Arabic among the Mandingoes," yet the invention was properly original, showing the existence of genius in the native African who has never been in foreign slavery, and proves that he carries in his bosom germs of intellectual development and self-elevation, which would have enabled him to advance regularly in the path of progress had it not been for the blighting influence of the slave-trade.

Now are we to believe that such a people have been doomed, by the terms of any curse, to be the "servant of servants," as some upholders of Negro slavery have taught? Would it not have been a very singular theory that a people destined to servitude should begin, the very first thing, as we have endeavored to show, to found "great cities," organize kingdoms, and establish rule—putting up structures which have come down to this day as a witness to their *superiority* over all their contemporaries—and that, by a Providential decree, the people whom they had been fated to serve should be held in bondage by them four hundred years?

The remarkable enterprise of the Cushite hero, Nimrod; his establishment of imperial power, as an advance on patriarchal government; the strength of the Egypt of Mizraim, and its long domination over the house of Israel; and the evidence which now and then appears, that even Phut (who is the obscurest in his fortunes of all the Hamite race) maintained a relation to the descendants of Shem which was far from servile or subject; do all clearly tend to limit the application of Noah's maledictory prophecy to the precise terms in which it was indited: "Cursed be Canaan; a servant of servants shall he" (not Cush, not Mizraim, not Phut, but he) "be to his brethren." If we then confine the imprecation to Canaan, we can without difficulty trace its accomplishment in the subjugation of the tribes which issued from him to the children of Israel from the time of Joshua to that of David. Here would be verified Canaan's servile relation to Shem; and when imperial Rome finally wrested the scepter from Judah, and, "dwelling in the tents of Shem," occupied the East and whatever remnants of Canaan were left in it, would not this accomplish that further prediction that Japheth, too, should be lord of Canaan, and that (as it would

seem to be tacitly implied) mediately, through his occupancy of the tents of Shem? *

A vigorous writer in the "Princeton Review" has the following:

The Ethiopian race, from whom the modern Negro or African stock are undoubtedly descended, can claim as early a history, with the exception of the Jews,† as any living people on the face of the earth. History, as well as the monumental discoveries, gives them a place in ancient history as far back as Egypt herself, if not farther. But what has become of the contemporaneous nations of antiquity, as well as others of much later origin? Where are the Numidians, Mauritanians, and other powerful names, who once held sway over all Northern Africa! They have been swept away from the earth, or dwindled down to a handful of modern Copts and Berbers of doubtful descent.

The Ethiopian, or African race, on the other hand, though they have long since lost all the civilization which once existed on the Upper Nile, have, nevertheless, continued to increase and multiply, until they are now, with the exception of the Chinese, the largest single family of men on the face of the earth. They have extended themselves in every direction over that great continent, from the southern borders of the Great Sahara to the Cape of Good Hope, and from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean, and are thus constituted masters of at least three fourths of the habitable portions of this great continent. And this progress has been made, be it remembered, in despite of the prevalence of the foreign slave-trade, which has carried off so many of their people; of the ceaseless internal feuds and wars that have been waged among themselves; and of a conspiracy, as it were, among all surrounding nations, to trample out their national existence. Surely their history is a remarkable one; but not more so, perhaps, than is foreshadowed in the prophecies of the Old Testament Scriptures. God has watched over and preserved these people through all the vicissitudes of their unwritten history, and no doubt for some great purpose of mercy toward them, as well as for the display of the glory of his own grace and providence; and we may expect to have a full revelation of this purpose and glory as soon as the everlasting Gospel is made known to these benighted millions.‡

One palpable reason may be assigned why the Ethiopian race has continued to exist under the most adverse circumstances, while other races and tribes have perished from the earth; it is this: *they have never been a blood-thirsty or avaricious people.* From the beginning of their history to the present time their work has been constructive, except when they have

* Dr. Peter Holmes, Oxford, England.

† The Jews not excepted. Where were they when the Pyramids were built?

‡ "Princeton Review, July 1858," pp. 448, 449.

been stimulated to wasting wars by the covetous foreigner. They have *built up* in Asia, Africa, and America. They have not delighted in despoiling and oppressing others. The nations enumerated by the reviewer just quoted, and others besides them—all warlike and fighting nations—have passed away or dwindled into utter insignificance. They seem to have been consumed by their own fierce internal passions. The Ethiopians, though brave and powerful, were not a fighting people, that is, were not fond of fighting for the sake of humbling and impoverishing other people. Every reader of history will remember the straightforward, brave, and truly Christian answer returned by the King of the Ethiopians to Cambyses, who was contemplating an invasion of Ethiopia, as recorded by Herodotus. For the sake of those who may not have access to that work we reproduce the narrative here. About five hundred years before Christ, Cambyses, the great Persian warrior, while invading Egypt, planned an expedition against the Ethiopians; but before proceeding upon the belligerent enterprises he sent

"Spies in the first instance, who were to see the table of the sun, which was said to exist among the Ethiopians, and besides, to explore other things, and, to cover their design, they were to carry presents to the King. . . . When the messengers of Cambyses arrived among the Ethiopians they gave the presents to the King, and addressed him as follows: "Cambyses, King of the Persians, desirous of becoming your friend and ally, has sent us, bidding us confer with you, and he presents you with these gifts, which are such as he himself most delights in."

But the Ethiopian knowing that they came as spies, spoke thus to them:

"Neither has the King of Persia sent you with these presents to me because he valued my alliance, nor do you speak the truth, for you are come as spies of my kingdom. Nor is he a just man; for if he were just he would not desire any other territory than his own; nor would he reduce people into servitude who have done him no injury. However, give him this bow, and say these words to him: 'The King of the Ethiopians advises the King of the Persians, when the Persians can thus easily draw a bow of this size, then to make war on the Macrobian Ethiopians with more numerous forces; but until that time let him thank the gods, who have not inspired the sons of the Ethiopians with the desire of adding another land to their own.'"*

* Herodotus, iii, 17–22.

Are these a people, with such remarkable antecedents, and in the whole of whose history the hand of God is so plainly seen, to be treated with the contempt which they usually suffer in the lands of their bondage? When we notice the scornful indifference with which the Negro is spoken of by certain politicians in America, we fancy that the attitude of Pharaoh and the aristocratic Egyptians must have been precisely similar toward the Jews. We fancy we see one of the magicians in council, after the first visit of Moses demanding the release of the Israelites, rising up with indignation and pouring out a torrent of scornful invective such as any rabid anti-Negro politician might now indulge in.

What privileges are those that these degraded Hebrews are craving? What are they? Are they not slaves and the descendants of slaves? What have they or their ancestors ever done? What *can* they do? They did not come hither of their own accord. The first of them was brought to this country a slave, sold to us by his own brethren. Others followed him, refugees from the famine of an impoverished country. What do they know about managing liberty or controlling themselves? They are idle; they are idle. Divert their attention from their idle dreams by additional labor and more exacting tasks.

But what have the ancestors of Negroes ever done? Let Professor Rawlinson answer, as a summing up of our discussion. Says the learned Professor:

> For the last three thousand years the world has been mainly indebted for its advancement to the Semitic and Indo-European races; *but it was otherwise in the first ages.* Egypt and Babylon, Mizraim and Nimrod—both descendants of Ham—led the way, and acted as the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. Alphabetic writing, astronomy, history, chronology, architecture, plastic art, sculpture, navigation, agriculture, textile industry, seem all of them to have had their origin in one or other of these two countries. The beginnings may have been often humble enough. We may laugh at the rude picture-writing, the uncouth brick pyramid, the coarse fabric, the homely and ill-shapen instruments, as they present themselves to our notice in the remains of these ancient nations; but they are really worthier of our admiration than of our ridicule. The inventors of any art are among the greatest benefactors of their race, and mankind at the present day lies under infinite obligations to the genius of these early ages.*

* "Five Great Monarchies," vol. i, pp. 75, 76.

There are now, probably, few thoughtful and cultivated men in the United States who are prepared to advocate the application of the curse of Noah to all the descendants of Ham. The experience of the last eight years must have convinced the most ardent theorizer on the subject. Facts have not borne out their theory and predictions concerning the race. The Lord by his outstretched arm has dashed their syllogisms to atoms, scattered their dogmas to the winds, detected the partiality and exaggerating tendency of their method, and shown the injustice of that heartless philosophy and that unrelenting theology which consigned a whole race of men to hopeless and interminable servitude.

It is difficult, nevertheless, to understand how, with the history of the past accessible, the facts of the present before their eyes, and the prospect of a clouded future, or unvailed only to disclose the indefinite numerical increase of Europians in the land, the blacks of the United States can hope for any distinct, appreciable influence in the country. We cannot perceive on what grounds the most sanguine among their friends can suppose that there will be so decisive a revolution of popular feeling in favor of their *protegés* as to make them at once the political and social equals of their former masters. Legislation cannot secure them this equality in the United States any more than it has secured it for the blacks in the West Indies. During the time of slavery every thing in the laws, in the customs, in the education of the people was contrived with the single view of degrading the Negro in his own estimation and that of others. Now is it possible to change in a day the habits and character which centuries of oppression have entailed? We think not. More than one generation, it appears to us, must pass away before the full effect of education, enlightenment, and social improvement will be visible among the blacks. Meanwhile they are being gradually absorbed by the Caucasian; and before their social equality comes to be conceded they will have lost their identity altogether, a result, in our opinion, extremely undesirable, as we believe that, as Negroes, they might accomplish a great work which others cannot perform. But even if they should not pass away in the mighty embrace of their numerous white neighbors; grant that they could continue to live in the land,

a distinct people, with the marked peculiarities they possess, having the same color and hair, badges of a former thraldom —is it to be supposed that they can ever overtake a people who so largely outnumber them, and a large proportion of whom are endowed with wealth, leisure, and the habits and means of study and self-improvement? If they improve in culture and training, as in time they no doubt will, and become intelligent and educated, there may rise up individuals among them, here and there, who will be respected and honored by the whites; but it is plain that, as a class, their inferiority will never cease until they cease to be a distinct people, possessing peculiarities which suggest antecedents of servility and degradation.

We pen these lines with the most solemn feelings—grieved that so many strong, intelligent, and energetic black men should be wasting time and labor in a fruitless contest, which, expended in the primitive land of their fathers—a land that so much needs them—would produce in a comparatively short time results of incalculable importance. But what can we do? Occupying this distant stand-point—an area of Negro freedom and a scene for untrammeled growth and development, but a wide and ever-expanding field for benevolent effort; an outlying or surrounding wilderness to be reclaimed; barbarism of ages to be brought over to Christian life—we can only repeat with undiminished earnestness the wish we have frequently expressed elsewhere, that the *eyes of the blacks may be opened to discern their true mission and destiny;* that, making their escape from the house of bondage, they may *betake themselves to their ancestral home, and assist in constructing a Christian* AFRICAN EMPIRE. For we believe that as descendants of Ham had a share, as the most prominent actors on the scene, in the founding of cities and in the organization of government, so members of the same family, developed under different circumstances, will have an important part in the closing of the great drama.

"Time's noblest offspring is the last."

Art. VI.—GEOLOGICAL EVIDENCES OF THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN.

Notices Préliminaires sur les Fouillès, Executer sous les Auspices du Gouvernement Belgè, dans les Cavernes, de la Belgique. Par M. Edouard Dupont. Tomes I and II. Bruxelles. 1867.

Bulletin de la Société des Sciences Naturelles de Neuchatel. From 1858 to 1863. Neuchatel.

Bulletin de l'Académie Royale, des Sciences, etc., de Belgique. 1866.

Zoologie et Paleontologie Généralés, Nouvelles Recherches, sur les Animaux, Vertebrates, dont ou trouve, les ossements Enfonis, dan le sol, et sur leur Comparison avec les especes actuellement Existants. 4to., pp. 600. Plates. Paris. 1868.

Habitations Lacustres des Temps Anciens et Modernes. Par Fredric Troyon. Lausanne. 1860.

M. Boucher de Perthes: 1. *Des Outils de Pierre.* Pp. 48. Paris. 1865. 2. *De la Machoire Humaine de Moulin Quignon.* Pp. 172. Paris. 1864.

Report upon the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River, etc., etc. By Capt. A. A. Humphreys and Lieut. H. L. Abbott, Corps of Topographical Engineers, U. S. A. Philadelphia. 1861.

Nilson. *The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia.* Third Edition. With an Introduction by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1868.

Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, etc. By Sir Charles Lyell, F.R.S. Philadelphia. 1863.

Since the mistakes of Spallanzani in relation to the bones found in the osseous breccias of Cerigo, and since the *homo diluvii testis* of Scheuzer was announced and subsequently proved, by Cuvier, to be only part of a salamander, there has been a proneness to identify, as those of man, the fragmentary remains of animals so often found in the upper stratified rocks. One after another of such discoveries were proclaimed, and in turn discredited; but in the past few years the tide has been turned, and now the evidences of "prehistoric man" have so multiplied, as to constitute a new and interesting chapter alike in Geology and Archæology.

Thus far relics of man have been confined to those superficial formations on the earth's surface in or above the newest tertiary or pleistocene, more particularly in the post-pliocene, or quaternary. These from below upward consist of:

1. *Upper tertiary* or *pleistocene*, composed of the boulder and glacial drift, overspreading parts of the continents, including, probably, some cave deposits. By the *drift* is meant the gravel, sand, clay, and loose stones, covering, like a mantle, many parts of the earth's surface, especially in the

temperate zones. Wherever found it is not stratified, as a rule, but is mixed confusedly. In transporting it rivers had no agency.

2. *Quaternary*, *post-pliocene*, or *Champlain* formations. These consist of ancient sea and lake beaches, composed of gravel, sand, and clay stratified, and the terraces, which at different levels flank the sides of our valleys, and which also extend frequently into the caverns that penetrate their slopes. This formation contains the shells of living species,—sometimes of such as exist now, only in other localities,—and also the remains of various extinct land animals.

3. *Recent* (*diluvium.*) This is composed of the immediate clays, peat beds, and soils on the surface, including the alluvium along the banks of rivers, and the existing shores of our lakes and seas, which contain normally none but the remains of living species, whether aquatic or terrestrial.

Such are the three formations which claim our attention, since they alone are held to have yielded vestiges of the human race.

We now proceed to enumerate, and subsequently to examine, the most striking and authentic facts brought to light by the recent labors of geologists touching the antiquity of man. They may, for convenience, be grouped in the following manner, as relating to:

1. *Lacustrine habitations* of Central and Southern Europe.
2. "*Kjoekenmiddings*," or "kitchen refuse heaps" of the coasts of Denmark and Norway in Europe, and the Atlantic coast of North America.
3. *Deltas*, as those of the Nile, Po, Ganges, and Mississippi.
4. *Cave deposits*, in various parts of Europe.
5. Remains found in the peat, clay, and gravel-beds, and terraces of various parts of the world.

1. *Lacustrine habitations.* It has been long known to the people of the Swiss lakes, that there existed in many of them ancient posts or piles, which, while they never reached up to the surface of the water, often rose some distance above the bottom, so as to be visible while passing over them in a boat. They were especially obnoxious to fishermen, who often injured their nets on them. The most ancient local history did not mention them; and except in a traditional belief,* which lingers among the people, that they were once inhabited by a

* Troyon, *Habitations Lacustres*, p. 128.

race of men who built on the water to protect themselves from wild beasts, nothing was known of them. Occasionally from the bottom of some lake, especially in the vicinity of the piles, the large horns of deer, and sometimes certain strange utensils, would be recovered, as from Lake Zurich in 1829, and still later, from Lake Bienne.* But little was thought of these matters until, in 1853–54, during the execution of certain works at Meilen, on Lake Zurich, some piles in a half decomposed state were extracted from the mud, and with them some rude, black pottery, moulded simply with the hand, without the aid of the wheel, and certain rude utensils; all of which attracted the attention of a Mr. Ferdinand Keller, who communicated his observations to the Antiquarian Society of Zurich.

This excited similar observations elsewhere, until, in the last few years, nearly all the lakes in Switzerland and Central Europe, in Italy and the British Isles, have been explored, with results which, whatever may be said of them, in relation to the question more immediately before us, are such as must surprise and gratify every lover of science. After Keller's discovery, as already remarked, others followed, as by MM. Troyon at Neuchatel, Portalez-Sandoz at Lance, Dr. Clement at St. Aubin, Rochat at Yverdon, Rey and de Vevey at Estavayer, Col. Schwab at Bienne, Uhlman at Moosseedorf, Forel at Lake Geneva, Uhlberg at Zug, Baron Despine at Lake Bourget, Revon at Lake Annecy, Strobel and Pigorini in the Grand Duchy of Parma, and de Silber at Peschiera, Lake Garda, Italy, not to mention a host of other persons and places, until, up to this date, enough lake habitations have been discovered to accommodate a population, perhaps, of more than 100,000 inhabitants. At the station of Unteruhldingen, in one of the Swiss lakes, more than 10,000 piles have been found, and later still, M. Löhle has discovered, at the Station of Wangen, Lake Constance, 40,000.†

They occur in general at short distances from the shore, and are called by the Germans "*Pfahlbauten*," by the French "*Tenevrieres*," in Ireland "*Crannoges*," by the Italians "*Pala-*

* M. Desor, Smithsonian Report. 1867.

† A most excellent paper on "Pile-buildings," especially as they occur in Bavaria, is that of M. Wagner, entitled, "*Pfahlbauten* in Bayern," in "*Sitzungsberichte der königl. Bayern. Akademie der Wissenschaft zu München.* 1866. II, *Heft* 4.

fites," and by the English "Pile-buildings." The Italian name "*Palafite*" has found most favor. They consist in a number of wooden piles, or trunks, (sometimes split,) of the fir, birch, or oak, varying much in size, and were originally either sharpened at one end and driven into the mud at the bottom of the lake, or if this was not possible, they were set up and stones cast into the water about them in heaps, until a sufficient number were secured on which to build. The latter kind of a *palafite* the Germans call a "*Steinberg*." The stones were brought in a canoe, consisting of the trunk of a tree hollowed out, called a "pirogue." Several have been recovered from the Swiss lakes in a tolerable state of preservation, as at Robenhausen. One, fifty feet long and three or four feet wide, was discovered in Lake Bienne, near St. Pierre, still loaded with stones, where it had been sunk. The piles are often a foot in diameter, and in many cases still bear the marks of the flint or other implements by which they were prepared. In the majority of cases they have rotted off to the level of the bottom; but where they have not, the upper end occasionally bears the marks of the ax. These latter are generally at a uniform depth below the surface of the water, which fact suggests important general changes in the water level of the lakes where the piles exist since they were placed in position. The *palafites* were connected with the shore by means of light bridges, as the remains testify.

On examining the deposits which exist amid the piles, and which vary in thickness from one to six feet, there have been discovered flint chips, hatchets, hammers, spear-heads, and knives in stone; knives, hatchets, needles, hair-pins, fish-hooks, etc., in bone and horn; pottery of many kinds, chisels, (*Auvernier*,) knives, hatchets, reaping-hooks, arms of various kinds, and ornaments, as bracelets, amulets, and ear-rings, in bronze and iron. Occasionally other metals have been found, as, for example, a bar of tin at Estavayer. Also beads of glass and of amber. The same deposits contain bones of various animals, wild and domestic, both living and extinct, in Middle and Southern Europe. Hearth-stones, baked clay from their fire-places, beds of reeds, straw and bark from the roofs of their dwellings, heaps of moss and leaves once employed as beds; objects of domestic industry, as spindles, skeins of thread, webs,

tissues, nets, small baskets like those figured on Egyptian tombs, cloth, (as at Wangen, Lake Constance;) remains of fruits, as of apples, cherries, beech-nuts, seeds of strawberry, raspberry, charred wheat, and millet; * and even bread in a charred state, as at Robenhausen, in Lake Pfeifkon, and many other objects, have been obtained. Besides these, manufactories of stone implements have been discovered, as at Moosseedorf, Obermeilen, and Concise; and foundries for articles in bronze, as at Echallen, Canton of Vaud, and Dovaine, near Thonon. At Morges a mould for bronze hatchets was found. Rutemeyer recognized among the bones recovered sixty-six different species of vertebrate animals, but no cats nor chickens. Human skeletons, or portions of them, have been found, as at Auvernier, Meilen, and Tene. The skulls resemble those of the Laplanders and Fins of to-day.†

Not only have the means been thus accumulated for reconstructing, in some measure, the civil and domestic life of a people nearly lost to history, but certain stages in the progress of their civilization have been made out from the characters of the remains discovered. The principal stages, or periods, as they are called, are three in number. The earliest has been named the stone period, from the predominance of stone implements; the second has been called the bronze, and the latest the iron, period. Beyond this certain facts have come to light which enable us, it is believed, to estimate, at least approximately, the time which has elapsed since the oldest of the pile buildings were constructed. In the valley of the Orbe, south of the town of Yverdon, eight hundred meters (2,500 feet) from the shore of the lake, are found the remains of the ancient Gallo-Roman city of Eburodunum. Throughout this whole extent (2,500 feet) no ruins are found. It is supposed the waves washed the *Castrum Eburodunense* about eighteen hundred or two thousand years ago. Since then the two thousand five hundred feet has been filled in between the ruins and the present shore. One thousand meters (more

* M. Löhle has discovered in Lake Constance a grain store-house, containing about one hundred measures of wheat and barley, both shelled and in the ear.

† Some of these pile stations have been naturally recovered from the lakes, as at Zurich, Geneva, and near Yverdon, and at the bridge of Thielle, where the river enters Lake Bienne. The cities of Zurich and Geneva stand on the sites of ancient "palafites."

than 3000 feet) beyond the ruins, at the foot of the hill Chamblon, piles have been discovered. According to this, the lake has receded from the original shore at the foot of the hill more than six thousand feet, and if always at the rate it has receded from the ruins, it would give to the buried palafite more than two thousand years before the Christian era.

M. Gillieron, from a study of the stone station at the bridge of Thielle, near the entrance of that river into Lake Bienne, by a similar process makes out seven thousand five hundred years as its probable age. M. Morlot,* from certain observations made on the gravel cones at Villeneuve, near the mouth of the Tiniere, in which human remains were discovered, calculates they must be from seven thousand to ten thousand years of age.

2. "*Kitchen middens*," or "*Kitchen refuse-heaps.*" These consist of mounds near the shore of the sea, varying in dimensions, but seldom exceeding one thousand feet in length, one hundred and fifty to two hundred in breadth, and three to ten feet in depth. They occur on the coasts of Denmark and Norway, and the Atlantic Coast of North America. They are composed principally of shells of the oyster, cockle, and other edible mollusks, mixed with the bones of different animals employed as food. In the heaps are found hammers, hatchets, spear-heads, and knives in stone, horn, bone, and wood, and fragments of pottery, charcoal, cinders, etc., but no bronze nor iron. Many of the hatchets are polished or brought to an edge by grinding. There are no human bones in them, but the peat mosses and stone mounds in the same localities in Europe, which are believed to have the same age, contain them.

The size and distance from the shore of some of the mounds, and the characters of the shells they contain, furnish the means, as some think, of reckoning the shell-mound men back to the age of the palafites—seven thousand to ten thousand years.

3. Another class of evidences of a high antiquity for man, is obtained from certain limestone caverns in various parts of Europe. Attention was first pointedly directed to these by

* *Etudes Géologiques, archæologiques en Danemark et en Suisse.* Par A. Morlot.

Schmerling, of Liege, in 1833 and 1834, who studied some of the caverns along the valley of the Meuse, in Belgium. The researches of Dr. Falconer, Mr. Pengelly, Mr. Prestwick, and Sir Charles Lyell, of England, of MM. Tournal, Christol, Lartet, Gervais, and others in France, and the recent admirable researches of M. Dupont, under the auspices of the Belgian Government, in the valleys of the Meuse and Lesse, have been the means of collecting much highly interesting information, some of it bearing on the question under consideration. These caverns seldom have much depth, usually have wide mouths, and open in the sides of the river valleys, and in the majority of cases are partially or wholly filled with layers of gravel, sand, and clay, and occasionally layers of stalagmite, formed by the dropping from the roof of water, holding in solution the carbonate of lime of which the stalagmite consists.

Imbedded in these deposits, at various depths, sometimes beneath several unbroken layers of stalagmite, are found flint chips, arrow and spear heads, hatchets, knives, bones of various animals, frequently of extinct species, which bear in many cases the marks of man, as when long bones are found split open, evidently to procure the marrow they contained, or worked into various implements for peaceful or warlike purposes. Shells of many kinds, fresh water and marine, of both extinct and living species, often pierced by holes, that they might be strung for collars or other ornaments. Among the bones found, of animals now extinct, we may mention the cave bear, (*ursus spelæus*,) cave lion, (*felis spelea*,) cave hyena, (*hyena spelea*) rhinoceros, (*tichorinus*,) and mammoth, (or *elephas primogenius*.) In connection with them, besides the remains of human industry already mentioned, portions of the human skeleton have been found in several caverns, as at Engis, eight miles southwest of Liege, on the left bank of the Meuse; at Engihoul, on the opposite side of the same river; at Neanderthal, near Düsseldorf, in the valley of the Düssel, (memoir by Professor Schaffhausen;) at Aurignac, foot of the Pyrenees, by Lartet; at "Trou du Frontal," "Trou de Rosette," and elsewhere, by M. Dupont and others. These, as well as the flint and bone implements, occur in connection with the remains of the above-mentioned extinct animals

under such circumstances as to warrant us in giving them the same age. In some of the sepulchral caverns these objects have evidently been mixed, so as to destroy the signs on which reliance could be placed for determining their relative age. But in others, occupied as dwellings, the case seems to be different. Besides the relics of man already noticed, various drawings on horn, ivory, etc., have been discovered, as of reindeer, oxen, horses, boars, bears, fish, etc., all quite rude. The figure, on the contrary, of a reindeer, found by M. Vibraye in Augerie, (Commune de Tayac,) which is copied by Gervais in his great work, is very good.

But the most singular example is that of a piece of ivory found at Madeline in one of these deposits, in the presence of MM. Lartet, Falconer, and de Verneuil, on which was neatly engraved a mammoth's head clothed with very long hair, which is now known to have been characteristic of the elephant of the glacial period, since specimens of these animals have been found in frozen gravel in Siberia in a perfectly preserved state, having long hair, suitable to a cold climate. M. Vibraye has found a similar specimen at Augerie, except that the drawing was on horn instead of ivory. Until quite recently, it was the universal custom among geologists to place the mammoth in a period anterior to man. But the evidence of the cave deposits, a mere outline of which has been given, shows beyond dispute that man and the mammoth were contemporaneous. This being true, two alternatives present themselves: either the mammoth did not have so high an antiquity as was formerly supposed, or the period of man must be carried further back than has been the custom. Persons have not been wanting, and are not wanting now, who have accepted the latter.

4. *Deltas.* The most remarkable which have been even cursorily examined are those of the Nile, Ganges, and Mississippi. They are formed in such manner as to inspire the hope they may be made the means of constructing a time scale. Given their extent and present rate of growth, it has been thought an easy task to determine their age. By such a method Sir Charles Lyell makes the delta of the Mississippi one hundred thousand years old.

Estimated in the same way, the delta of the Nile would be

still older. The same author considers the alluvial deposits on either side of these rivers above the deltas more ancient still. In the delta of the Mississippi, near the city of New Orleans, Dr. Bennett Dowler says some workmen, in digging for the foundation of a gas-work, found, sixteen feet below the surface, some charcoal and ashes, and what proved to be the skeleton of an Indian. Above the skeleton the remains of no less than four successive cypress forests were discovered, which had been extinguished in the progress of time. Dr. Dowler estimated the skeleton had been *in situ* fifty thousand years.

Then again, at the foot of a steep embankment of "loess" or alluvium, near Natchez, not many years since, certain bones of the mastodon, and of a species of horse and ox, were picked up, and among them some human bones, *supposed* to have come from the same formation, and to have been of the same age as the mastodon, which was traced to a point up the side of the embankment, about thirty feet below the surface. The formation supposed to have yielded the human bones some geologists believe to be older than the delta proper; and if so, the bones must have been from one hundred thousand years old to an indefinite period. In the valley and delta of the Nile some highly interesting researches have been made by a Mr. Horner, in behalf of the Royal Society of Great Britain, and by a learned Oriental, Hekekyan Bey, the latter, singularly enough, at the expense of the Viceroy of Egypt. No less than fifty-one pits and borings were made on a line from East to West, eight miles above the delta, where the valley or flat is sixteen miles wide between the Arabian and Lybian hills. Another line of twenty-seven pits and borings was made still higher up, about the level of Memphis, where the valley is five miles wide. Invariably they passed through the ordinary Nile mud unstratified, according to the above-mentioned observers. But Captain Newbold, on the contrary, found alternating layers of sand and mud some distance, even, from the adjacent deserts.

All the remains of organic bodies belonged, without exception, to living species. The shells were all fresh water.

M. Girard, taking the basis of certain observations made between Assouan and Cairo, believes the Nile mud to have been deposited at the rate of about five inches in a century.

It is proper to remark that Mr. Horner did not place any reliance on this estimate. In the excavations, which were carried down in some places to the depth of twenty-four feet, jars, vases, pots, human figures in clay, etc., were found. Still lower down, every-where, to the depth of sixty feet or more, to which the borings reached, pieces of pottery and bricks were obtained. These facts, with the assumed rate of deposit, would place the lowest brick about thirteen to fifteen thousand years back of 1868. Or, if we take another boring of seventy-two feet, at the bottom of which burnt bricks were found, and proceed at the rate M. Rosiere assigns, their age would be about thirty thousand years.

5. *River Terraces*, etc. Stretching along the sides of many river valleys, both in this country and Europe, are certain deposits of sand, clay, and gravel, sometimes more than one hundred, seldom less than forty feet above the level of existing streams. These terraces have been long known to contain remains of extinct mammals, and various fresh water shells, mostly of species now living. But it is only in comparatively recent times they have yielded relics of man. In the gravels of the Ouse and Waveney in England, of the Seine in France, but more particularly the Somme in Picardy, have flint chips, arrow heads, hatchets, etc., been discovered in the same layers with bones of the mammoth and other extinct animals. To the latter valley we would more particularly call attention. It is excavated in the chalk-like limestone which abounds in that part of France, especially in the Jura. On the slopes of the valley, resting on the chalk, are, first and deepest, alternating layers of gravel, marl, and sand, altogether about twelve feet thick, containing fresh water and occasionally marine shells, bones of the elephant and rhinoceros, with flint implements.

Next above this a sandy, buff-colored loam, with doubtful traces of stratification, about fifteen feet in thickness, containing similar remains. Above this, brown, unstratified clay, with angular flints and angular pieces of chalk covering the slopes of the hills, and varying in thickness from three to five feet. Last of all, a layer of peat, near the level of the existing stream, in many places thirty feet in depth. This, unlike the other layers, only occupies the bottom of the valley. It

includes remains of various animals, such as the beaver and arctic bear, flint implements in abundance, and portions of the human skeleton.

M. Boucher de Perthes, of Abbeville, Mr. Evans, Mr. Prestwich, Dr. Falconer, Sir Charles Lyell, and others in England, and MM. Lartet, Ravin, Rigollot, and others in France, have pursued their examinations of the gravels and peats of this valley and others, until what was once disputed is now generally admitted, namely, human remains are met with deep in the gravels, as well as the overlying peats, under such circumstances as to show, first, a probable high antiquity; second, that man and the mammoth were contemporaneous, at least in Europe.

For more than a quarter of a century has M. Boucher de Perthes been examining the peats and gravels of the Somme for remains of man and extinct mammals. But it was not until quite recently that he succeeded in attracting the attention of scientific men. In the last few years, however, no single locality, perhaps, has filled a larger place in the eyes of geologists. The flint implements and skeletons were discovered at various depths in the peats and gravels, almost down to the underlying chalk.

Besides these, Mr. H. T. Gosse, of Geneva, found at La Motte, in the left bank of the Seine, near Paris, flint implements twenty feet below the surface in the "gray diluvium." M. P. Delacourt, at Precy, in the valley of the Oise, found implements in its gravel beds, and also M. Lartet, at Clichy. In England they have been obtained in the gravels of the Ouse, near Bedford, by Mr. Wyat; at Hoxne, in Suffolk, by Mr. John Frere, beneath twelve feet of brick clay, and at Icklingham, in the valley of the Lark; as well as in many other places. The only question of much importance here relates to the age of the deposits. From certain observations made on the peat, M. Boucher de Perthes, and other geologists, concluded it is formed at the rate of one or two inches in a century. This being true, it would require, to lay down thirty feet in thickness of peat, at least twenty thousand years. The gravels were supposed to have been laid very slowly, and are, of course, older than the peats. The lowest remains they have yielded may therefore be reckoned at, say

fifty thousand to one hundred thousand years of age. Then quite similar peat formations occur in the depressions in the boulder drift in Denmark, where pine trunks several feet in thickness are entombed, and of a species (*pinus sylvestris*) not found in Denmark for centuries past. Beneath one of these pine trunks, deeply buried in the peat, Steenstrup, a Swedish archæologist, took out with his own hands one of the inevitable stone hatchets.

6. Lastly, at the meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, at Chicago, in August last, this whole subject of the antiquity of man was discussed, but every thing said paled away before the case presented by the State Geologist of California, who exhibited a skull from Calaveras County, in that State, from one hundred and thirty feet below the surface. It was covered by seven or eight layers each, alternating, of gravel and volcanic ash. But, most remarkable of all, there is now in the museum of the Boston Society of Natural History a portion of a skull the label on which bears the following: "Fossil human skull from a shaft in Table Mountain, California; found one hundred and eighty feet below the surface, in gold drift, among rolled stones, and near mastodon debris. Overlying strata of basaltic compactness and hardness. Found July, 1857. From C. F. Winslow, M. D., September 10, 1857." *

The age of these specimens, if they are genuine, has not been determined, thus leaving the enthusiastic believer in a high antiquity for man to go as far back into past duration as his imagination may carry him.

Such is a summary of the most striking facts which have recently come to light bearing on the antiquity of man. In making this statement we have not overlooked the fossil man of Denise, nor the relics found at Santos, in South America, as described by Dr. Meigs, (*Trans. Am. Phil. Soc.*, 1828,) nor the human bones found by Count Portales in the Florida coral reefs, as well as other instances. None of them, we are prepared to say, are more favorable to the antiquity of man than the cases already cited.

Let us now turn, and, in the order in which they have been given, examine them in the presence of collateral facts, that we

* Am. Nat., Oct. 1868, p. 446. Note.

may, if possible, determine alike their scientific and their logical value.

I. *Evidence from Swiss lake dwellings and other similar sources.*

That a people once had their habitations on the lakes of Central Europe there can be no question. It is also certain, that written history gives us but little, if any, information regarding them. Early historical material relating to Central Europe, scanty as it is, goes no further back than when the Romans began their inroads among the Iberians, Helvetians, and Gauls, or to the time of Julius Cesar, two thousand years ago. We thus have, according to the ordinary count, a period of four thousand years in which the lake dwellers could build their huts, have their day, and perish. People more numerous, with dwellings more substantial, have been utterly destroyed within a much briefer period. *This* country, only a few years ago, was in the sole possession of a numerous and powerful people, of the stone age, too, of whom only the traces remain to-day, except in the fastnesses of the wild West. What has happened to so many other peoples may have happened to the palafites men. Why not?

The thickness of the deposits on the site of the "palafites," from beneath which relics have been taken, has been thought in some cases to indicate a high antiquity. They seldom exceed six or seven feet. An old fisherman told M. Desor that when a child he used to amuse himself by poking at the old vessels of pottery, of which "great heaps" were then exposed at certain of the "Tenevrieres," where, nevertheless, they are now obliged, it seems, to dredge for them. There are many facts which show that such deposits of mud as in most cases cover the palafites may take place with comparative rapidity. Three miles off the city of Cleveland a British vessel was sunk in sixty feet water, which is below the line of erosive action from the waves, which cannot be said in behalf of the palafite deposits. This happened during the war of 1812, in a naval fight, and the report being circulated that the vessel had carried down considerable treasure, it was visited recently by some divers, and found covered up in a layer of clay twelve feet in thickness, all of which has been deposited in less than sixty years.

In many even of the stone stations the piles stand not only

some distance above the bottom, but in a few cases, if we read aright, bear the marks of the implement by means of which they were prepared. Now we know wood covered up in water, more especially in mud, will be preserved a very long time. But that the piles could have endured six thousand years, subject to the action of waves and light, and yet retain the marks of the ax, lacks the confirmation of, if it is not contrary to, all experience. But beyond this, at certain of the "palafites," as at Tene, Gallic coins of bronze, one of them a Tiberius the other a Claudius, have been obtained, which resemble exactly certain coins now met with quite frequently in France and Switzerland. Others from Tiefnau, near Berne, bear the effigies of Diana and Apollo. Coins of silver and gold have also been discovered, all of them Roman. Besides these, Roman vases, and tiles of *terra sigillaria*, have been found at several stations, all of which shows that they were inhabited during the Roman period, however completely written history may have ignored them. M. Keller says, that on the river Limnat, near Zurich, several huts were constructed on piles and inhabited by fishermen so late as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. They have been by no means uncommon in the past. Herodotus describes the Peonians of Lake Prasias, in Thrace, as dwelling on pile buildings. A like fact is mentioned by Hippocrates. Mr. Layard notices certain representations of such dwellings among the Assyrian inscriptions, and also the singular island habitations of the Afaij Arabs on the marshes of the Euphrates. When the Spaniards first entered the lagoon of Maracaybo, on the Caribbean, they were astonished to see the people with their dwellings on piles, and gave the land the name it bears to this day in commemoration of the fact—Venezuela. The Papuans of New Guinea, the negroes on Lake Tchad, according to Dr. Baikie, the Malays and Chinese established at Bankok, and on the coasts of Borneo, and the fishermen on the Bosphorus, not to mention other examples, live in the same manner to-day.

The "palafite" men cultivated not only the same species, but the same variety of barley, as was cultivated in ancient Italy, and is figured, according to Pekring, on the Egyptian monuments, and found with Egyptian mummies. The same

kind of flax was cultivated alike by the ancient Egyptians and the Lacustrine people of Central Europe.

So far, then, as the "palafites" are concerned, there seems to be no valid reason for extending the time beyond six thousand years. We may add that, ethnologically, Gervais, a most competent judge, assimilates the Lake-dwellers with the Fins and Laplanders who to-day inhabit the north of Europe, and who have with them now the reindeer, which was employed by the "prehistoric men" of Central and Southern Europe, where at present, in common with the race of men it served, it is extinct.

2. "*Kitchen Refuse Heaps.*" One of the circumstances supposed to favor their high antiquity is, that they are often found some distance from the shore, occasionally several miles. But in the older shell heaps this should excite no surprise, since no fact is better established than that the whole northwest coast of Europe and the British Isles are undergoing slow elevation from the sea. Within the last two thousand years the whole of Scotland has been raised not less than twenty feet, and in some places more than thirty.

The ancient beach line is as easily traced for miles twenty or thirty feet above high tide as the present one. In the gravels near the mouth of the Clyde no less than eighteen canoes have been recovered from a level fully twenty-two feet above high-water mark. One was on end, as if sunk and partly buried in a storm. One contained a fine polished stone hatchet, and one a piece of cork, which latter could only have come from South Europe. (*Geikie.*)

In the Carse of Gowrie, which borders on the north side of the Tay, various works of art have been exhumed, such as iron boat-hooks and several iron anchors, from a height above the sea of between twenty and thirty feet. A piece of Roman pottery has been found in the same beach at Leith. A rude ornament of Cannel coal has been discovered in the parish of Dundonald, lying fifty feet above the sea level, among shells.

Along the Scottish shores, it is well known, the old Roman harbors in some cases are several miles inland. At an elevation of more than two hundred feet, on the coasts of Norway and Sweden, raised beaches are found containing shells of recent species. Count Albert de la Marmora, in his Geology

of Sardinia, describes an ancient beach, containing shells and pottery, three hundred feet above the sea. The island of Crete, or Candia, one hundred and thirty-five miles in length, has been raised at the west end twenty-five feet, so that the ancient ports are high and dry, while the east end has sunk, so that the ruins of old towns are under water.

The remarkable case of the old temple of Jupiter Serapis at Pozzuoli is well known. The changes in level of the west coast of South America within the past two hundred years will be remembered. On the island of San Lorenzo, near this coast, Mr. Charles Darwin found pieces of cotton thread, plaited rushes, and the head of a stalk of corn, imbedded with shells, in a raised beach eighty-five feet above the sea. The island of Santa Maria, in the same vicinity, was raised in 1837 eight to ten feet in a few hours. In 1819 Fort Sindree, and a considerable tract of country about it, near the mouth of the Indus, was suddenly sunk down, so that only the tops of the houses projected above the waters of the lake which formed on its site. The same spot, by 1845, was converted into a salt marsh. In Cashmere, where earthquakes are frequent, shells of species now inhabiting the lakes of the country, and with them pieces of pottery, are found in some cases fifty feet below the surface. In this same region a beautiful Hindoo temple has lately been discovered and exposed to view, which for several centuries has been covered up in lacustrine silt.

The recent fearful elevations and depressions of the Pacific coast of South America will testify how speedily both the level and the immediate surface of parts of the earth's crust may be changed by volcanic agency. If, then, we should find a few "kitchen middens" even several miles inland, it would be far from proving of necessity a high antiquity for man.

Another supposed proof of their great age depends on the character of the shells in the heaps. These consist entirely of living species. The common oyster is among them, not excepting even the heaps on the shores of the Baltic, in whose waters, however, the oyster is not now found. The water of that sea (as in the case of most inland seas) has become brackish. The oyster can only flourish in fresh sea water. The remains of other mollusks are found in the Baltic heaps, as of the mussel, cockle, and periwinkle, and also in its water; but

the specimens now living in the sea, though of the same species, are much smaller than the remains in the heaps would indicate. To produce that change in the water of the sea which would result in driving out the oyster, and in diminishing in size the cockle and mussel, it is supposed would consume a long period of time; but the gradual elevation of the land, and with it the change in relative level of the Baltic and the ocean, will enable us to explain such a change as is contemplated without necessitating a long period. Within the past few weeks, indeed, it is reported, certain remarkable changes in the level of this sea have occurred. One evening recently its waters began to subside, and by ten o'clock had sunk down one foot, and so continued until two o'clock the following afternoon, when the greatest depression was reached, of three feet and two inches. From this time the water began to rise rapidly, and during the succeeding night reached a foot above the ordinary level. Most of the steamers plying between Cronstadt and St. Petersburg are said to have been aground during the period of depression. In view of all the facts pertinent to a judgment on this case there is nothing which may not have transpired in far less time than six thousand years.

3. *Deltas.* The only delta which has been submitted to any thing like a careful examination is that of the Mississippi. This has been thoroughly explored by Messrs. Humphreys and Abbott, of the Government Survey. Without attempting to state all the facts accumulated, it may be remarked they find the delta, from apex to base, to be two hundred and twenty miles in length, and that at present, it advances into the Gulf at the mean annual rate of two hundred and sixty-two feet. In this manner it would require at most about four thousand four hundred years for its formation. Readers will not fail to notice the difference between this result, and those of Drs. Dowler and Riddell, and Sir Charles Lyell, namely, *about ninety-four thousand years.* But certain facts render it uncertain if even so much time as four thousand and four hundred years has been consumed.

1) The apex of the delta would form more rapidly, all circumstances being equal, than the base, or more rapidly than two hundred and sixty-two feet per annum. 2) Singular elevations of the bottom of the gulf near the delta, and perhaps the

delta itself, known as "mud lumps," occur with frequency, by means of which acres in extent are in some cases raised, often above the surface of the water, and from the "lump" inflammable gas escapes, and occasionally salt springs break out. After the escape of the gas the "lump" partially subsides, but in some instances remains near the level of the surface of the water.

These elevations have sometimes appeared in a few days, or even a few hours' time. How much they may have aided in the elevation of the delta from the waters of the gulf we can only conjecture, but it is safe to say they must have had no inconsiderable share. The Northeast Lighthouse at one of the mouths of the river is to-day one quarter of a mile farther from the bar than it was four or five years ago. An island has formed in the Northeast Pass, three quarters of a mile in length, within the memory of man; nevertheless, trees are now growing near its edge, though it is marshy in its interior. It is constantly and rapidly increasing at this time. The alluvium, along the banks of the river, above the delta, has been described as of great depth. But recent borings show a depth of only twenty-five feet near Cairo, thirty-five feet in the Yazoo swamp and down to Baton Rouge, at New Orleans, about forty feet below the level of the gulf, and in the Atchafalaya basin, not more than thirty feet in thickness. Such are a few of the recent facts relating to the delta and alluvium of the Mississippi. They are very far from requiring of necessity even six thousand years in which for the delta to form.

In relation to the delta and valley of the Nile, no one is entitled to speak until it has been more carefully explored. There is no reason, meanwhile, to suppose its evidence any better than that of the Mississippi. At any rate, until we have more definite information it must be held *sub judice*, with a strong presumption against it.

4. *Cave Deposits.* The main interest attaching to these arises from the fact that they appear to show conclusively the contemporaneity of man and certain extinct animals, as the *mammoth* and *tichorine rhinoceros.* The evidence for the antiquity of these deposits depends partly on the character of their organic remains, and partly on their geological character and relations in other respects. But the geological evidence which applies here is identical with that of similar cases *out* of the

caverns. In view of this fact we will adjourn its discussion until the next paragraph. There are, however, some special facts which should be mentioned before passing. They are generally held to be more ancient than the "palafites," though some are believed to belong to the palafite period, as the caverns Roca Blanca, Ganges, Laroque, etc., in France.

In the cavern de Pondres, much relied on to show a high antiquity for man, especially by Emilien Dumas, further examinations have revealed a polished stone hatchet and the tooth of a sheep. The hatchet belongs to the neolithic period, (close of the stone age,) which would bring the contents of the cavern down to a point in time this side of most of the palafites of the stone age. As regards the tooth of a sheep, it may be remarked that Rutemeyer and His did not find remains of this animal among the bones taken from the palafites, at least of the stone age, because, as it was decided, the sheep came in after the palafite period. The inference is easy to be seen.

The remains of the cock have not been found in the stone palafites, since, as in the case of the sheep, the domestic fowl appeared at a later date. But they have been found in some of the caverns, as the cavern de Duret. Many of the relics found in the caverns, once believed to belong to extinct animals, have more recently been ascertained or suspected to be otherwise, for example: The cave lion (*felis spelæus*) cannot be clearly distinguished from the common lion (*felis leo*). The cave hyena (*hyena spelea*) cannot be distinguished by specific marks from *hyena crocuta*, *intermedia*, or *vulgaris*. The *felis antiqua* is probably the same as the panther (*felis parda*). It is by no means clear that the *hippopotamus major* is different from that of the Nile and Senegal. But many of the remains belong certainly to extinct species; as the cave bear, (*ursus spelæus*,) *taraudnus martialis*, (a kind of deer,) Irish elk, (*megaceros Hibernicus*,) *rhinoceros tichorinus*, etc.*

Many of the relics belong to animals extinct in Southern Europe, but living in adjacent parts. For example, the bones of the marmot, the hamster, of several spermophiles, the bison, the reindeer, etc., are found in the caves. But the marmot is known to live now, in Europe, only in Savoy, the hamster near

* Gervais, p. 70, *et seq.*

Strasbourg, the spermophiles in Poland, the bison in the forests of Lithuania, and the reindeer in North Europe. Aside from what the cave deposits present in common with the outer quaternary deposits, there seems to be no fact which demands a longer period of time than six thousand years. Let us then turn, in the next place, to the

5. *Terraces*, *peat-beds*, and *gravels* of the Somme and elsewhere. Here the question is not whether remains of man have been discovered buried in peats and gravels, in connection with the remains of extinct animals, but as to the time in which such changes as are exhibited could occur, and as to agencies and attending circumstances.

It is the vexed question among geologists to-day, and will be for years to come, as to the rapidity with which the superficial changes in the earth's crust have been wrought, especially during the upper tertiary and quaternary periods. More than thirty years ago, Sir Charles Lyell set forth what has been called the "Uniformitarian Theory." It not only declares that all the changes which the earth's crust has undergone in the past were produced by the same agencies as produce similar changes now, but that, on a moderate average, they occurred at the same rate as at present. By this rule, if you can ascertain how rapidly a given change happens now, you have, to say the least, an approximate measure by which to construe, as to past duration, the record of the rocks. This being by many accepted, geologists have very naturally been endeavoring to construct time scales, but thus far on an insufficient basis.

There are facts which point to a fundamental modification of the rule. It is, that as we approach the period of man, geological changes, on an average, take place with a rapidity which finds its maximum in the lowest sedimentary rocks, and its minimum in the historic period. The age of man is the most tranquil of all. Our beds of peat, sand, clay, and gravel are laid down now in much the same manner; our earthquakes and continental elevations, it is true, are accomplished by the same agencies; but the rate of action is, of necessity, by no means the same as formerly.

We are only now beginning to witness at least a more general, if only a partial, acceptance of the contrary view, which admits of sudden changes in the rapidity with which

the same agency operates in various periods in geological history.

The opinion seems to be growing, that a much more extended study of the superficial formations is necessary before definite chronological scales can be constructed on a geological basis, if indeed they ever can be.

Out of many facts which may be cited to show the newer formations to have been laid down with more rapidity than it has been customary to assume, we present the following:

1. During the progress of the Chicago tunnel the writer of the present article was appointed a committee from the Chicago Academy of Sciences to watch for any facts of scientific interest which might come to light. The horizontal shaft of the tunnel passed, in its whole extent of two miles, through a fine, compact, drift clay. In the midst of the clay, at intervals, masses of clean gravel were found. These were frequently of large size, and quite irregular in form and disposition, and often had a perpendicular height of two feet or more. The question arose as to how such isolated masses of gravel could occur in the midst of fine clay without mingling? The only probable way in which it could occur was by the masses in a frozen state being dropped from floating icebergs on the bottom of the glacial sea, and covered up in the clay before melting could take place. Many of the masses were elongated, and stood in a perpendicular position, several feet in height. Either the melting must have been unnaturally slow, or they must have been very suddenly covered up—in a few hours or days at most. If not the latter, then they must have melted down, and the gravel and clay mingled, as they are not. That there was a current in the waters of this lake there can be no doubt; but unless the masses of gravel were suddenly overwhelmed, why were they not thrown over into a horizontal posture, where the current would tend to place them? The facts connected with the "gravel pockets" seemed to indicate that clay had been laid down with a rapidity seldom suspected.

2. With this fact in his mind our colleague, Professor Andrews, while in Europe recently visited the valley of the Somme, and while there discovered certain corresponding facts in relation to its peats and gravels.

In the latter he found evidence that instead of masses of

frozen gravel, blocks of ice, several feet perhaps in thickness, had been incarcerated so suddenly as to give no time for melting until afterward. Moreover the gravel, though of chalk, was seldom waterworn, while in many cases the broken edges were sharp, as if fractured yesterday. Both of these facts, if duly considered, will necessitate the conclusion, that the gravels of the Somme must have been laid down with extreme rapidity. It is incredible that masses of ice several feet in thickness should have been covered up, subsequently to melt, if the gravel had been deposited so slowly as M. Boucher de Perthes and others have supposed. It would have required several hundred years, to say the least, to form a stratum equal in thickness to the imbedded ice-blocks. The angular pieces of chalk which compose so largely the gravels of the Somme, and the singular foldings or contortions of the layers of gravel, together with other facts, point to agencies at work in the past unlike in degree, perhaps in kind, to any known in the same locality at present.

In relation to the peat, which was said to form at the rate of one or two inches in a century, the same gentleman found in it stumps of considerable height standing erect, so that the upper end must have been exposed before it could finally be covered several hundred years. It is contrary to all experience for even the least perishable of woods to last so long, unless deeply covered up in water or mud.

Singularly enough, Sir Charles Lyell, almost on the very page in which he approvingly mentions the extreme results of M. Boucher de Perthes and others, relates that near the bottom of peat thirty feet in thickness the upright stalks of the alder and hazel, of considerable altitude, are found, and their roots still in the original soil in which they grew. If the alder stalks had been only two inches high they would require at least one hundred years in which to be covered up; but as it was they must have stood several hundred. It is needless to say such a view is totally contradictory to the commonest experience.

As to the human remains found in the peats and gravels of the Somme, they present in the main the same characters as those of the Fins and Laplanders of North Europe of the present day. The jaw found at Moulin Quignon, over which

so much has been said on account of its obliquity, Gervais and Brinckman, highly competent ethnologists and anatomists, pronounce to have no unusual characteristic not met with among living men to-day.

From the cave de Bethenas (Isere) a case of similar kind was produced, with the difference that most of the cranium was found, and in connection with it a polished stone hatchet, under such circumstances as to induce the belief they were of the same age. Besides this M. Julien found a jaw still more oblique in the grotte d'Aldene in the department of Aude, (France.) There was no reason to demand for this last case a higher antiquity than for the crania found, for example, at Mialet, Baillargues, etc., in which latter caverns the shape of the skulls was good, judged even by a modern standard. What may be said of the deposits *out* of the caverns may be said of those *in* them. So far as appears in the light of recent facts, all such as have been found to contain human remains may be easily accounted for in six thousand years.*

3. In relation to the gravel cones at Villeneuve, Switzerland, near the mouth of the Tiniere, examined by M. Morlot, Professor Andrews, after a careful investigation, ascertained that

* In the "American Journal of Sciences and Arts" for November of the present year will be found an article, accompanied by a map and sections, on the Amiens gravel of the Valley of the Somme, by ALFRED TYLOR, Esq., F.R.S.

The observations referred to were more extended and careful, perhaps, than any ever before made in that valley. The sections of the gravel, upon which the paper is mainly based, were extremely accurate and elaborate, and very numerous, and were furnished Mr. Tylor by M. Guillom, chief engineer of the railway at Amiens. They furnish an exact picture of the surface of the chalk of the valley prior to the deposition of the valley-gravel and "loëss." It is impossible within the limits of a note to give all the results, much less the facts, of this able investigation. To use the language of the author, "the conclusions that I arrive at are extremely dissimilar to those of Mr. Prestwich and Sir C. Lyell." They may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The surface of the chalk in the Valley of the Somme assumed its present shape previous to the deposition of any of the gravel or "loëss," now found there. 2. The gravels do not occupy two distinct levels, separated by an intervening escarpment of chalk, parallel to the river. 3. The gravels were transported by immense river-floods, which, as the facts show, filled the valley at least eighty feet above the level of the existing stream. 4. That these valley formations indicate a "pluvial" as clearly as the northern drift a glacial period. This "pluvial" period was characterized by immense rain-falls, and may be recorded as *immediately preceding the historical period at the farthest.*

(Who knows but we have here fallen on the traces of *Noah's flood!*)

Morlot had left one highly important element out of his calculation. Professor Andrews was not able to get back into the past more than about four thousand years, instead of seven thousand to ten thousand, as Morlot had done.

6. *Professor Whitney's skull.* This, if admitted to be a true case, is one of the most remarkable on record so far as depth beneath the surface is concerned. But it will be remembered the overlying strata were composed of alternating layers of volcanic ash and gravel. There is every reason for supposing both may have been laid down with great rapidity, especially the ash, the whole thickness of which, in a period of volcanic activity, might have been thrown out in a few years at most. The region is well known to have been the theater of great volcanic disturbance. The same may be said, even more emphatically, of the skull in the Boston Society Museum, if it is a true find. The overlying mass is said to be basaltic in character. How speedily a mass of basalt, even one hundred and eighty feet in depth, may have been ejected, let any one answer for himself who has studied the history of volcanic eruptions, and remembers, among other examples, Herculaneum and Pompeii. But we are not even called on seriously to discuss this latter case until we have more substantial proof of its genuineness. As to Professor Whitney's skull, the remarks of Professor Blake when it was exhibited, but more particularly those of Professor Silliman, of New Haven, who has personally explored the region where the skull was found, were calculated to throw discredit on it. But beyond this, the writer of this article has evidence from a seemingly trustworthy source which points to the whole matter as a hoax, of which Professor Whitney is the victim.

Such are the principal special cases bearing on the antiquity of man which have recently come to light. Here we might terminate our survey; but as the decision turns on the rapidity with which geological changes have occurred, we next offer some facts which tend to throw further light on this general question.

In 1837 and 1840 six fossil trees were found in the coal fields of Lancashire, England, where they are divided by the cut of the Bolton railway. They were all vertical to the strata, and their roots imbedded in a soft argillaceous shale. One tree

was fifteen and a half feet in diameter at the base, seven and a half feet at the top, and eleven feet high. In 1838 four upright *sigillariæ* were found piercing the coal measures near Capel Cœlbron, in Wales. One was thirteen and a half feet high, and terminated in a layer of coal. In the Newcastle colliery not less than thirty sigillariæ were found on a space fifty yards square. Some were four or five feet in diameter, and the roots of one was imbedded naturally in shale. For some distance it maintained a position vertical to the strata, and then was suddenly bent at right angles and flattened out in a horizontal position parallel to the strata. In a remarkable case at Wolverhampton, England, seventy-three trees were found on a quarter of an acre imbedded in the shales and sandstones of the coal measures. Most of the trunks were prostrate, and though several feet in diameter, were flattened to less than two inches in thickness. Some, however, stood upright, and in most cases the roots were attached, and formed part of a bed of coal which rested on a thin layer of clay. Below this another forest, on a seam of coal two feet thick, and then five feet lower, another forest. M. Alex. Brogniart gives an account of the remains of certain bamboo-like trees (*equiseta*) at St. Etienne, near Lyons, France, which stand upright in solid sandstone, and are many feet in height.

At a place called "South Joggins," near the Bay of Fundy, in Nova Scotia, a vast formation, four thousand five hundred and fifteen feet in thickness, of alternating layers of shales, sandstones, and coal seams, is found. Sir W. E. Logan discovered trees there at no less than seventeen different levels; some stood with a vertical height of twenty-five feet, piercing the layers of shale and sandstone, but never passed through coal seams. In a thickness of one thousand four hundred feet evidence of root-bearing soils was found at sixty-eight different levels.

At Craigleith quarry, near Edinburgh, Scotland, the trunk of a tree seventy feet long was found in a somewhat inclined position embedded in solid silicious sandstone. In the same vicinity, and in the same kind of stone, Hugh Miller found four trees standing in an inclined position, one of them sixty and another seventy feet in length. Finally, if we read Sir Charles Lyell aright, (from whose writings most of the facts fo-

this paragraph are taken,) in 1829, at Gosforth, near Newcastle, a tree was discovered piercing through the strata of solid shales and sandstones to the altitude of seventy-two feet. To these very many other facts of like kind, and equally striking, could be added.

But enough has been given to show, what has usually been overlooked, that geological changes, even in the formation of the sedimentary rocks, have often taken place with startling rapidity. The imbedded trees to which we have referred had but little durability, many of them not more than the palms of to-day. To cover up such a tree to the depth of seventy-two feet, and yet leave the top as free from evidences of decay as the lower end, it is manifest but little time could be given —at most only a few years.

What then, in brief, are the conclusions we seem permitted to draw in the light of recent facts? They are:

1. That man and the mammoth in some parts of the globe were contemporaneous.

2. That instead of carrying man back to the period in time formerly assigned to the mammoth and other great extinct pachyderms, we are required, rather, to bring the mammoth down to the period of man.

3. While we feel by no means necessitated to stand up for the six thousand years of the accepted chronology, yet we are permitted to conclude that those deposits in which remains of man have been found, may in all fairness have been formed within that period. We may safely go beyond this, and say, the facts not only show such *may* have been, but in all probability such *was, the case.*

4. That the knowledge we have of the dynamical geology of the various superficial formations from the *pleistocene* upward, is not such as to enable us to reach reliable conclusions as to past time. This is a work of the future. Much has been done. But it may become evident to any one who has even a moderate acquaintance with geology, that our knowledge of much that pertains to the tertiary and quaternary groups has only seen a respectable beginning.

5. That geological changes have taken place with a rapidity in the past seldom, if ever, witnessed at the present.

There is every reason to expect that this question of the

"Antiquity of Man," which has unfortunately been pressed into the service of unbelief, will share the fate of hundreds of others, which were once the occasions of conflict, but have only served to correct mutually the too hasty interpretations which men have endeavored to fasten alike on the "word" and "works" of God.

It will only help to show that, however deeply science and religion may differ in aim, method, and results, yet when fairly construed they will never contradict, because correlates from the same Divine hand.

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

SPAIN.

An Opening for Protestantism—Preparations for Building Protestant Churches—Efforts of English and American Societies.—One of the greatest among the many victories which the cause of religious toleration has of late gained in Europe is the overthrow of religious fanaticism in Spain by the revolution of September, 1868. Spain, until the outbreak of the recent revolution, was by far the most intolerant country in Europe. Even in Rome and the Papal States Protestants were not so severely dealt with as in Spain. The holding of Protestant meetings, the circulation and possession of Protestant books, and even of unauthorized versions of the Bible, subjected every Spaniard to the heaviest punishment, and the history of Matamoras and other martyrs of recent date is ample proof that the Spanish laws with regard to this subject did not remain a dead-letter. All this has now ceased. All the leaders of the revolutionary movement have very emphatically declared themselves in favor of religious freedom, and wherever the people have made any public demonstration with regard to the subject they have approved the opinions of their leaders. From four cities—Madrid, Seville, Barcelona, and Gerona—it is already reported that permission has been asked and granted to erect Protestant churches, and many others are expected soon to follow. All the liberal parties—the Liberal Union, the Progressistas, and the Democrats—have so emphatically declared themselves in favor of establishing religious toleration that the coming Constituent Assembly may confidently be expected to throw the gates of the country wide open to peaceable citizens of every religious creed.

Protestantism is not an entire stranger to the Spanish people.

The Spaniards who are familiar with the history of their country know that in the sixteenth century the Reformation was as gladly welcomed by their ancestors as in any of the other European countries. So rapid, indeed, was its progress that it would have required but a short period of freedom to root itself in the country forever. Large numbers of Protestant Spanish books were printed at Antwerp at the expense of Spanish merchants, and imported into Spain. Alfonso Valdez, Secretary of the Emperor Charles V.; Alfonso de Virves, who subsequently became Bishop of the Canary Islands; Juan Valdez, the Secretary of the Viceroy of Naples, professed reformatory sentiments soon after the public appearance of Luther. In 1543 a translation of the New Testament was published by Francisco Enzinas, better known under the name of Dryander; in 1569 a translation of the whole Bible was published by Cassiodoro de Reyna. Protestant congregations were established in Seville, Valladolid, and a number of other cities; but soon the further progress of the Reformation was arrested by the cruelties of the Inquisition. The worst kings that have lived in Europe during the last

three hundred years worked together with the most bloodthirsty fanatics that have ever disgraced the name of Christianity to eradicate Protestantism. In no country of Europe were so many heretics burned as in Spain. Thus the Reformation in 1570 was entirely suppressed. Only in a few foreign cities, as Antwerp, Geneva, and London, small colonies of refugees kept up the history of Spanish Protestantism. In Spain itself, for more than two hundred years, no serious efforts could be made to re-establish the reformed faith.

In the present century the liberal administrations which Spain enjoyed at intervals encouraged English and American missionaries to circulate the Bible. The Bishops showed to all these attempts the most determined opposition; and Queen Isabella did her best to bring back the worst days of the Inquisition. By means of reading the Bible a number of Spaniards had secretly embraced the principles of Protestantism, and became in turn active in the propagation of Bible truth. Against them the government proceeded with consummate cruelty, and years of imprisonment and exile awaited every one who was found to possess or to read the Bible or a Protestant book, or to take part in a Protestant meeting. Even foreign Protestant residents were not allowed the free exercise of their religion. Notwithstanding all this persecution there are to-day large numbers of secret Protestants in Spain.

GERMANY.

THE GENERAL LUTHERAN CONFERENCE AT HANOVER.—On the first of July a General Conference of delegates from all the Lutheran Churches of Germany was opened at Hanover. This is the first meeting of the kind that has yet been held, and is likely to organize a movement which must effect a radical transformation in the Protestant State Churches of Germany. At present Germany has three different Protestant State Churches, namely: 1. The Lutheran, 2. The Reformed, 3. The United Evangelical. The latter consists of a union of Lutherans and Reformed, and was established in 1817 by a decree of the King of Prussia. Nearly the whole Protestant population of Prussia, of Baden, and of a number of the North German States, and, altogether, a large majority of the Protestant population of Germany, belong to it. The Reformed State Church of Germany has been almost absorbed by it. Among the Lutheran Churches which opposed the union of the two Churches are those of Bavaria, (except in the Province of the Palatinate, where the Union is introduced,) Wurtemberg, Saxony, Hanover, Schleswig-Holstein, and Mecklenburg. In Prussia a small number of Lutherans, who protested against the Union, have established a Lutheran Free Church. Within the United Evangelical Church of Prussia, and other countries, there is a considerable Lutheran party which views the United Evangelical Church only as an outward confederation of two independent Protestant Churches, under the authority of one Protestant government, and which wishes to be regarded as a real Lutheran Church within the Union. When, in 1866, Hanover and Schleswig-Holstein were annexed to Prussia, it was feared by Lutherans of all parties that the Prussian government would make efforts to force this union upon the Lutheran Church of these provinces. This fear suggested the plan of a conference of men of all Lutheran Churches. The idea met with general approval, and accordingly, the first General Lutheran Conference at Hanover was largely attended. Three classes of Churches were represented: 1. The avowedly Lutheran State Churches of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Saxony, and other States. 2. The Free Lutheran Churches of Prussia and of other States, which recognize the United Evangelical Church as the only State Church. 3. The Lutheran party in the United Evangelical Church. Dr. von Harless, well-known as one of the prominent theologians of the Lutheran Church, and now president of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Council of Bavaria, and member of the First Chamber of Bavaria, was chosen president. A number of theologians known to the entire Protestant world by their writings were present. Among them were, Dr. Kliefoth, Dr. Luthardt, Dr. von Hofmann, Dr. Kahnis, Dr. Uhlhorn, Dr. Thomasius. The following resolutions, which define the relation of the German Lutheran Churches to the other Protestant State Churches and to the Protestant State governments, were unanimously adopted:

1. Sufficient, but at the same time indispensable for the true idea of the Church, is an agreement in the true

doctrine and in the administration of the sacraments as we find them expressed in the Confessions of the Lutheran Church.

2. The Church government, being an important member of the Church, is also included in the demand of an agreement in true doctrine and in the administration of sacraments with the Church which it is to govern.

3. It is therefore inadmissible to unite Churches by means of one Church government, without agreement in doctrine and the administration of sacraments.

4. For the same reason, the right cannot be conceded to the ruler of a country to dissolve ecclesiastical territories which may fall to him, without regard to their doctrine and administration of sacraments, into the whole of the State Churches, in such a manner that such Churches would only continue to exist within the State Church as individual congregations with their private doctrine and administration of sacraments."

The German Lutherans are nearly unanimous in regarding a Lutheran State Church as the best form of Church government; but, rather than consent to the establishment of a union with the Reformed Church, they would generally prefer the establishment of independent Lutheran Churches.

SWEDEN.

THE FIRST GENERAL SYNOD OF THE SWEDISH STATE CHURCH.—Among the notable events in the history of the Protestant Churches of the year 1868 we must mention the meeting of the first General Synod of the Lutheran State Church of Sweden. This Church, almost more than any of the Protestant Churches originating in the sixteenth century, has suffered from an undue influence upon its affairs by the State government. The bishops and representatives of the clergy constituted, according to the former Swedish Constitution, one of the four estates of the kingdom. The new Swedish constitution, which was adopted in 1867, substituted for the four estates two chambers; and in article 88, while leaving the ecclesiastical legislation in the hands of the Diet and the King, made the validity of all resolutions passed with regard to ecclesiastical affairs dependent upon the consent of the General Synod. The King shall possess the right of interpreting the Church laws, until the adoption of a different interpretation by the General Synod. The establishment of the General Synod dates from the royal decree of November 16, 1863. It shall consist of the Archbishop of Upsala, the eleven Bishops of the kingdom, four Professors of the Theological Faculty, the Pastor Primarius of Stockholm, of thirty clergymen, to be elected severally by the clergy of the thirty ecclesiastical districts, and of thirty laymen, to be elected in as many electoral districts. The Synod shall meet every fifth year. The Minister of Public Worship has a right to be present at the meetings, but has no vote. The opening took place with great pomp on September 5. The government laid ten different propositions before the Synod.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE ŒCUMENICAL COUNCIL—LETTERS FROM THE POPE TO THE ORIENTAL BISHOPS AND THE PROTESTANTS—REPLIES FROM THE ORIENTAL AND PROTESTANT CHURCHES.—In the Church history of the current year the preparations for and the discussion of this Œcumenical Council, which has been convoked by the Pope to meet at Rome on the 8th of December, 1869, will occupy a prominent place. By addressing letters to all the Christian bodies which are not in union with Rome the Pope has awakened a general interest in the subject, and elicited several replies. In the preceding number of the "*Methodist Quarterly Review*" we have given the substance of the Pope's circular letter to the Roman Catholic Bishops convoking the Council.

The invitation in the Papal letter to the Oriental Bishops is thus expressed:

Now, as lately, with the advice of our venerable brothers, the Cardinals of the holy Roman Church, we have indicated and convoked an Œcumenical Council, to be opened in Rome on December 8 of next year, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, Mother of God, we address our words to you again, and we conjure, warn, and entreat you, with all the earnestness we are capable of, to come to this same general assembly, as did your ancestors to the Council of Lyons, held under the blessed Gregory X., our predecessor of venerable memory, and to the Council of Florence, celebrated by Eugenius IV., also our predecessor of happy memory,

to the end that renewing the laws of ancient love, and restoring to its vigor the peace of our fathers, that celestial and salutary gift of Jesus Christ, of which in time we have lost the fruits, we may see at last, after a long period of grief, in which darkness and division prevailed—we may see arise the brilliant and pure morning which we so long have prayed for.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, September 8, 1868, in the twenty-third year of our Pontificate.

It was from the beginning expected by Roman Catholic writers that no Bishop of Russia would be permitted by the Emperor to attend the Council. It was also considered as probable that Russian influence would be strong enough in Gallah to prevent the attendance of the Greek Bishops. But very sanguine hopes were entertained with regard to the Eastern Churches of Turkey. Leading Roman Catholic papers gave it as their opinion that as many as one hundred Bishops of the Eastern Churches might appear in Rome and take part in the Council, and the most extravagant hopes were indulged in in regard to a union between the Eastern and the Roman Catholic Churches. But the official accounts from the heads of the Greek and Armenian Churches have by this time thoroughly disposed of these extravagant hopes. The letter from the Pope was officially presented to the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople by four envoys, at the head of whom was the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Constantinople. The following account of the interview is given by the "Turquie," a semi-official paper of the Turkish Government published in Constantinople, and the "Nord," a semi-official organ of the Russian Government, published in Brussels, declares itself able to vouch for the correctness of the report. The "Turquie" says:

The envoys were very cordially received, and one of them at once produced the letter, richly bound in pamphlet form, and stated its purport in a few brief words. The Patriarch did not take the letter, but motioned the speaker to put it down. He then explained at some length the reasons why he could not accept the invitation. He had already, he said, been made acquainted by the newspapers with the principles expressed in the letter of convocation; and as they were diametrically opposed to those of the Orthodox Eastern Church, it was with sincere sorrow that he was unable to subscribe to them. Already, in 1848, his Holiness had sent a similar invitation, and the Eastern Church had met it with an encyclical explaining how widely its principles differed from those of Rome; and this explanation had greatly afflicted his Holiness, as his reply sufficiently indicated. "As, moreover, his Holiness does not seem to have deviated from his principles," added the Patriarch, "and as we on our side, thanks be to God! have not deviated from ours, we have as little desire to vainly cause him fresh sorrow as to open old sores." A discussion then followed, in which the Patriarch maintained that it was not the Greek Church, but the Roman Church, which had departed from apostolical doctrine, and denied the right of the Pope even to summon an Œcumenical Council on his own authority. At the conclusion of the interview the invitation was handed back to the Papal envoys, who thereupon took their leave.

The presentation of the letter to the Armenian Patriarch was not more effective. The Patriarch, it is said, was less decided in his rejection of the invitation, but he referred the envoys to the chief head of the Armenians, the Catholicos of Etchmiadsin. As the latter is a subject of Russia, it must, on that account alone, be expected that, as far as his influence extends, the Armenian Church will not be represented at the Roman Catholic Council. There may be a disposition on the part of a few Oriental Bishops to accept the Pope's invitation, but it is highly probable that the Episcopal representatives of the Eastern Churches at Rome, if there will be any, will be very few.

Outside of the communion of Rome there is only one Church which has a numerous party desiring participation in the Roman Catholic Council, with the avowed hope that such a step may remove all barriers that now delay their full union with Rome. We refer to the extreme party among the Ritualists of the Anglican Church. This party, in 1857, established an "Association for Promoting the Unity of Christendom," the members of which pledge themselves to recite a daily prayer for the union of Christendom, meaning, in particular, the union of the Roman Catholic, the Eastern, and the Anglican Churches. From 1857 to September 1868, 12,684 members have been enrolled, of whom 1,831, we are told, belong to the Roman Catholic Church in various countries, 685 are Orientals, 92 are attached to miscella-

neous communities, and 10,026 belong to the Church of England, and other Churches in communion with the same. It is quite common among the clergymen of this school to recognize an honorary primacy of the Bishop of Rome over the whole Church, and a virtual conformity between the doctrine of Rome and the doctrine of the Anglican Church, as they understand them. They hoped that the Bishops of the Anglican Churches would be invited, with the Oriental Bishops, to take part in the proceedings of the Council, and that some of the Anglican Bishops might be prevailed upon to attend. This hope has not been realized, as the Anglicans in Rome are viewed not as schismatics, but as heretics; but nevertheless the clergymen of the party have been urging their faithful followers to pray for the success of the Œcumenical Council, especially in regard to the union of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches.

The following are extracts from the letter addressed by the Pope to all the Protestant and non-Catholic bodies:

Instigated and encouraged by the charity of our Lord Jesus Christ, who laid down his life for the salvation of the world, we cannot forbear, on the occasion of the meeting of the next Council, addressing our apostolic and paternal word to all those who, while recognizing that same Jesus Christ as our Saviour, and rejoicing in the name of Christians, yet still do not profess the veritable faith of Christ, nor follow the communion of the Catholic Church. And if we do so, it is before all to warn, exhort, and supplicate them with all our zeal and all our charity to consider and seriously examine if they in truth follow the path prescribed by our Lord Jesus Christ, and which leads to eternal happiness. In fact, no one can deny or doubt that Jesus Christ himself, in order that all future human generations should enjoy the fruit of his redemption, built up here below his Church in the person of Peter, that is to say, the Church, one, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic.

Now, whosoever wishes well to consider and examine with attention the different religious societies divided among themselves and separated from the Catholic Church which, since the time of the Lord Jesus Christ and his Apostles, has always uninterruptedly exercised, and still exercises, by means of its legitimate Pastors, the power intrusted to her by our Lord himself—whoever, we say, shall thus examine will easily convince himself that not one of those religious societies, nor all the religious societies together, constitutes, or in any way can be considered as, the one and only Catholic Church which our Lord Jesus Christ founded, constituted, and desired; should wish that they cannot in any way be regarded as a member or as a part of that same Church, because they are visibly separated from all Catholic unity. As in fact those societies are deprived of that living authority established by God, who pointed out to mankind before all things the matter of faith and the rule of morality, who directed and presided over them in all things affecting their eternal welfare, therefore those societies themselves constantly varied in their doctrine, and this mobility, this instability, is unceasing. Every one can easily comprehend that this state of things is altogether opposed to the Church established by Christ our Lord, a Church in which the truth must always rest unaltered, without being the subject of any change, as a charge intrusted to that same Church in order that she may preserve it in all its integrity, a charge for the care of which the presence of the Holy Ghost, and its aid, has been granted forever to this Church.

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, September 13, 1868, in the twenty-third year of our Pontificate.

As was to be expected, the letter had not produced any effect. It has generally been recognized that the tone of this letter is much less arrogant and insulting with regard to Protestantism than the great majority of the documents emanating from the Pope. It deserves, in particular, recognition that the Pope remembers that Protestants "recognize the same Jesus Christ as Saviour." But as the Pope does not moderate the dogmatical claims of his Church, all the notice Protestants could take of his letter was a reassertion of their own position. A few Protestant bodies have made a formal reply, as the Protestant State Church of Prussia. The members of the late Triennial Episcopal Convention have signed a letter to the Pope in reply to his invitation. The General Council of the Lutheran Church, at its recent meeting at Pittsburgh, has likewise appointed a committee to answer it.

The weightiest response to the Pope's letter will be issued from the next General Assembly of the World's Evangelical Alliance. Through it the Protestant world will reply to the Roman Catholic. At the fifth assembly of the Alliance, held at Amsterdam, it was intimated that the sixth assembly might be held in New York. Consequently some

months ago the Committee of the American branch extended an invitation to the European branches to hold their next meeting in America, and this invitation was cordially accepted. Subsequently, a letter was received from the Council of the English branch inquiring whether the autumn of next year might not be looked to, on the supposition that circumstances in the United States and in Europe favor it, as the probable time of holding the Conference.

At a meeting of the prominent men of the American branch, held in New York in October, the Rev. Dr. M'Cosh, formerly one of the most distinguished members of the Irish Presbyterian Church, and of the English branch of the Alliance, and recently installed as President of Princeton College, spoke of the enthusiasm with which the American invitation had been received at Amsterdam, and of the strong desire on the part of the most eminent men of learning and piety on the Continent and in Britain to hold the next General Council in this country. Other speakers stated that the leading German and French evangelical scholars and divines, and distinguished statesmen and clergymen from England, would attend. In consideration of all these facts the meeting unanimously adopted a resolution approving the plan of holding the next General Conference in New York in October of 1869, and pledging its co-operation to the American branch of the Alliance in this work.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The great Protestant Cyclopedia of Dr. Herzog, by far the largest and most learned work which Protestant theology has yet produced, is now complete by the publication of the twenty-second volume, containing the register, (*Theologische Encyklopädie*, 22 vols. Gotha.) The original work contains eighteen volumes; to these have been added three supplementary volumes, and one volume containing the register. For theologians who can read German this is an inexhaustible mine of valuable information on all branches of theology. A considerable amount of the material contained in it is, however, of but little interest for any except Germans. A condensed translation of it, which was begun some years ago in this country, has been discontinued from want of support. Since then the Cyclopædia of Dr. M'Clintock and Dr. Strong has appeared, which, for the immense majority of all who consult theological Cyclopedias, supersedes the work of Dr. Herzog, both the original and the translation.

The greatest geographical publishing house of the world, Justus Perthes', of Gotha, to which the theological world is already indebted for the excellent mission atlas of Dr. Grundemann, has recently published a new Bible atlas, by Dr. Theodor Reake. The atlas consists of the following eight maps: 1. The ethnographic map of Genesis; 2. The Northern Semites and the eastern half of the Mediterranean; 3. The territories of the twelve tribes of Israel before the exile; 4. Syria and Phœnicia at the time of the Persian empire; 5. Judea and the neighboring countries at the time of Christ and the Apostles; 6. Palestine according to the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome; 7. The Holy Land at the time of the Crusaders. 8. Palestine at the present time. Every map is accompanied by a number of side maps.

Thus there are side maps to the first map representing the ethnographic table of Genesis according to Josephus, explanations from Ptolemy, the map of the world given by Cosmos Indiaopleustes, two maps of the world published in the fourteenth century, the parts of the world which were known to the Iliad and the Odyssey.

Professor Lipsius, of Kiel, to whom we are already indebted for several valuable works on the early history of the Christian Church, has published new critical researches on the Lists of the early Popes as they are found in the Chronicles of Eusebius, and of the chronists who have adopted the text of

Eusebius. (*Die Papstverzeichnisse des Eusebius.* Kiel, 1868.) The author shows, that in consequence of several revisions of, and additions to, our original lists, which extended to the beginning of the second century, there were in the fourth century as many as five lists in circulation.

Professor Heinichen, who, as long as forty-one years ago, published an edition of the Church History of Eusebius, has now begun the publication of a complete edition of the historical works of Eusebius. The first volume (*Eusebii Pamphilii Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ, libri X.* Leipzig, 1868,) is a thoroughly revised new edition of the Church History. The second volume contains the life of Constantine. (*Vita Constantiné et Panegyricus atque Constantini ad Sanctorum coetum oratio.*)

A special essay on the clause "Descended into hell," in the Apostolic creed, has been published by Professor Alexander Schweizer, well-known as one of the foremost writers on the doctrines of the Reformed Church. (*Hinabgefahren zur Hölle.* Zurich, 1868.) The author undertakes to prove that those words do not mean a descent of Christ into hell after his death; but, in accordance with the doctrine of the old Reformed Church, which has of late been re-adopted by Dr. Hoffmann, of the influence of the pre-existent Spirit of Christ at the time of the deluge.

A work on the policy of the Popes from Gregory I. to Gregory VII. has been begun by Professor R. Baxmann. (*Die Politik der Päpste von Gregor I. bis auf Gregor VII.* Elberfeld, 1868.) The work will be complete in two volumes. The same author has published a biographical sketch of Schleiermacher. (*Friedrich Schleiermacher.* Elberfeld, 1868.)

T. Nöldeke, the author of an extensive work on the Koran, has published a work on "The Old Testament Literature, in a series of Essays." (*Die Alttestamentliche Literatur in Aufsätsen.* Leipzig, 1868.)

A new manual of the Biblical Theology of the New Testament has been published by B. Weiss. (*Lehrbuch der bibl Theologie.* Berlin, 1868.)

A new work by Karl Zimmermann (the founder of the Gustavus Adolphus Society) treats of the progress of the Evangelical Church in Roman Catholic countries. (*Die evangel. Diaspera.* Darmstadt, 1868.) The first number treats of Protestantism in Austria.

A new "Introduction into the New Testament" (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament,* Freiburg, 1868) has been published by Dr. Langen, (Roman Catholic.) Professor of Theology at the University of Bonn. The author, like some other Roman Catholic theologians, has an elastic view of inspiration; so much so, that the episcopal placet was given to his book only on the condition that he leave out some sentences setting forth his reasons for rejecting the verbal inspirations.

HOLLAND.

Among the Syriac works which some years ago were discovered in the Nitrian Desert, and acquired by the British Museum of London, few were so important as the third part of the Church History of Bishop Johannes of Ephesus, which has been published by Cureton. The importance of this work created among the friends of Church history a desire for the publication of all other works of this Bishop that are still extant in manuscript. This wish has recently been fulfilled by J. P. N. Land, who in *Anecdota Syriaca,* vol. ii. (also under the special title Joannis Episcopi Monophysitæ Scripta Historica, Leyden, 1868,) has published all the inedited works of Bishop Joannes. The volume contains a few more fragments of the history, and, in particular, biographies of Oriental saints, which present a very pitiful exhibition of asceticism as it prevailed in the East at the time of this author.

GREECE.

The theologians of the Greek Church begin to discuss the question of an intercommunion between the Eastern and the Anglican Churches. Two works on the subject have recently been published by Nicholas Damalas, who during the present year has been appointed Professor of Theology at the University of Athens. The one is entitled, "On the Relation of the English Church to the Orthodox." (περὶ τῆς σχέσεως τῆς ἀγγλικῆς ἐκκλησίας πρὸς τὴν ὀρθόδοξον, London, 1867,) and the other "An Inaugural Address," (Ἐναρκτήριος λόγος, Athens, 1868.) The

author, after explaining the points of difference between his Church and the Anglican, argues that only the doctrine of the Greek Church is conformable to the Holy Scriptures, and that only on the basis of her doctrine a real and lasting union of the two Churches is possible. The author has great confidence in the possibility of a union of the two Churches which have so many points in common. He thinks that it may only require some external impulse to consummate the union, and he claims for his Church the right to convoke a "general" Œcumenical Council as a genuine successor of the seven Œcumenical Councils of the ancient Catholic and Apostolical Church.

ITALY.

The Jesuit Perrone, whose work on the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church is a favorite text-book of the Ultramontane school in the Church of Rome, has completed and will soon publish a work in three volumes "on the Divinity of our Lord Jesus Christ." (*De Divinitate Domini Nostri Jesu Christi.*)

Of the celebrated work of De Rossi on Subterranean Rome, (*Roma Sotteranea,*) the second volume has been published in Rome. It is chiefly devoted to the monuments of the large catacomb of St. Callixtus. With the aid of the monuments examined by him the author institutes new investigations on the history of the early Popes.

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

Baptist Quarterly, October, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Philosophy and Religion. 2. Translation and the Future Life. 3. Comparative Religion. 4. The Blasphemy against the Holy Ghost. 5. The Office of the Divine Law.

Bibliotheca Sacra, October, 1868. (Andover.)—1. The Exegetical Punctuation of the New Testament. 2. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 3. Mr. Grote's Theory of Democracy. 4. The Death of Christ in its Outward Appearance and its Historical Influence. 5. The Land of Moriah. 6. Biblical Notes.

Congregational Review, November, 1868. (Boston.)—1. The Divine Order and Plan concerning Prayer. 2. Modern Infidelity and the Bible. 3. Recent Catholic Tracts. 4. The Arabian Desert. 5. Paul's Troas Parchments Found. 6. The House of God a Business House.

Evangelical Quarterly Review, October, 1868. (Gettysburg.)—1. The Incarnation, the Christology and Soteriology. 2. Regeneration. 3. The Third Commandment. 4. Scriptural Argument for Sudden Conversions. 5. The Homiletical Value of Cicero de Oratore. 6. Novels. 7. Full Fidelity to God's Gifts. 8. Reminiscences of Lutheran Ministers.

Freewill Baptist Quarterly, October, 1868. (Dover, N. H.)—1. Christ's Vital Relations to Men. 2. Woman's Work in India. 3. The First Chapter of Ephesians, or Personal Predestination. 4. The Book of Job and its Lessons. 5. Pulpit Eloquence. 6. The Resurrection. 7. Personal Christian Development. 8. Doctrine and Polity of the Freewill Baptists. 9. Art in Instruction.

Mercersburgh Review, October, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. The State as an Element in Civilization. 2. An Inquiry into the Validity of Lay-Baptism. 3. Answer to Professor Dorner.

New Englander, October, 1868. (New Haven.)—1. Pampresbyterianism. 2. Life in the Argentine Republic in the Days of the Tyrants. 3. The Positive Philosophy since 1848. 4. The True Conception of the Christian Ministry. 5. Our Finances. 6. Dr. N. W. Taylor's Theology: A Rejoinder to the "Princeton Review." 7. Divorce. 8. The Women of the Northwest during the War.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, September, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Bartolomeo de Las Casas. 2. The Greek Gnomic Poets. 3. On the Education of the Imbecile. 4. Zwingli, the Reformer. 5. France in Europe and in Africa. 6. The Four Ancient Books of Wales. 7. Nathaniel Hawthorne. 8 Positivism.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, October, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Freidrich Schleiermacher. 2. Christ's Work with all Souls. 3. The Process of God in Nature. 4. Africa: Physical, Historical, and Ethnological. 5. John Murray. 6. Valerius the Great.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, October, 1868. (Boston.)—1. Philosophical Biology. 2. Massimo D'Azeglio. 3. The New York Convention. 4 The Principles of Geology. 5. Epic Philosophy. 6. The Political Situation in England. 7. Harvard College Library. 8. The Siege of Delhi. 9. The Spanish Gypsy.

The first article, by Mr. Francis Ellingwood Abbot, is a piece of very elaborate writing and very laborious reading. It is an attempt to test the validity of Herbert Spencer's accounting for the origin of life on his principle of "evolution." Mr. Spencer's evolution consists simply of the regular process of unintelligent cause and effect, with merely material elements, extended through endless time and boundless space; and his effort is to show that this process would necessarily evolve all the cosmical phenomena we know, including the highest manifestations of life and thought. *Apparently*, Mr. Abbot condemns the attempt of Mr. Spencer as a failure. He holds that the phenomena of life cannot be explained by merely chemico-mechanical elements and forces. Vital phenomena, he avers, as exhibited in living beings, are of a nature so diverse from mere mechanical phenomena that it is perfectly unphilosophical to deny a diversity of causations. There are facts of life in abundance for which chemical and mechanical powers cannot account.

But while thus rejecting Mr. Spencer's tracing all the phenomena of the cosmos to mechanical forces, Mr. Abbot still indorses the explanation of *the great whole* by evolution. He rejects, with all Mr. Spencer's vehemence and contempt, all "special creation;" and believes that the universe, with all its phenomena, comes forth into successional existence by natural development. All things come, he affirms with Mr. Spencer, by a series of causations; but, unlike Mr. Spencer, he believes that the causations are not *one*, namely, *mechanical*, but two, namely, *mechanical* and *vital*. But how does Mr. Abbot theorize that living beings, life, come into existence without special creation? He adopts the exploded theory, rejected alike by Darwin and Spencer with apparent contempt, of *spontaneous generation!* And thus he attains, what he denies Herbert Spencer to have attained, the solution of the entire existence of the cosmos in space and time by the one law of development. Yet he does not, like Mr. Spencer, suppose that

the universal and eternal process can be grounded in an unintelligent "Unknown Absolute," (as genuine a big word for *nothing-at-all* as any pseudo-philosophy ever engendered,) but in an Infinite Intelligence. His remarks on this point are forcible:

The more completely the process of organic evolution can be traced in detail, its obscurities dispelled, and its perfect unity brought to view—the more widely its relations to the general course of inorganic phenomena can be detected in their subtile ramifications—the more plainly the universe is shown to be permeated by unvarying, harmonious, and all-inclusive law—so much the more does the entire system of Nature become admirably intelligible, and so much the greater becomes the probability of its origination in intelligence. If we grant to Mr. Spencer the demonstration of his thesis, that the "law of evolution" regulates all phenomena, he must grant in return that this is the best conceivable proof of Infinite Intelligence; for the cosmos becomes at once the embodiment of an omnipresent idea. If, as science advances, it continually discovers new adaptations and uniformities in Nature, then, although it may not be able to render a reason for every thing, so many things are perpetually coming to light for which it can render a reason, that it becomes a fair induction to conclude that every-where a reason exists. The stronger the evidence, therefore, that law is universal, and that universal law is intelligible, so much the stronger is the presumption that intelligence is Nature's root. When teleology is made to mean the direct and confident assignment of this or that motive for this or that natural adaptation, it may well be ridiculed as the bastard offspring of ignorance and conceit; but if it means only the supposition of omnipresent reason as the probable secret of omnipresent order, ignorance and conceit alone will ridicule it. The rational Theist, far from imposing on Nature his own ways, is quite content to study reverently the ways of Nature; and, instead of "figuring to himself the production of the world and its inhabitants by a 'Great Artificer,'" as Mr. Spencer unintentionally caricatures Theism, neither permits his imagination to deceive him with gross analogies, nor hesitates to accept with docility whatever science shall prove as the true character of natural laws. But he is assuredly not so entangled in purely mechanical conceptions as to be incapacitated for rising to any higher idea of Infinite Intelligence than that of a Great Mechanic. Perceiving that mind is the noblest outcome of Nature, he sees in Nature itself the expression of that which is not less, but more, than mind; the self-utterance of that which is not below him, but eternally and infinitely above; and in this supreme conviction he finds the open secret of the universe.

On this whole article we may note:

1. Mr. Abbot recognizes Christianity only by supercilious allusions to Christian theology, and sullen references to the *theologicum odium*. But the phrase *theologicum odium* can be read both ways; as a theological hatred of irreligion, and an irreligious hatred of theology. Our impression is, that the latter is more proscriptive, and far more excuseless, than the former.

2. The highly dogmatic and peremptory exclusion of "special creation" from the possible consideration of science, ruling it out of court as incapable of all claim of notice, is a vicious circle prescribed by a narrow school of pseudo-philosophers. For Comte and his followers to construct a scheme of sciences in accordance with their own dogmas, which excludes from science all truths they are pleased to reject, and then turn round and denounce those truths as without the pale of science, and consequently false, and

unworthy of scientific consideration, is simply making one assumption prove another; and both assumptions being baseless, fall by their own weight.

Either these classifications are assumed to include all truth, or they are not. If they are so assumed, then *these gentlemen must have beforehand tested and settled all truth by proper evidence.* But, if so, they have done a very large work; and they would act more wisely by referring us to the evidence that bases their classification rather than to the classification itself. For if the evidence be sufficient, then we are foreclosed by that, but not by the classification. But if these classifications do not include all truth, and there are outside truths which science, by her own laws, must not know, and must not consider even in modifying her own system, then such science is in great danger of being blind and false, and is unworthy of entire reliance. Science may run into false conclusions from want of outside truths rightly to shape her conclusions. When, therefore, men like Maudesly blatantly proclaim "psychology is no science;" or men like J. P. Lesley asseverate "theology is no science;" or men like Mr. Abbot enounce (as in fact Huxley did before him) that "special creations cannot come before the notice of science," we hold all such blatancies as not worth the breath expended in uttering or the ink in writing them.

3. The claim that absolute creation is a "pseud-idea," an inconceivability, is without validity. Viewed in its passive phase, as *a being brought into existence*, creation is not only conceivable by the reason but picturable to the phantasy. The girl who, in N. P. Willis's beautiful poemette, seeing a star suddenly appear in the firmament, exclaimed, "O, mother, God has made a star!" beheld all that needs to be beheld in the passive process. So far as the active side of the process is considered, namely, God in the act of absolute creation, that is just as conceivable or inconceivable as God himself, or as the "Infinite Intelligence" of Mr. Abbot's "enlightened Theism;" and far more so than Spencer's stupendous hobgoblin of an "unknown Absolute." We submit that Mr. Abbot makes no case.

4. We have repeatedly maintained in our Quarterly that Mr. Darwin's theory, whether sustainable in science or not, involves not Atheism. We are gratified to add that Mr. Abbot quotes from Mr. Darwin himself several passages which had escaped our notice, in which that writer very quietly affirms the doctrine of the special creation of life at start; thus evincing, without any definite purpose of the kind, that he is an unequivocal Theist. The Duke

of Argyll quotes a very positive repudiation of Atheism as "an absurdity greater than Polytheism," from Prof. Huxley.

The article on "Principles of Geology" is unfortunate at this time in eulogizing Sir Charles Lyell's "conservatism" in resisting the belief of the stupendous "antiquity of man," until forced by compulsory demonstration! No man is more responsible for giving authority and wide-spread currency to that conclusion, without a basis in well-ascertained facts, than Sir Charles Lyell. A sudden and terrible break-down seems to have occurred to all his proofs, and his whole structure is tumbling about his head. Lyell has lost his "fossil man," and Darwin finds a chasm between man and the lower animals which he cannot bridge. To all appearance the scientific world is compulsorily returning to the conclusion announced by Cuvier some fifty years ago, that *the Mosaic history is strongly confirmed by the geological demonstration that the human race is but six or seven thousand years old.*

AMERICAN PRESBYTERIAN AND THEOLOGICAL REVIEW, October, 1868. (New York.) 1. Linguistic Science and Biblical Chronology. 2. The Primitive Eldership. 3. Humanity Progressing to Perfection. 4. Examination of the Tenth Article. 5. Aspects of Positivism in Relation to Christianity. 6. Early Presbyterianism of the East Side of the Hudson.

The first article is a valuable showing of the entire consistency of linguistic science with the Mosaic history. Professor Day collects from Max Müller a number of facts indicating the very rapid changes languages *without a written literature* may undergo, and thence shows that the Biblical chronology provides ample time for the complete development of the languages of antiquity. Hence all the current theories which require ages for linguistic development are baseless. We give some of the facts:

Among the illiterate tribes of Siberia, Africa, and Siam, according to Prof. Müller, it has been found that "two or three generations are sufficient to change the whole aspect of their dialects." In Central America, a vocabulary prepared with great care by some Christian missionaries became useless ten years after, so rapid was the change. In like manner we find districts of limited extent, and populated by the descendants of the same ancestry, covered over by a great multiplicity of local dialects. In Colchis, that "mountain of languages," Pliny says there were more than three hundred tribes speaking different dialects. Even a highly cultivated, an inflected language, the Friesian, possessing literary documents of great age, "is broken up into endless local dialects," each of which "is unintelligible except to the peasants of each narrow district in which it prevails."

A work of Mr. H. W. Bates, entitled *The Naturalist on the Amazon*, as quoted by Professor Müller, says: "When Indians, men or women, are conversing among themselves, they seem to take pleasure in inventing new modes of pronunciation, or in distorting words. It is amusing to notice how the whole party will laugh when the wit of the circle perpetrates a new slang term; and these new words are very often retained. When such alterations occur among a family or horde, which often live many years without communication with the rest of their tribe, the local corruption of language becomes perpetuated."

BIBLICAL REPERTORY AND PRINCETON REVIEW, October, 1868. (Philadelphia.)—1. Studies in the Gospels: Matthew the Gospel for the Jew. 2. Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament. 3. Christian Work in Egypt. 4. Antiquity of Man. 5. Dr. Gillett and Liberal Presbyterianism.

Article fourth is a comprehensive and valuable discussion of the arguments for the great antiquity of man, drawn from Language, Ethnology, Geology, Archæology, Sociology, and Egyptology.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, October, 1868. (London.)—1. The Swedish Reformation. 2. Analytical Commentary on the Romans. 3. The Norwegian Church. 4. Philo Judæus. 5. Assyria and her Monuments. 6. The Christian Doctrine of Sin. 7. Science and Civilization. 8. Irony in History; or, was Gibbon an Infidel? 9. Unpublished Letters of Melanchthon.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1868. (London.)—1. Neander. 2. British India under Three Administrations. 3. Chrysostom. 4. Parish Law. 5. Education in the United States. 6. Bunsen's Memoirs. 7. George Eliot's Spanish Gipsy.

CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER, October, 1868. (London.)—1. The Talmud in its Origin and Results. 2. Greg's Creed of Christendom. 3. Mediæval Religious Satire. 4. The Early Bishops of Iceland. 5. Richardson. 6. Essays on Church Policy. 7. Dr. Pusey and the Wesleyan Methodists. 8. Lives of the English Cardinals. 9. The Church's Counselors.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, October, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Sybel's History of the French Revolution. 2. Senior on Ireland. 3. Hindoo Fairy Legends. 4. Kinglake's Invasion of the Crimea. 5. Darwin on Variation of Animals and Plants. 6. The Papacy and the French Empire. 7. The Agricultural Laborers of England. 8. The Spanish Gipsey. 9. The Expiring Parliament.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, October, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Landed Tenure in the Highlands. 2. Poems by William Morris. 3. Reform of our Civil Procedure. 4. Spielhagen's Novels. 5. The Property of Married Women. 6. China. 7. The Suppressed Sex. 8. Sea-sickness. 9. Middle Class Schools.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, October, 1868. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Great Railway Monopoly. 2. Lady Minto's Memoirs of the Right Hon. Hugh Elliot. 3. Deer and Deer Parks. 4. The Archbishops of Canterbury of the Reformation. 5. Lake Dwellings. 6. The Homeric Question. 7. Mr. Matthew Arnold's Report on French Education. 8. Yorkshire. 9. The Public Questions at Issue.

The article on Lake Dwellings, written by an authoritative examiner of those phenomena, negatives their stupendous antiquity in his closing paragraph in the following very decisive style:

> If we look at the lake remains themselves, and guess how long it must have taken for such large and numerous settlements to have grown up in the Stone Age, before the new series of towns belonging to the ages of bronze and iron, it seems necessary to date their first foundation in Switzerland several centuries before the Christian era. But this general impression of length of time does not readily shape itself into a distinct chronology. If we are to make a stand anywhere, we will make it in a protest against such point-blank assertions as that the Swiss lake villages belong to "ages ascending far beyond the Pharaohs." We

suppose few chronologers would give to the pyramids of Egypt an antiquity of less than two thousand years B. C. The Swiss lake dwellings, for all we can prove to the contrary, may be as old as this, or even older; but mere possibilities go for little in such matters, and as yet *we have met with nothing like an absolute convincing proof that the first lake-man drove his first rudely-pointed fir stem in the Swiss waters fifteen hundred, or even a thousand years, before the Christian era.*

So falls one of Sir Charles Lyell's props to the theory of the geologic man.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) 1869. First Number. *Essays:* 1. WEISS, Apocalyptic Studies. 2. WEISS, Outlines of Christ's Doctrine of Salvation in the Synoptical Gospels. 3. BAXMANN, Hermann von Reichenau, as a Historian and Writer on Ethics. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. THOLUCK, The Doctrine of the Lord's Supper in the Modern Lutheran Theology. 2. KRUMMEL, Johannes Drändorf. *Reviews:* 1. ZAHN, Marcellus of Ancyra, reviewed by MÖLLER. 2. KRITZLER, Civilization and Christianity reviewed by RICHTER. 3. KNAAKE, Johannis Staupitii, *Opera Omnia*, reviewed by BINDSEIL.

The object of the first article is to examine again what the author, in common with the recent German theology in general, calls the "Apocalyptic ideas" of the New Testament. The term is explained as designating the doctrines of the New Testament concerning the second advent, the close of the "present world-æon," and the beginning of "the next æon." According to the theory of inspiration which the author (and the *Studien und Kritiken* generally) holds, the assumption of a divine inspiration of the Bible does not exclude the co-operation of a human agency. In accordance with this view, the apocalyptic ideas of the New Testament writers are explained as divine visions which bring before the minds of the writers the great pictures of the future of the kingdom of God, but in the description of these pictures human combination and meditations must be taken into account. Thus the author regards it as settled, that the Apostles really believed that the second advent of Christ, which they had beheld in visions, would occur soon, even during their lifetime. From this point of view Professor Weiss treats, 1. Of the Nero Legend; or, the expectation in the first century of a return of Nero to life. 2. The Apocalyptic Ideas of St. Paul. 3. The Time of the Book of Revelation. 4. "The Deadly Wound that was Healed." (Rev. xiii, 3.) 5. The Eighth Emperor. 6. The last Conflict and Victory.

Johannes Drändorf, who is the subject of a brief notice by Krummel, was an adherent of the doctrines of Huss, and was

burned as a heretic at Worms. Little has thus far been known of him. The author of this brief notice publishes some new and interesting documents concerning him.

The three works which are extensively reviewed in the last department of the Review have already been mentioned in former numbers of the Methodist Quarterly Review.

ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR DIE HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) First Number, 1869.—1. PROF. PREGER. (Professor in Munich.) Preparatory Essays for a History of German Mysticism in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries.

Professor Preger, in Munich, has for many years been engaged in the preparation of a history of German Mysticism of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The entire present number of the Journal for Historical Theology is taken up with a number of essays treating of a few prominent incidents in this history, but more fully than will be the case in the history itself. The mystic writers and theologians of the Middle Ages represent by far the soundest element in the theology of the Church of Rome, for, while they did not externally separate from the Church, their aspirations and speculations were built much more on a general religious and Christian basis than on that of scholastic dogmaticism. Thus there is much in their works which Protestants can accept as sound Christian theology and philosophy, and not a few of the prominent men of the school were denounced in their own Church as heretics, and are claimed as forerunners of the Reformation of the sixteenth century by Protestants.

The essays contained in this number of the Review are seven, namely: 1. The Monastic Regulations of the Dominicans in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. 2. The Dominican Professors of Theology (*magistri theologiæ*) at Paris in the Thirteenth Century. 3. The Provincial Friars of the Dominican Order in the Monastic Province "Germany" in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. 4. Theodoric of Freiburg. 5. Master Eckhard. 6. Henry of Nördlingen. 7. John Tauler. 8. Henry Suso. 9. The "*Gottesfreund*" ("Friend of God") in the Oberland.

Some of these subjects, especially the lives and writings of Tauler and Suso, have been often treated of before, but the author furnishes some new material. Altogether the essays raise a high opinion of the larger work on Mysticism, of which they are the harbinger.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Revelation of Law in Scripture; considered with respect both to its own Nature and to its Relative Place in successive Dispensations. The Third Series of the Cunningham Lectures. By Patrick Fairbairn, D.D. 8vo., pp. 484. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

In the present volume, as in his works on Typology and on Prophecy, Dr. Fairbairn furnishes a rich body of exposition both of the Old Testament Scriptures and of their relation to the New. The present volume is, perhaps, scarcely equal to the other two, but is still obviously pervaded by the same penetrative mind. Dr. Fairbairn is amply familiar with the most modern researches in the field he cultivates; he possesses, himself, the most modern spirit and style of thought; yet he maintains the firmest, clearest hold upon the old evangelical theology, knowing full well how to be progressive without being destructive. His Calvinism appears to possess a hue hardly blue enough for the optics of the magnates of the old Kirk; it is scarce perceptible, and never repulsive to the most clear-eyed and sensitive Arminian. We are able to recommend the work to our readers with scarce a single abatement.

In the Old Testament Dr. Fairbairn recognizes the Decalogue to be centrally *The Law;* to which the ceremonial system is a subservient accompaniment, designed to impress it deeply in the soul of the Representative Race, the Jews. Of this Law the Psalms and the Prophets are not the progressive advancement and improvement, but the means of breathing the true spirit of the old announcement into the popular heart. Coming into the New Testament, we find in the living Christ a living realization of the perfection of the Law, and in his death, Dr. Fairbairn finds, without shrinking from the announcement, a satisfaction of divine justice for the sins of men. He expounds with much fullness and great clearness the relations of the Law to the Gospel, and from those relations he shows how the modern revival of Ritualism is opposed to the true Gospel. The volume is closed with an appendix containing exegeses of a number of important texts, as deduced from the views in the body of the work. These expositions are fresh and fundamental, exhibiting the usual traits of the author's clear intellect and sound methods of theological discussion.

We cannot, however, indorse Dr. Fairbairn's indorsement of the following language of A. A. Hodge, touching the transferability of guilt: "The sinful act and the sinful nature are inalienable. *The guilt, or just liability to punishment, is alienable,* otherwise

no sinner can be saved." We hold it axiomatically certain that the *guilt*, or strict *punishment* of an act, is no more "alienable," that is, transferable, from the actor to another being, than the *act* itself, or the very personality of the actor. To say that a person is guilty of or for a wicked act is but another form of saying that he wickedly performed the act; and as the guilt is intransferable from the wicked act, and the act is intransferable from the personality of the actor, so the guilt is intransferable from him.

Suppose Pythias to have been a genuine criminal, and Damon to have died in his stead. Then supposing that this rare fact had been wrought into a system of thought, of oratory, and emotional literature, what would have been the natural phraseology in which the grand transaction would have been depicted? It would have been said that *Damon suffered Pythias's punishment, took his crime upon himself, became the criminal in his place, bore his crime in his own body, assumed his guilt, became crime that he might become innocence.* Yet literally and strictly Damon did not one of these things. He was innocent, guiltless, without crime and without punishment from beginning to end. He endured not *punishment*, but only *suffering* in lieu of another man's punishment. The simple fact would be that an innocent man endured an infliction of the objective forms of penalty that a guilty man might escape its reality. And, stripped of conceptual language, nothing more was done or demanded in the case of Jesus and the sinner. Transferred guilt is just as palpable an absurdity in ethics as a circular triangle is in mathematics.

In Pythias's case absolute punitive justice was not executed, for a guilty man escaped. What was done? A governmental or judicial expedient was substituted in the place of absolute vindictive justice. By the death of Damon a visible proclamation was made to the eyes of men that the crime was heinous, and never safe to be repeated. And were Damon like Earl Strafford or Charles First, the greatest man of the realm or of its whole history, the proclamation would have exerted perhaps even a more impressive effect than absolute justice itself. It would declare that though the guilty is released, yet guilt is none the less guilty, sin none the less sinful.

Manual of Methodism; or, the Doctrines, General Rules, and Usages of the Methodist Episcopal Church. With Scripture Proofs and Explanations. By Bostwick Hawley, D.D. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

Dr. Hawley's little Manual is calculated to fill a blank place in the literature of the Church. Strange that we have never had a

primer fit to be placed in the hands of our catechumens on probation, which with a few days' attention will enable them intelligently to answer the question whether they approve the doctrines and institutions of our Church! Very properly, the Manual begins with a succinct explanation, exhibition, and proofs of our Articles of Faith. To outside readers that would seem to be sufficient for the full understanding of our denominational doctrines. But Dr. Hawley, of course, very properly passes from this our inheritance from the English Church, first to an analysis, historical and biblical, of our General Rules. Then come our Prominent Doctrines, which, though embraced in no Articles, really constitute our doctrinal peculiarities among the modern orthodox Protestant Churches. Then follows a chapter upon the Sacraments, in which the baptismal question is rather extensively treated. Last come our Peculiar Usages, namely, Class Meetings, Love Feasts, Itinerancy, and Episcopacy.

The work, though small, is essentially complete, and the symmetry tolerably well preserved. Ministers would do well to take note of this work and circulate it among our membership, and especially our catechumens. The result will be a better understanding of our system and a truer self-consciousness of the Church.

The Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1866, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A., Prebendary of Salisbury. By HENRY PARRY LIDDON. Second Edition, 12mo., pp. 535. Rivingtons, London and Cambridge. Sold by Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

One of the ablest volumes in theology published in our day. It takes the central subject of Christianity, *the Person of Jesus the Messiah*, and demonstrates his true divine sonship as entitled to our worship, with a conclusive force against the schemes equally of Deism and Socinianism. It maintains with eminent impressiveness both that the Scriptures delineate Christ as divine, and that the Scriptures which so delineate him are themselves divine. It meets the question in all the aspects of modern thought. In so doing it touches a vast variety of subsidiary topics, which interest thinkers in this field of thought, in the present crisis of opinions, with a master hand. It meets the assaults of Renan and Schenkel not so much by negatively invalidating their positions, as by building up a positive and impregnable fortress in opposition and exclusion. It is a structure of positive theology, in comparison with which the opposing systems, to a true heart, are seen to be feeble and false. The study of such a work, written in a style

of high-toned biblical and catholic faith, is bracing to the spirit. The flimsy speculations of the current Rationalism, that hardly knows what it believes or disbelieves, which is enervating the religious and moral tone of a large class of thinkers, cannot stand in comparison with the firm, bold, compact Christianity expounded in volumes like this of Mr. Liddon's. For those ministers among us, if any there be, whose faith in the long-established doctrines of the Holy Catholic Church is thin and dim, we recommend a few days' inhalation of the healthy and invigorating atmosphere of these pages. And as for laymen who study such topics, and whose loyalty to the Son of God is shaken by the perusal of the rationalistic literature of the day, this is one of the choice works we should be glad to put into their hands.

Mr. Liddon's style is remarkable for condensation of argument, terseness of expression, perpetual unfaultering life in every sentence from end to end of the volume, rare poetic liveliness of imagination, and rich rhetorical music. In compact, glowing, scholarly eloquence, it is a model.

There are a few subordinate points in which Mr. Liddon appears to us so extra-orthodox as to be heterodox. He is, incidentally, sacramentarian and High-Church. He asserts the doctrine of the "impersonality" of the human Jesus. The will of the Lord's humanity is by him organically fixed in all its volitions by the divine will. Our view is, that Jesus was a perfect human person, whose free human will concurred in most perfect obedience to the will of the Divinity. "Scripture," says Gregory of Nyssa, "ascribes to Jesus all the attributes of our nature, save only the bias that leads us to sin." Without such bias, as was the original Adam, Jesus, though able to vary, did yet, without variance, maintain most freely an absolute coincidence with the divine law.

A Garden of Spices. Extracts from the Religious Letters of Rev. Samuel Rutherford. By Rev. LEWIS R. DUNN. With an Historical and Biographical Essay by Rev. A. C. GEORGE, and an Introduction by Rev. T. L. CUYLER, D.D. 12mo., tinted paper, green and gilt, pp. 288. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden, New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1869.

Rutherford was a saint whom the heart of the universal Church would canonize. His religious and devotional writings, as distinguished from his controversial, are to be classed with those of Kempis, Jeremy Taylor, and Fletcher. He dwells in the very empyrean of Christian experience, and his vivid fancy and exquisite language insinuate his pure and holy thought into the heart of the reader whose blessed lot it is to possess a spirit

capable of sympathizing with his spirit. In an age of sensualism, like the present, it is a sign of hope, a proof that there is a goodly remnant according to the election of grace, if such works find compilers, publishers, and readers.

By a curious coincidence, Mr. Dunn in the East and Dr. George in the West, unknown to each other, were engaged in making selections from Rutherford. Each offered his MS. respectively to our Eastern and Western Book Concerns, and both were editorially sanctioned and about to be published. When this simultaneity was discovered, it was agreed that Mr. Dunn's selections should be adopted, and Dr. George's biographical sketch of the author be retained. It is issued in the beautiful style of our Western house, and will be an acceptable boon to the Church.

Rutherford was born in Scotland in the year 1600, and became Master of Arts at the University of Edinburgh in 1621. His letters were written during a period extending from 1628 to 1661, the year of his death. His letters entire have been published by the Carters. The biographical essay by Dr. George is in his best style. We commend the volume to our readers as one of the most delightful aids to personal piety.

The Romance of M. Renan and the Christ of the Gospels. Three Essays by Rev. Dr. SCHAFF and M. NAPOLEON ROUSSEL. Green and gilt, 16mo., pp. 239. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. Tract Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 1868.

In accordance with a now established custom, this beautiful little *volume* is called *a tract.* Our belief is that a *tract* is wisely made to be externally at*tract*ive. The leaves that are for the healing of the nations should not look dry and shriveled. Colors and forms and esthetic symbols should recommend them to the receiver's welcome, and make them seem too fair to be flung into the gutter.

In the first of these two monograms, Dr. Schaff so draws the portrait of the Jesus of the Gospels as to make apparent his true divinity. This prepares us for the second piece, in which the fancy Jesus of Renan is shown to be an impossible being. The style of both articles is fresh and popular, and the combined argument is set forth with admirable effect for the extensive class of readers to whom it is addressed.

The argument drawn from the person of our Lord, for higher readers, was first set forth in modern times, with unsurpassed

effect, by Ullmann in his "Sinlessness of Jesus," published in this country by Gould & Lincoln. Second, by the side of this, as a new argument, with all its faults, we must place Ecce Homo. Read in this light, as an unconscious refutation of Renan, by the presentation of a positive counter view, we consider Ecce Homo as eminently a destructive of the destructive. Finish this elevated course of reading with Liddon's Bampton Lectures, and it must generally be an erratic will, we think, that prevents the mind from taking a true and firm position.

Sermons. By Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. Selected from Published and Unpublished Discourses, and Revised by their Author. In two volumes, large 12mo., pp. 486 and 484. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Booked up for posterity! These stately volumes are monumental, bearing inscriptions that are to tell a coming age what were the *verba ipsissima* with which the Plymouth preacher thrilled and quickened his generation. Do they bear the crystalizing process? Will the coming reader feel the fixed and permanent lightning as the present hearer and contemporary reader felt its first flash? We do not know. We fail to identify our own soul with the coming age. But somehow the once glowing words that kindled and inflamed as they flew, look cold and stereotype in these stately catacombs. We will not judge by our own feelings; for if we did we should say that our grandsons will wonder, from this printed page, what was the power by which Henry Ward Beecher seemed to his contemporaries to almost rob Jeremy Taylor of his title of "The Shakspeare of Divines."

A Defense of Jesus Christ. By MENARD SAINT MARTIN. Translated from the French by Paul Cobden. 12mo., pp. 182. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

The marvelous transparency and glow of style characteristic of the true French preacher appear to fine advantage in the clear type, upon tinted paper, furnished by our Western publishers. We could wish a fuller biography of the eloquent author, who departed before the fullness of his age on earth. The sermons brought many unbelievers to a confession of Christ. The argument for the divine mission of Christ is of course not new, but it is clothed with a beauty that may attract readers who would pass unnoticed a more solid and bulky volume. It may be well recommended to the preacher as an inspirer and modèl, and to the ordinary reader as a quickener of faith.

Religion and the Reign of Terror; or, the Church during the French Revolution. Prepared from the French of De Pressensé. By JOHN P. LACROIX, A.M. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

This elegant volume, translated and modified from the French of the eloquent Pressensé, comes, by permission of the original author, through the hands of the Western professor, with peculiar propriety, being himself a descendant of a French Protestant ancestry. It is full of monitory lessons. How illiberal is Liberalism! How irrational is Rationalism! How credulous is Skepticism! How intense the *theologicum odium* of the haters of Christian theology! How fierce a persecutor is the infidel Antichrist! But the lessons of the work will, we trust, be more fully expanded in a forthcoming Quarterly article.

The Garden of Sorrows; or, the Ministry of Tears. By Rev. JOHN ATKINSON. 12mo., pp. 203. Tinted paper, and gilt. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Christianity does not prevent sorrows on earth, as the sun does not prevent clouds; but it knows how to give them luster and glory, and render them fertilizers of the soil of the soul. From the man of sorrows we learn how to sorrow. The lessons his great example furnishes to his Church and his followers are beautifully developed in the little gem before us. Mr. Atkinson writes in a fresh and flowing diction, and has selected a topic which his style of mind is eminently qualified to unfold. It is done up by the publishers in beautiful style, and forms a choice gift-book for this or any other season.

Cyclopædia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature. Prepared by Rev. JOHN M'CLINTOCK, D.D., and JAMES STRONG, S.T.D. Vol. 2, C—D. 8vo., pp. 993. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

Our readers will receive with pleasure the announcement that this work is, in the hands of its authors, in such a state of forwardness that the volumes will be issued as rapidly as the work of publication can be accomplished. The purchasers of these first volumes may therefore reasonably hope that the whole work may in due time be in their hands. It will then be in itself a very complete library. The works of Kitto and of Smith, the latter now in publication in this country, are valuable, but not greatly needed by the possessors of the present work, being essentially embodied, with much additional matter, in it.

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of the Lamentations. Translated from the Original Hebrew. With a Commentary, Critical, Philological, and Exegetical. By E. HENDERSON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 192. Andover: Warren F. Draper. Boston: W. H. Halliday & Co. Philadelphia: Smith, English, & Co. 1868.

A translation, by an eminent English biblical scholar, in poetic form, giving to the English reader a far clearer appreciation both of the meaning and the poetic beauty of the original than he will derive from an English Bible. The notes are scholarly and illustrative, drawn largely from such early authorities as Calvin and Zwingle; and such German scholars as Michaelis, Eichhorn, Rosenmüller, De Wette, Dathe, Hitsig, Ewald, and Umbreit.

Reconciliation; or, How to be Saved. By Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Small 12mo., pp. 208. London: S. W. Partridge. 1867.

Infancy and Manhood of Christian Life. By Rev. WILLIAM TAYLOR, of the California Conference. Small 12mo., pp. 160. London: S. W. Partridge. New York: Carlton & Porter. 1867.

The glowing yet practical style of thought in which our noble evangelist excels, is here brought out in effective use. Reconciliation to God and growth of Christian life are the great topics of religious thought. Seldom are they presented with greater clearness and force than in these little books.

Foreign Theological Publications.

David, der König von Israel. [*David, King of Israel.*] A Biblical Life-Portrait, with constant reference to the Davidic Psalms. By Dr. FRIEDRICH WILHELM KRUMMACHER. Pp. x, 428. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. 1867.

Every thing from Krummacher is always sure of a hearty welcome by a large circle of readers. The character of the present volume is very similar to *Elijah the Tishbite*, long familiar to Americans by the translation issued by the American Tract Society. *David* is not behind *Elijah* or *Elisha* as an exhibition of that remarkable facility with which Krummacher is known to clothe the historical truths of Scripture in such attractive and edifying style. The topics are: David's Call; the Harp-player; David and Goliath; David an Inmate of the King's House; a New Storm; David at Rama; Sanctified Friendship; Errors; David in the Wilderness; New Help from God; Abigail; the Last Meeting of Saul and David; David among the Philistines; a Death Celebration; David, King in Judah; David, King over Israel; the King in the

Field; the Bringing of the Ark of the Covenant; a Gleaning; the Great Promise; Mephibosheth; David at the Zenith of his Power; David's Fall; David's Penitence; the Beginning of Misfortune; the Rebellion; Near Deliverance; the Decision; New Necessities; Numbering the People; the Imperial Assembly; the Last Days; and David's Death and Testimony. It is not necessary that lengthy extracts be made in order to prove the author's continued orthodoxy—for some of the Germans are evangelical at the outset and become heterodox in their older and weaker years—since the whole book "gives no uncertain sound" that Krummacher is to-day what he was when he wrote "Elijah" and "Christ and his People." He regards the Old Testament as fully inspired, he tells us, and that he is not at liberty to make his own selections and say of the rest that they are not of divine origin. He lays down the maxim that if a preacher will acquire a hermeneutical knowledge of the Old Testament he must share "the faith of Christ and his Apostles in it as the revealed truth of God, given directly by his inspiration, and free from all mythical elements. Further, he must have a clear view of God's plan, beginning in the Old Testament and terminating in the New, to redeem man from the curse of a broken law. Last of all, he is not compelled to leave his New Testament position in order to study the truths of the Old, for the bright glory of the New Testament can be seen all through the previous history of God's chosen people." Krummacher's tribute to the poetic features of the Old Testament is earnest and evangelical, and reminds us of the glow of some of Herder's expressions, though far excelling them in recognition of their inspired character. "The poetic features of the Old Testament," says the author of "David," "especially of the Psalms, the Song of Solomon, and portions of the Prophecies, furnish our sermons with their noblest adornment. We draw from its circle of historical personages the most effective illustrations of the truths we preach. The holy seers have mixed for us the colors for the picture of the Church as they once foresaw it in its perfection."

Die Zeugnisse für das Evangelium Johannis. [*The Testimonies for the Gospel of John.*] By CHRISTOPH JOHANNES RIGGENBACH, Dr. Theol., Professor. 8vo. Pp. 196. Basel: C. Detloff. 1866.

A good defense of the authenticity of the Gospel of John against the skeptics in general, and Volkmar's *Ursprung Unserer Evangelien* in particular. Bretschneider (1820) made a formal attack on the authenticity of this Gospel, Strauss endeavored to demolish

what he supposed was left, and Baur (1844) and his school have striven to prevent the ruins from ever being put into shape again. Volkmar's work proves, however, that the Rationalists are afraid that the work of destruction has not been well done after all. Professor Riggenbach, one of the best champions of the truth on the continent, takes a critical view of the scene of conflict, and in making his report says: "Not a stone in the great 'edifice has been touched.' It is as strong this hour as before all the assailants came in sight of it." Those who wish a minute, scholarly, and apologetic discussion of the Gospel of John, one, too, in which the best fruits of all the latest investigations in exegetical science are used to excellent advantage, will find just what they wish in the present volume. It is not a commentary, but rather an introduction, the plan embracing first a "Survey of the Characteristics of the Gospel of John," and then an "Account of the Witnesses for the origin of his Gospel." The evidence is indisputably positive against Baur's view that this Gospel was written about A. D. 160 by some unknown individual, who drew a picture corresponding to the spirit of his time. Dr. Riggenbach establishes the following points: That at the middle of the second century the Gospel of John was recognized every-where in the Christian Church as one of the inspired writings; that it was regarded by both Christians and their enemies as the writing of an Apostle; that it had no sectarian bearing whatever; and that its inspired and supernatural character is sustained, not only by the universal faith of the Church, but by the internal character of the Gospel itself.

Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte. [*Manual of History of Doctrines.*] By Dr. K. R. HAGENBACH, Professor of Theologie at Basel. Fifth edition. Pp. xx, 768. Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1867.

All of Hagenbach's works are again passing through his hands, this time, no doubt, for a final polish. The present edition of the *Dogmengeschichte* is in many chapters worked over anew. The later theology is so abundant that the fifth period (from the year 1720 to our day) has required considerable enlargement. We regret that the author takes so little cognizance of the theological movements in the United States and Great Britain. He acknowledges the excellence of the American edition of his history, but excuses himself from incorporating here those portions which have been added by the American editor by saying, that each should keep his own property, and that he (Professor Hagenbach) would not enrich himself with other people's wealth; but this is a small

matter, and the book in its present shape is undoubtedly the best History of Doctrines ever published. Many objections which might be well put against all others cannot be presented against this. The first edition appeared in 1840, and the present (the 6th) is, therefore, the maturity of a childhood and youth of twenty-seven years. After the introduction the work proper is divided into five periods, as follows: Period first—the Age of Apologetics; period second—the Age of Polemics; period third—the Age of Systematic Theology; period fourth—the Age of Polemico-Ecclesiastical Symbolism, the Conflict of Confessions of Faith; period fifth—the Age of Criticism or Speculation, and of the Antagonism between Faith and Knowledge, Philosophy and Christianity, Reason and Revelation, and attempts to reconcile these antagonisms. One of the excellences of the present above previous editions is a large increase of the literature relating to the subject. The index at the close is in every respect a model.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication. By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A., F.R.S., etc. Authorized Edition, with a Preface, by Prof. ASA GRAY. With Illustrations. In two volumes, pp. 494, 568. New York: Orange Judd & Co.

When Mr. Darwin several years since published his "Origin of Species," he stated that he should at a subsequent day present the facts on which the conclusions there given were founded. The present volumes are prepared in fulfillment of that promise. A second work will discuss the variability of organic beings in a state of nature; and a third will apply the principle of "Natural Selection" to the facts thus evolved.

These volumes are chiefly devoted to facts relative to domesticated animals and plants, in procuring which Mr. Darwin was greatly aided by zoologists, botanists, geologists, breeders of animals, horticulturists, foreigners, merchants, and government officers, all of whom he found courteous and prompt in their assistance. On the subjects of which they treat, this is probably the largest and best arranged collection of facts that has ever been made, and must be of great value to the student. The first volume is devoted to the history of our most important domestic animals and plants; and the second to such questions as inheritance, reversion to earlier forms, hybridism, the causes of sterility and of variability, and the laws of variation. The work may therefore be justly concluded to possess a great attractiveness for various

classes of practical men, as well as the professional naturalist or physiologist. The facts which are so faithfully collected and so candidly presented will stand, whatever becomes of the theories which are attempted to be built upon them.

To the philosopher and theologian the work possesses an interest of another kind. The author tells us that it was his observation of birds, reptiles, and plants in the Galapagos archipelago, five hundred miles from the South American coast, which first led him to those investigations which resulted in the theory which is now called by his name. We must, of course, wait for the publication of the other works before we shall be fully in possession of the facts and reasonings which have influenced his own mind; and, indeed, it is only in the final one of the series that we shall find an explanation of those "singular and complex affinities" that group together all organic beings of the past and present, and show their descent from a single root. We can easily believe that all horses have descended from one ancestor, and that the numerous varieties of pigeons might, if we only had their genealogical tables, be traced to the same nest; and we shall wait patiently for the simple explication of "the hand of a man, the foot of a dog, the wing of a bat, the flipper of a seal, on the principle of the natural selection of successive slight variations in the diverging descent from a single progenitor."

Meanwhile, it is certainly fair that the successive steps of the argument as it is developed be closely examined. The reader cannot fail to observe how much of it turns upon likelihood and probability. Inferences and guesses, however correct they may often prove, must not be taken for demonstrated propositions upon which to rear another course of inferences, the final end of which will be claimed to be the overthrow of the most firmly settled thing in the world, the truth of God's word. Conceding the facts, the significance given them by Mr. Darwin has in it so much of hypothesis and confessed ignorance that his "rational explanation" seems to us most irrational.

Mental Science. A Compendium of Pschology and the History of Philosophy. Designed as a Text-Book for High Schools and Colleges. By ALEXANDER BAIN, M.A. 12mo., pp. 99. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

The Human Intellect. With an Introduction upon Psychology and the Soul. By NOAH PORTER, D.D. 8vo., pp. 673. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1868.

Mr. Bain is the author of several stately volumes on Psychology, written from a quasi-materialistic stand-point. With him mind is animated matter, pervaded by a sensitiveness which can be devel

oped into thought, and enlivened with impulses that can be shaped into volitions. All the manifestations of so-called mind are deduced not from above but from below. From sensation originate all our capacities for knowledge. Intuitions, thoughts that have no material type or origin, have no existence. This is a philosophy which usually springs from a sensual age, and reactively it sensualizes the age from which it springs. It is congenial with that school which, taking its stand in physical science and material nature, bastardizes all the holiest sentiments of the soul and the highest realities of the universe. It is far from the truth to say that all who hold the views of mind presented in this volume are Atheists; but it would be very near the truth to say that all Atheists, Fatalists, and Materialists would accept the philosophy of this volume. That the book is an acknowledged standard for its school is evinced by its being published under the auspices of Professor Youmans, by the indorsement of it from Professor Masson as "the richest natural history of the mind in the language," and by the patent ability with which the views are exhibited in its pages.

A most timely and effective antidote to the sensualistic philosophy presents itself in the volume by Professor Porter. The publication of this work is a marked event in the history of mental science, not only in our country, but in the English language. It is not only standard, but in its fullness, symmetry, and completeness it is standard without a competitor. The size of the work, devoted to the intellect alone, exclusive of the sensibilities and will, may prevent its extensive adoption in our literary institutions; but, in spite of the clamors of the physiologists, we think if the classical course is to be diminished the study of our higher nature is quite as worthy to fill the blank as the analysis of muscles and intestines. Let every student who would master the mysteries of intellectual science master the contents of this work.

Professor Porter writes in a clear, manly, solid style, not very unlike that of John Stuart Mill. There is no high-flown, transcendental nebulosity, after the fashion of Coleridge or Ralph Waldo Emerson. The subject of our intuitive faculties is treated with a rigid scientific analysis. Of course, as the title indicates, the intellect alone is discussed, and the volume is not a complete "mental philosophy."

Smoking and Drinking. By JAMES PARTON. Paper covers, 12mo., pp. 151. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Mr. Parton's essays seem to be written with a set purpose to advance physical morality and depreciate spiritual Christianity.

He shows how tobacco creates a distaste for refined female society, and sneers at those who "'get' religion." He declares that all past effort in behalf of temperance is a failure, and the first hope for the cause is the abandonment of the moral and religious effort, and commencement anew under Parton and science. The whole performance is luminous with self-conceit.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Invasion of the Crimea. Its Origin, and an Account of its Progress down to the Death of Lord Raglan. By ALEXANDER WILLIAM KINGLAKE. Vol. ii, pp. 632. New York: Harper & Brothers.

In this volume Mr. Kinglake resumes the thread of his narrative where it was broken off by the close of his first volume, namely, at the close of the battle of the Alma. He gives a graphic picture of the situation at that moment, and shows most conclusively that had the allies attacked Sebastopol immediately on its north side they would have taken it with little loss of life. This golden opportunity they missed, because the French commander, St. Arnaud, being sick, was unwilling to unite in the attack. Then follows a fine description of the famous flank march to the south side of the doomed city, a march which, as our author shows, would have proved the destruction of the allies if the Russians had not been so badly demoralized by their late defeat. But being too badly whipped to be led into battle immediately, they permitted the allies to march unmolested to the south. There another opportunity was lost, Sebastopol not being so defended on that side as to be prepared for effective resistance to a vigorous attack from such an army. Again the unwillingness of the French, now led by Canrobert, prevented an attack, and again the city passed a point of peril. A partial investment of the place was then made, by which time was given to Todleben to prepare and perfect those famous earthworks which so long resisted the efforts of the allies. As soon as the siege batteries were ready the attack was made. The English engineers demolished the defenses opposite their batteries, and the city was open to assault. Again the French, discouraged by explosions of their magazines, declined to join in an assault, and another golden opportunity was thrown away. Following this failure came the battle of Balaclava, at which the Russians, taking the initiative, surprised the British forces, and ought to have gained possession of the post of Balaclava; but English pluck prevailed, and the post was saved. During this battle there occurred two of the most remarkable cavalry charges in the

history of war, namely, the charge of the British Heavy Dragoons and the charge of the Light Brigade. These charges are described with a minuteness which enables the reader to understand all their appalling details, and with a graphic power which thrills him to the quick. We know of no pen-picture in the literature of war so impressive as Mr. Kinglake's portraiture of the "Charge of the *Light Brigade.*" The story of this celebrated charge, and Mr. Kinglake's masterly analysis of its causes, closes this interesting volume.

Mr. Kinglake evidently intends to deal honestly with the facts of the Crimean war. His sources of information are full and reliable, being derived from personal observation, and from English, French, and Russian authorities. His criticism is candid and masterly. If he wrongly estimates his facts he appears to do it unconsciously. His style is strong, clear, and charming. We have read his book with profound interest, and have closed its pages with a sharp appetite for its successor.

Todd's Country Homes, and how to Save Money to buy a Home; how to build neat and cheap Cottages, and how to gain an Independent Fortune before Old Age comes on. With a Description of the Wonderful Agricultural and Horticultural Advantages of New Jersey, including, also, a Business Directory. By SERENO EDWARDS TODD, of the "New York Times," author of "Todd's Young Farmer's Manual," and "Todd's American Wheat Culturist." New York: Published by the Author. 1868. Sold by N. Tibbals, Nassau-street.

MR. TODD'S book is written for young people "just beginning in the world" on small means, especially about New York. Its first part gives hints and models for building cheap houses for small families; its second furnishes a large variety of entertaining and valuable lessons touching the economies and virtues that pay best in life; the third unfolds the excellence of South Jersey as a field for the most advantageous agricultural enterprise. Science has revealed and the railroads have newly laid open this section as a region of productive soil, salubrious climate, and accessible markets; in short, a better than the West, without going west to reach it. Mr. Todd is apparently a gentleman of exuberant spirits and excellent intentions; his work is eminently calculated to do good—especially to South Jersey.

The Works of the Rev. John Howe, M.A. With Memoir of his Life by EDMUND CALAMY, D.D. Complete in two volumes, 8vo., pp. 628 and 648. Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

When we say that Howe is not one of the authors that take hold of our individual soul, that he seems prolix, and preliminary, and

preambulatory, ever about to say something without ever saying any wonderful thing, perhaps we utter our own condemnation and not his. But we never undertook a serious study of his works without tiring of the attempt. Yet there are men of thought and wisdom who say that he is a giant, and who tell the young preacher that he had better buy John Howe than a new coat, if his purse cannot afford both. We may say, then, that here is an old publication of Howe with a new and substantial coat on. If our readers wish either to test our critical feeling, or to make a right estimate of Howe, or to profit by his treasures of thought, the Carters have put him, in solid form, within their reach.

The Apostle of Kerry; or, the Life of the Rev. Charles Graham, who had for many Years as his Associate on the Irish General Missions the celebrated Gideon Ouseley. Also four Appendices, containing one of Mr. Graham's Sermons, an Irish Hymn, etc. By Rev. W. GRAHAM CAMPBELL, General Missionary. 12mo., pp. 323. Dublin: Moffat & Co.

The three wonderful missionaries of early Methodism in Ireland were Gideon Ouseley, Thomas Walsh, and Charles Graham. They founded a Methodism there from which American Methodism has largely drawn. Dr. Alexander, of Princeton, said, that the early history of Methodism reads like a spiritual romance. One of its most striking passages of most truthful romance is its Irish passage, which Mr. Campbell has vividly presented in this little work. Lovers of Methodist history the world over will thank him for the gift.

A true *apostle* was this man of Kerry, in the regular line from Paul, and whatever the catalogues of successional prelacy may pretend, endowed with credentials better than most Archbishops can show.

General Literature.

The Reign of Law. By the DUKE of ARGYLL. Fifth and cheaper edition. Small 12mo., pp. 462. London: Strahan & Co. 1868.

The object of this work is to show that it is in perfect consistency with universally reigning law that miracles exist, that creation takes place, that *purpose* is supreme in the arrangements of the world, and that man is free both as a member of the divine government and as a constituent of civil society. It is written in refutation of the reviews of the absoluteness and invariability of natural law by which the supernatural, the divine, and the ethical are excluded from existence.

That view of miracle is taken and illustrated which holds it to be not a suspension or violation of law, but an interposition of a superior power interrupting, indeed, what would be the regular course of events, yet which, as being simply the incoming of a new antecedent, would be strictly in accordance with both the laws of causation and the laws of nature, taken in the largest sense of the term *nature.* In regard to the creation of man the Duke maintains that the Hebrew record requires no interpretation which excludes that event from the domain of law. Nor do the development theories of Darwin and others, unproved as they yet are in science, exclude the existence of an all-pervading *purpose* which demonstrates an all-controlling Mind. The prevalence of that purpose he shows to be as clear as many other relations whose existence even atheistic scientists admit. Contrivance, dealing with law, he shows to exist by a variety of striking illustrations; especially from the beautiful adaptation of the forms of birds for the various modes of flight required by their nature, to all which, as an amateur ornithologist, the Duke has given special study. In the realm of mind he adopts that view of the freedom of the will which rejects "compulsion," but maintains that if all the antecedents to the volition were fully known the volition itself could be predicted. Contrary to his own view of himself, we hold that this view makes him a strict necessitarian, for (leaving the Divine Foreknowledge out of the question) man can predict a future event only through a causation or a logical necessity. There must be an invariable action of the will, that is, a strictly invariable connection between the antecedent, or sum of antecedents, and the consequent volition, in order to insure the invariable accuracy of the prediction of human foreknowledge. The absoluteness of the knowledge in the knowing mind would require an absoluteness of result in the will. This would be fatalism; and yet we believe that the spirit of the Duke is not intentionally fatalistic.

The work is an admirable antidote to the prevalent Pantheism and Positivism of the present day. It is written in a clear and fluent style. The whole train of thought is relieved by a transparent simplicity of expression and an amplitude of illustration which a familiarity with science enables him to throw around the subject. The work will probably be reviewed in a full article in our Quarterly.

The author of this book, titularly disguised as the eighth Duke of Argyle or Argyll, is by personal name George Douglas Campbell, Secretary for India in Mr. Gladstone's administration, for-

merly Lord Privy Seal under Lord Aberdeen, and Postmaster General under Lord Palmerston.

We may note, by the way, that the Duke lately published in the *Good Words* a series of articles written intentionally in the interests of Christianity, in which he firmly maintains the immense antiquity of the human race. One of his main proofs is the existence of the unmistakable features of the negro on the Egyptian monuments of highest antiquity. Our readers may see on page seventy-five of our present Quarterly what a negro would say to that argument.

Scotia's Bards. The Choice Productions of the Scottish Poets. With Brief Biographical Sketches. Green and gold. Large 12mo., pp. 558. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

Of course old Scotia can furnish you poetic gems of unsurpassed splendor. Her roll, as here exhibited, extends from Thomson, the author of the Seasons, to Alexander Smith, the man whose fault was too restless a brilliancy. First we have the simple old-time bards, as Allan Ramsay, Robert Blair, author of The Grave, Falconer, of the Shipwreck, Beattie, of the Hermit, Macpherson with his Ossian, Bruce, and Logan. Then comes the miraculous peasant-poet, Robert Burns, his life an era in British poetic literature. That era is followed by the full blaze of the age when Scott in Scotland, Moore in Ireland, and Byron in England, with countless minor stars, formed the most illustrious age of English poetry.

The editor announces on page 64 the solution of one of the curious problems of literature—the reality of a Celtic Ossian, and the genuineness, at least in great part, of Macpherson's work as a translation of actual Celtic remains.

The work is done up by the Carters in standard style, and is one of the gems of the season and for any season.

Passages from the American Note Books. In two volumes. 12mo., pp. 228, 222. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Hawthorne wrote few paragraphs that did not attest the man of inborn genius. His writings never, indeed, attained a broadcast popularity in his own country. In fact, save with the few who were able to feel the occult touches of a rare mind, his name was but dimly known; and frankly as he handled England, his reputation was perhaps broader, if not higher, abroad than at home. These notes are republished from the Atlantic Monthly, and are chips

from the hatchet of a unique spirit. Sad to say, that upon the most inspiring and holiest of all subjects his heart was

Cold as the rocks on Tornea's frost brow.

Inauguration of James M'Cosh, D.D., LL.D., as President of The College of New Jersey, Princeton, October 27, 1868. 8vo., pp. 96. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The pages of our Quarterly, both editorial and contributed, have attested our exalted estimate of Dr. M'Cosh's abilities. He has measured a victorious sword with the mightiest anti-Christian thinker of the age, John Stuart Mill. And we avail ourselves of this Inaugural to say, that such a man would be an accession to any country. We trust that his success in his new office will add to his great and well-merited reputation. The address itself bears on its every page the tokens of a master mind.

The New England Tragedies. By HENRY W. LONGFELLOW. 1. John Endicott. 2. Giles Corey, of the Salem Farms. 12mo., pp. 179. Boston: Ticknor & Fields.

THE persecution of the Quakers and Salem Witchcraft—shall we never hear the last of them?—furnish Longfellow the instigation and excuse for these two performances. Poems we can hardly call them, but fluent prose in measured lines, with initial capitals. They add no value to literature, no needed lesson of toleration to the Protestantism of our free age, no increase to the great and merited reputation of Longfellow.

Periodicals.

The "CHRISTIAN ADVOCATE" at NASHVILLE is edited by DR. T. O. SUMMERS, a brief acquaintance with whom, in our young manhood, left upon our memory the impress of a Christian gentleman, since confirmed by all our slight interchanges, public and private. In a late Advocate Dr. Summers favors our Quarterly with an extended and free, yet courteous notice, one point of which, as involving both a person and a principle, justifies a brief response on our part. He considers our notice of Dr. Pearne's pamphlet as discreditable to our Quarterly, assuring us that Dr. Pearne is a dishonorable "carpet-bagger," adding that he has no doubt that the word of the editor of the Advocate would be believed by us upon any other subject. We assure the Editor that we believe

him upon this point; that is, we believe that from his stand-point, and with his prepossessions, he speaks *intentional* truth. But, then, *intentional* truth is not always actual accuracy. We too have our stand-point. We knew Dr. Pearne in his boyhood. He is now in the full prime of manhood, and during his extended ministerial career no imputation has ever reached us on the purity of his character, save this, borne on the breeze from the South. He too is known to us as a Christian gentleman, in no way inferior in our view, as such, to Dr. Summers himself. The very epithet "carpet-bagger," with which Dr. Summers compromises himself more than he does Dr. Pearne, indicates his stand-point. Dr. P. has gone to Nashville as an accredited minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church to preach the Gospel, to establish Churches of that denomination, to promote the cause of education, of free and liberal Christian and loyal sentiment in that section. Dr. S., if we rightly understand him, holds that Dr. Pearne has no right to do all this work. There is a sectional boundary line which a northerner has not a right to pass, with such a mission, without the consent of the "southerners." They are the rightful proprietors of that section, and are entitled to exclude all outsiders from entering without their permission. That right of exclusion we deny to exist, either in the North or South. We are one *nation*, one *country*. We are a common family in that one home. The citizens of each section have a perfect equal right in every other section. Dr. Summers has just as much right here in New York as the editor of the Methodist Quarterly, to preach, publish, establish southern Churches, or prosecute any other Christian occupation. And Dr. Pearne has just as good a right for all such purposes in Nashville as Dr. Summers. Dr. Deems is now in New York, "a carpet-bagger" from the South. He testified in the last southern General Conference to the courtesy with which he had here been treated. And now we must say that the prepossession from which Dr. Summers speaks seems to us a remnant of the old spirit established by the institution of slavery, which for long years would have made it unsafe to the life of the editor of this Quarterly, as an antislavery man, to have visited the interior of the South; and which enabled that bold demagogue, Stephen A. Douglas, to stand up and utter the infamous boast that there were fifteen States in which none but a friend of slavery could exist alive. Until Dr. Summers can exorcise his soul of the last remnant of that spirit, and can concede to every American citizen his just rights upon every part of the American soil, let him not complain if the citizens of other sections, who have been for past long years

ostracised from the South, entertain a slight distrust in the accuracy of his views when the character of an incomer from the North is the point in question.

Than this policy for the South nothing can be more suicidal. It weakened her in the political balance until her power was departing, and when she sought to restore it by war, it laid her at the feet of the more liberalized section. Let her pursue it still, by denouncing immigrants, by fomenting internal strife and insecurity, and the census of 1870 will reduce the once proud and dominant South to a mere South-eastern margin of the Great Republic, an entirely insignificant element in the national whole. Every day and every hour of persistence in this policy is hastening that inevitable destiny. Against that result what is the remedy? A dense, united, peaceful population. The faster the South, the future South-eastern margin, can travel to that result, the securer will be her future. Let her, with all her soul, make a Northern and European immigration, of whatever creed, political or religious, heartily and hospitally welcome, into her broad, inviting acres. Let her renounce her oppressions of her own sable sons, and give them the fullest and noblest enfranchisement. Let her push her soil with agricultural appliances, set her rail-cars rolling, and her spindles whirling. Thus, and thus alone, she will secure her own prosperity, and promote the well-being of the nation of which she forms a part. She can mount the car of destiny and ride within it to fortune, or she can lay herself across the track and be crushed beneath its wheel. Dr. Summers and his co-editors can do their share in pandering to and cherishing the narrow sectionalisms by which the North is provoked and the South is ruined, or in throwing off the shackles and putting her forward in her new career. But we here assure him that it is the South-eastern, and not the Northern, or rather the National, destiny that is at stake. We are to be (whatever our South-eastern margin pleases) a continent-wide republic, before whom the governments of the earth must bow in reverence, and to whom the peoples of the earth will look with admiration and gladness. Our own noble Church, (would that she included in harmony and unity with herself every American religious body that calls itself Methodist!) sympathizing with the best spirit of the age, loyal alike to the cross of Christ and the national greatness, will spread abroad her evangelizing power, covering the entire national area, and knowing no limits to her missionary enterprise.

Dr. Summers expresses the wish that our "otherwise magnificent Quarterly" would avoid those topics on which we are so

deeply divided. It would be pleasant, we assure him, to have no truths to utter and no questions existing upon which all sections could not coincide. On those questions we endeavor to speak, frankly, indeed, yet free from every partisan animosity or desire for mere sectional triumph. But we purpose to edit a *live* periodical; and for our Quarterly to doze and snore while the greatest of civil wars, the emancipation of four millions, and the rehabilitation of a new and magnificent nation are passing under its nose, would prove it "dead while it liveth." No reconciliation, no reunion, can arise from silence, or the sacrifice of any principle for which the blood of a half million has been spilt. The only possible platform of union for the future is the acceptance by all parties of those grand conclusions which the logic of humanity, the logic of Christianity, and the logic of events have alike demonstrated forever. From his eminent talents and commanding position in his Church, there is much that Dr. Summers can do for that consummation, and we would welcome him as a co-laborer in that field.

The "Ladies' Repository," under the editorial care of Dr. Wiley, paying us its regular monthly visits, sustains its ancient honors, and we trust its old subscription list, undiminished, and improved by time and talent. The satisfaction of the Church with her official editorial corps is strikingly evinced by the fact that so few changes were made by our late General Conference. Our quondam editorial brother, Dr. Eddy, is *promoted*—we use the word in sober seriousness—to the regular pastorate; and Dr. Merril has already given good proof of his efficiency in the Western. To all our Methodist Editors, official and unofficial, the Quarterly tenders her New Year good wishes.

"Harper's Magazine" is the monthly for the million. Its opening pages, selected from the most valuable standard publications of that house, illustrated with pictures, insinuate an unsuspected amount of "solid reading" into the heads of the popular readers. Its central interior furnishes a varied miscellany of original matter. "The beginning of the end" exhibits the Editorial wisdom, and the end of the end gives you a sharp *Punch*. The pen of Curtis and the pencil of Nast sustain the high title of the *Journal of Civilization;* the demands of the most ultra-civilization are amply supplied in the pictorial pages of the *Bazar*.

"Every Month" is the title of the monthly bulletin issued in behalf of Dr. Deems's Church, "The Church of the Strangers," at the New York University. The sermons of Dr. Deems, one in

each number, are eloquent, practical, and pointed. Several of them, though no imitations, might be inserted in a volume of Henry Ward Beecher's sermons without any detection by the reader of different authorship or inferior quality.

The Bible Repository: a Monthly Magazine chiefly devoted to the Advocacy and Diffusion of the View of a Future Life and Immortality, as the Gift of God, through Jesus Christ, to the Righteous alone, by a Resurrection from the Dead. RUFUS WENDELL, Editor. Salem, Mass.: Published by the Editor.

MR. WENDELL is a candid and Christian-like advocate of the doctrine of the complete cessation from existence of the wicked. His theory has a materialistic basis, affirming soul or thought to be but a manifestation from the bodily organism. "Thought is the motion of the brain." How this denial of the separate existence of pure spirit is saved from materializing God, and so producing either Atheism or Pantheism, we are not sufficiently read in the system to understand. The theory is, in fact, the counterpart in theology to Mr. Darwin's "natural selection" in science. As living bodily beings attain permanent existence by meeting the physical conditions of existence, so spiritual beings attain eternal existence by meeting the moral conditions. The attainment of eternal life by the blessed is simply "the survival of the fittest;" the loss of eternal life is simply *failure* to exhibit its conditions, a blasting in the bud of the living flower, a ceasing to exist of all that fail. Hence the preacher in his address to sinners dwells not on pictures of the eternal agonies of the lost, but rather upon the positive duty and glory of avoiding disastrous failure, and attaining to "glory, honor, and eternal life."

Mr. Wendell quotes one of our editorial brethren as saying: "Annihilation [-ism?] has invaded the Church. Its advocates are chiefly men of faith and prayer, and of Churches that are built on Christ and are honored with the presence of the Spirit. It has some seeming support in some texts of Scripture. Yet it is an error which, if clung to too obstinately and exclusively, will strip its advocates of power with God and man. It is adopted usually as a refuge from the doctrine of eternal fire. But the refuge is worse than that which it seeks to escape. Who would not prefer the dungeon to the cord, the rack to the guillotine? Death is the greatest punishment man or God can inflict. Eternal life in death is preferable to eternal annihilation."

Now did we believe this, that annihilation is more terrible than eternal misery, we should consider the greatest difficulty in Christian theodicy to have attained a solution. The most terrible of all

punishments for sin is attained without the slightest pretext for a charge of injustice upon the divine Inflictor. No one can claim a moment of future existence as a right, or its withdrawal as a wrong. God can justly, at his pleasure, drop any being into instant nothingness. And now, if this be the most terrible of dooms, then God can inflict it, or permit it, for sin great or small, and the most captious caviller can utter no complaint. Universalism could not charge this theory with injustice, nor orthodoxy charge it with immoral tendency in lightening the penalty of sin. But for our individual part we would infinitely prefer the brief "guillotine" to the eternal "rack."

Universalism has been condemned by the Church in all ages. Yet the general Church, through a large part of its history, softened the terms of hell by the doctrine of purgatory. The Reformation removed that mitigation, and hence, especially at the present day, individual minds and large classes of Christian thinkers take relief in some softening view. Tertullian could exult at the prospect of beholding the writhings of the wicked in eternal physical fire, and Edwards held that the righteous would glorify God in view of the justice of that retribution. Milder theologians have removed the physical fire and transformed it into a spiritual element. Among peculiar yet evangelical thinkers at the present day, Dr. Stier holds that none but those who commit the sin against the Holy Ghost suffer eternal misery; Dr. Bushnell holds to the eternally diminishing yet never-ending amount of the sinner's being, and so of his suffering; our respected Dr. True (if we rightly understand) favors the doctrine of a perpetual cessation of consciousness rather than of existence—*deconsciousization* rather than *annihilation*—which, we suppose, leaves the insensate spiritual substance a burnt-out nature, a monumental cinder, attesting the accursedness of sin once existing; the late amiable and scholarly Professor Hudson taught in his able work, "Debt and Grace," that the spirits of the wicked survive until their resurrection, and then, being plunged into the lake of fire, sink to nothingness; and Mr. Wendell maintains that their existence penally terminates at death without a spiritual reviviscence or a bodily resurrection. All these have exhibited, both in their writings and characters, the evidences of the purest Christian and evangelical spirit. The generic agreement between them and the ordinary belief in the Church is in holding to the remediless ruin of the finally impenitent, the eternity of punishment either positive or of loss—endless woe. Between this entire body and the Universalists, or Restorationists, there is a broad separation in that the former unanimously affirm the eternity of the ruin wrought

to sin on the unrepentant. The whole are able to stand on one platform, however different their minor shades of orthodoxy or heterodoxy, against the prevalent Socinianism, Pelagianism, Universalism, Rationalism, and Infidelity. And if we concede that the penalty they maintain is as deterring from sin as the high orthodox view, we have no great reason to assail them, as we may Universalism, for the dangerous nature of their heterodoxy. We are bound, as Christian brethren, without excluding them from the Evangelic Church, to discuss their peculiarities, *salva fide et salva ecclesia*, in their own conceded Christian spirits.

Our "Christian Advocate" is quoted by Mr. Wendell as saying, that so little is the doctrine of eternal misery preached in our pulpits that Universalists might sit under our ministrations without being often disturbed. Dr. Todd, of Pittsfield, not long since stated and lamented the same fact as generally prevalent, and advised a return to the former style. Our impression is, that less reliance on the constant preaching of hell-fire has, with exceptions, always been one of the differences of Methodism from Calvinism. Dr. Clarke on 2 Cor. v, 11, reprobates the "constant declamation on hell and perdition." Rev. Thomas Vasey, of the British Conference, speaking of the conversion at Newcastle of "some of the worst specimens of humanity," says: "Now, with him it was a maxim not to preach hell and damnation to such people, but always to take the most encouraging subject, such as the love of God, the power of the Holy Ghost, the possibility of their getting saved and elevated." We heard a leading Methodist revivalist, a few years since, remark, that a few evenings previous he had put a check upon the flow of penitent feeling by preaching "too much of a terror sermon." In this respect, as in a great many others, we suspect that Methodism has anticipated the age. It has held forth the loftiest aims of religious happiness and holiness, and has had a boundless variety of cheering and aspiring views, which have led the souls of men joyously upward, yet ever retaining in view, without special details, the dark back-ground of remediless woe to be escaped, analogous to that bottomless gulf of destruction which even the most rationalistic physicist is obliged to recognize as underlying the feet of the great body of the sensual world. So far as we know it is in this channel that the great current of our most genial and most glorious revivals has triumphantly flowed.

Having made this subject a specialty, Mr. Wendell is an acute and formidable debater. Those who propose to deal with him would do well first to understand his whole system and way of managing a body of well-known texts, otherwise they may find them-

selves unwarily entrapped, escaping, if at all, only by the loss of some logical member of their argument. His fault seems to be the interpreting every expression on the part of leading theologians, acknowledging some favorable phase of his views, as a commencing or covert agreement with him. This is very unnecessary, though a far more amiable error than the opposite habit of making the widest possible distances, and the most numerous possible opponents and foes.

The Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture. 8vo. New York: Miller, Wood, & Co.

This journal is well calculated to furnish that prevention which is worth a thousand pounds of cure. It teaches how to preserve health, how to avoid disease, and how to establish and maintain the bodily strength, while it inculcates an invaluable amount of practical ethics. Such a periodical is indispensable for circulating those principles which are of the highest importance in our highly artificial state of society. Many of its articles are from our best writers, and in the higher style of literature. The little subscription price may save a big doctor's bill.

Sunday-School Journal for Teachers and Young People. Rev. J. H. Vincent, Editor. 8vo. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Under Mr. Vincent's hand the Journal shows a new outside and a new inside. The wise division of labor in our great Sunday-school departments is very apparent in the beautified appearance and rich contents of the work. A versatile invention, calling new methods and contrivances into existence, appears on every page. It is a live issue, and will aid to make a live Sunday-school department.

The Home Monthly. Devoted to Literature and Religion. A. B. Stark, Editor. 8vo., pp. 160. Nashville: Southern Methodist Publishing House. 1868.

The Southern Methodist Quarterly is not yet resumed, and this periodical supplies the higher reading for the Southern Church. It is a handsome publication. It embraces in its scope not only theology and religion, but poetry and prose fiction. The November number contains a brief article on "Woman Suffrage," treating the subject in a spirit of candor and reflective thought.

Plymouth Pulpit. A Weekly Publication of Sermons Preached by Henry Ward Beecher. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1868.

We need only announce that this unique periodical appears in handsome form, and will be doubtless welcomed by thousands of readers.

Juvenile.

Chasing Base; or, What Edward Learned at School. By WILLIAM EVERETT. Illustrated. Tinted paper, red and gold. 12mo., pp. 282. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

The Mimic Stage. A Series of Dramas, Comedies, Burlesques, and Farces, for Public Exhibitions and Private Theatricals. By GEORGE M. BAKER. Tinted paper, red and gold. 12mo., pp. 290. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Lem Ben of Elm Island. By Rev. ELIJAH KELLOGG. 12mo., pp. 265. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Freaks of Fortune; or, Half Round the World. By OLIVER OPTIC, Author of "Young America Abroad," "The Army and Navy Stories," etc. 12mo., pp. 303. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Patty Dimple Out West. By SOPHIA MAY, Author of "Little Prudy Stories." Illustrated. 16mo., pp. 171. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Make or Break; or, the Rich Man's Daughter. By OLIVER OPTIC, Author of "Young America Abroad," "Army and Navy Stories," etc. 12mo., pp. 328. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Elves and Fairies. Stories for Little Children. By LUCY RANDALL COMFORT. With Engravings. 12mo., pp. 259. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The Weaver Boy who became a Missionary, being the Life and Labors of David Livingston. By H. G. ADAMS. 12mo., pp. 379. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1868.

Carlton & Lanahan have issued the following juveniles:

Merry Lane and other Stories in Rhyme. Illustrated. Square 8vo., pp. 140. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

From Seventeen to Thirty. The Town Life of a Youth from the Country; its Trials, Temptations, and Advantages. Lessons from the History of Joseph. By T. PINNEY. 12mo., pp. 184. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1868.

Ronald's Reason; or, the Little Cripple. By MRS. S. C. HALL. With illustrations. Small quarto, colored paper, pp. 62. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

The Parables of our Lord Explained and Applied. By Rev. FRANCIS BOURDILLON, M.A. 12mo., pp. 327. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

Pamphlets.

Christian Separation from the World. Its Philosophy, Obligation, and Extent. Considered with Especial Reference to Popular Amusements. By Rev. H. S. PRATT, M.A., Author of "Gift of Power," etc. Second Edition. 12mo., pp. 52. Brooklyn, 1868.

We were led in a former Quarterly to put the question: Which, objectively, are the amusements that a Christian may indulge, and which must he condemn? We were answered in the Advocate, Those alone may be practiced which are conducive to the glory of God; and by Zion's Herald, Those which can be taken in the name of the Lord Jesus. Neither of these replies touched our question, which still remained in another form: Which amusements

are consistent with the glory of God, and which may be taken in the name of the Lord Jesus?

Mr. Platt here undertakes this answer, and it must be at least conceded that he realizes the question he is to meet. He names the specific allowable amusements, and ably gives the reason. He tells us the *which* and the *why*. Those who desire to know his answer will do well to study his sermon. It is prefaced with an introduction by Dr. Cuyler.

Miscellaneous.

Tibbals & Co., Nassau-street, New York, have issued a handsome edition, at a reasonable price, of *Stier's Words of Jesus.* We have so frequently and so strongly commended this work that we need only express our pleasure at its appearance.

Dr. Howell's Family. By Mrs. H. B. Goodwin. 12mo., pp. 361. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Through the Dark to the Day. A Story of Discipline. By Mrs. Jennie F. Willing. Tinted paper, red and gold. 12mo., pp. 339. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

Constance Aylmer. A Story of the Seventeenth Century. By H. F. P. 12mo., pp. 347. New York: Scribner & Co.

The Opium Habit. With Suggestions as to the Remedy. 12mo., pp. 335. New York; Harper & Brothers. 1868.

If, Yes, and Perhaps. Four Possibilities and Six Exaggerations, with some bits of Fact. By Edward E. Hale. 12mo., pp. 296. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

Geneva's Shield. A Story of the Reformation. By Rev. W. M. Blackburn. 16mo., pp. 325. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1868.

Madam Thérèse; or the Volunteers of '92. By Mm. Erckmann-Chartrain. Translated from the thirteenth edition. With ten full page Illustrations. Green and gilt. 12mo., pp. 289. New York: Scribner & Co. 1869.

Margaret. A Story of Life in a Prairie Home. By Lindon. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Scribner & Co.

Light and Truth; or, Bible Thoughts and Themes of the Old Testament. By Horatius Bonar, D.D. 12mo., pp. 381. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1868.

Claudia. By Amanda M. Douglass, Author of "In Trust," etc. 12mo., pp. 381. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Golden Truths. 12mo., pp. 243. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1868.

Studies of Character from the Old Testament. By Thomas Guthrie, D.D., Editor of the "Sunday Magazine." 12mo., pp. 329. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

The Pearl of the Parables. Notes on Luke xv, 11-32. By the late James Hamilton, D.D. 12mo., pp. 274. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

The Little Spaniard; or, Old Jose's Grandson. By May Mannering. 12mo., pp. 221. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Wind-Wafted Seed. Edited by Norman Macleod and Thomas Guthrie. 12mo., pp. 443. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

Cameos from English History, from Rollo to Edward II. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." 12mo., pp. 475. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

The Life of George Stephenson, and of his son, Robert Stephenson. Comprising a History of the Invention and Introduction of the Railway and Locomotive. By the Author of "Self-Help," "The Huguenots," etc. With Portraits and Numerous Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 501. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene. For Schools, Families, and Colleges. By J. C. DALTON, M. D., Professor in the College of Physicians and Surgeons, N. Y. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 399. New York: Harper & Brothers. London: Sampson Low, Son, & Maston. 1868.

Hall's Alphabet of Geology; or, First Lessons in Geology and Mineralogy, with Suggestions on the Relations of Rocks to Soil. By S. R. HALL, LL.D. With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 196. Boston: Gould & Lincoln.

Life and Public Services of General Ulysses S. Grant from his Boyhood to the Present Time, and a Biographical Sketch of Hon. Schuyler Colfax. By CHARLES A. PHELPS. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 344. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

A Practical Introduction to Latin Composition; for Schools and Colleges. By ALBERT HARKNESS, Ph. D., Professor in Brown University, Author of a "Latin Grammar," "An Introductory Latin Book," etc. 12mo., pp. 306. New York: D. Appleton & Co. London: 16 Little Britain. 1869.

Theatrical Management in the West and South for Thirty Years. Interspersed with Anecdotical Sketches autobiographically given. By SOL. SMITH, retired Actor. With fifteen Illustrations and a Portrait of the Author. 12mo., pp. 275. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

A Thousand Miles' Walk across South America. By NATHANIEL H. BISHOP. With an Introduction, by EDWARD A. SAMUELS, Esq., Author of "Ornithology and Oology of New England," etc. 12mo., pp. 310. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

The Works of Charles Dickens. With Illustrations, by George Cruikshank, John Leech, and H. K. Browne. Dombey & Son, Old Curiosity Shop, Hard Times. 12mo., pp. 202. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1868.

NOTE FROM DR. SCHAFF.

In the April number of the *Methodist Quarterly Review*, pp. 207 and 208, I find an extract from a popular "History of Religions," so called, compiled several years ago by an obscure author, in which certain theological views are attributed to me which I *never* held, or which I expressly disowned. It is not my habit to correct personal misrepresentations of the press, and I never took notice of the book referred to; but I have so much respect for the "Methodist Quarterly Review," and for Dr. Kidder, who, in a kind notice of my "Church History," makes those extracts with *apparent* sanction, at least without express dissent, that I must request you to give publicity to this protest. On the subject of the Eucharist, I never believed or taught either transubstantiation or consubstantiation, or any kind of material or corporeal presence, but always held (in essential agreement with Calvin on that point) to a *spiritual* real presence and a *spiritual* real fruition of Christ's life by faith, and faith only. I know of no other medium of communing with Christ except through faith.

PHILIP SCHAFF.

NEW YORK, *Sept.* 7, 1868.

PLAN OF EPISCOPAL VISITATION FOR 1869.

Conferences.	Place.	Time.	Bishops.
Mississippi	Canton, Miss	Jan. 7	Simpson.
Louisiana	Wesley Chapel, New Orleans	Jan. 13	Simpson.
North Carolina	Union Chapel, Alexander County	Jan. 14	Ames.
Texas	Austin	Jan. 21	Simpson.
India Mission	Lucknow, India	Feb. 10	.....
South Carolina	Camden, S. C	Feb. 11	Ames.
Liberia Mission	Not given	Feb. 17	Roberts.
Kentucky	Harrodsburgh	Feb. 25	Scott.
Baltimore	Foundry Church, Washington City	March 3	Clark.
Virginia	Alexandria	March 3	Ames.
St. Louis	Sedalia	March 10	Janes.
Central Pennsylvania	Danville	March 10	Scott.
West Virginia	Clarksburgh	March 11	Ames.
Wilmington	Wilmington, Del	March 17	Simpson.
Philadelphia	Philadelphia	March 17	Thomson.
New Jersey	Millville	March 17	Clark.
Missouri	Chillicothe	March 17	Janes.
Newark	Central Church, Newark	March 17	Scott.
Providence	First Church, Fall River	March 24	Clark.
Pittsburgh	New Philadelphia, Ohio	March 24	Ames.
Kansas	Leavenworth	March 24	Janes.
New England	Webster, Mass	March 24	Thomson.
Washington	Winchester, Va	March 25	Simpson.
Nebraska	Nebraska City	March 31	Janes.
New Hampshire	Lisbon	April 7	Clark.
New York	Sing Sing	April 7	Scott.
New York East	Middletown, Conn	April 7	Thomson.
East German	Philadelphia	April 8	Simpson.
Troy	Washington-street Church, West Troy	April 14	Kingsley.
Vermont	Not fixed	April 15	Thomson.
Wyoming	Honesdale, Pa	April 15	Ames.
Central New York	Auburn	April 15	Scott.
North Indiana	Pearl-street Church, Richmond	April 15	Janes.
Black River	Watertown	April 15	Clark.
Maine	Saccarappa	May 5	Clark.
East Maine	Pine-street Church, Bangor	May 20	Clark.
Germany and Switzerland	Bremen	June 17	.....
Colorado	Central City, Col	June 24	Kingsley.
Delaware	Milford, Del	July 22	Janes.
Oregon	Eugene City	Aug. 12	Kingsley.
Cincinnati	Hillsborough	Aug. 25	Ames.
East Genesee	Phelps, Ontario County	Aug. 25	Janes.
Des Moines	Indianola	Aug. 26	Clark.
Detroit	Central Church, Detroit	Sept. 1	Scott.
Iowa	Muscatine	Sept. 1	Thomson.
Nevada	Washoe City	Sept. 2	Kingsley.
Central German	Newport, Kentucky	Sept. 2	Ames.
North Ohio	Norwalk	Sept. 8	Janes.
North-west Indiana	Lafayette	Sept. 8	Clark.
Southern Illinois	Vandalia	Sept. 15	Thomson.
Central Ohio	Findley	Sept. 15	Janes.
Michigan	Grand Rapids	Sept. 15	Scott.
Indiana	Evansville	Sept. 15	Ames.
South-eastern Indiana	Trinity Church, Indianapolis	Sept. 15	Simpson.
California	Napa City	Sept. 15	Kingsley.
North-west German	Second Church, Milwaukee	Sept. 16	Clark.
Upper Iowa	Independence	Sept. 22	Clark.
Illinois	Lincoln, Logan County	Sept. 22	Thomson.
Wisconsin	Appleton	Sept. 23	Scott.
Erie	Franklin, Venango County	Sept. 29	Ames.
Tennessee	Huntingdon, Carroll County	Sept. 29	Simpson.
Central Illinois	Canton, Fulton County	Sept. 29	Thomson.
West Wisconsin	Portage City	Sept. 30	Scott.
Ohio	Centenary Church, Marietta	Oct. 6	Janes.
Rock River	Embury Church, Freeport	Oct. 6	Clark.
Genesee	Lyndonville	Oct. 6	Ames.
Holston	Jonesborough	Oct. 7	Simpson.
Minnesota	Minneapolis	Oct. 7	Scott.
South-west German	Burlington, Iowa	Oct. 7	Thomson.
Georgia	Atlanta	Oct. 14	Simpson.
Alabama	Mount Hermon, Connecuh County	Oct. 21	Simpson.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

APRIL, 1869.

ART. I.—THE RELIGION OF THE ATHENIANS.

THROUGH one of those remarkable counter-strokes of Divine Providence by which the evil designs of men are overruled, and made to subserve the purposes of God, the Apostle Paul was brought to Athens. He walked beneath its stately porticoes, he entered its solemn temples, he stood before its glorious statuary, he viewed its beautiful altars—all devoted to pagan worship. And "his spirit was stirred within him;" he was moved with indignation "when he saw the city full of images of the gods."* At the very entrance of the city he met the evidence of this peculiar tendency of the Athenians to multiply the objects of their devotion; for here at the gateway stands an image of Neptune, seated on horseback, and brandishing the trident. Passing through the gate, his attention would be immediately arrested by the sculptured forms of Minerva, Jupiter, Apollo, Mercury, and the Muses, standing near a sanctuary of Bacchus. A long street is now before him, with temples, statues, and altars crowded on either hand. Walking to the end of this street, and turning to the right, he entered the Agora, a public square surrounded with porticoes and temples, which were adorned with statuary and paintings in honor of the gods of Grecian mythology. Amid the plane-trees planted by the hand of Cimon are the statues of the deified heroes of Athens, Hercules and Theseus, and the whole

* Lange's Commentary, Acts xvii, 16.

series of the Epomymi, together with the memorials of the older divinities; Mercuries which gave the name to the streets on which they were placed; statues dedicated to Apollo as patron of the city and her deliverer from the plague; and in the center of all the altar of the Twelve Gods.

Standing in the Market-place, and looking up to the Areopagus, Paul would see the temple of Mars, from whom the hill derived its name. And turning toward the Acropolis, he would behold, closing the long perspective, a series of little sanctuaries on the very ledges of the rocks, shrines of Bacchus and Æsculapius, Venus, Earth, and Ceres, ending with the lovely form of the Temple of Unwinged Victory, which glittered in front of the Propylæa.

If the Apostle entered the "fivefold gates," and ascended the flight of stone steps to the platform of the Acropolis, he would find the whole area one grand composition of architecture and statuary dedicated to the worship of the gods. Here stood the Parthenon, the Virgin House, the glorious temple which was erected during the proudest days of Athenian glory, an entire offering to Minerva, the tutelary divinity of Athens. Within was the colossal statue of the goddess wrought in ivory and gold. Outside the temple there stood another statue of Minerva, cast from the brazen spoils of Marathon; and near by yet another brazen Pallas, which was called by pre-eminence "the Beautiful."

Indeed, to whatever part of Athens the Apostle wandered, he would meet the evidences of their "carefulness in religion," for every public place and every public building was a sanctuary of some god. The Metroum, or Record House, was a temple to the mother of the gods. The Council House held statues of Apollo and Jupiter, with an altar to Vesta. The Theater at the base of the Acropolis was consecrated to Bacchus. The Pnyx was dedicated to Jupiter on high. And as if, in this direction, the Attic imagination knew no bounds, abstractions were deified; altars were erected to Fame, to Energy, to Modesty, and even to Pity, and these abstractions were honored and worshiped as gods.

The impression made upon the mind of Paul was, that the city was literally "full of idols," or images of the gods. This impression is sustained by the testimony of numerous Greek

and Roman writers. Pausanius declares that Athens "had more images than all the rest of Greece;" and Petronius, the Roman satirist, says, "It was easier to find a god in Athens than a man."*

No wonder, then, that as Paul wandered amid these scenes "his spirit was stirred in him." He burned with holy zeal to maintain the honor of the true and only God, whom now he saw dishonored on every side. He was filled with compassion for those Athenians who, notwithstanding their intellectual greatness, had changed the glory of God into an image made in the likeness of corruptible man, and who really worshiped the creature *more* than the Creator. The images intended to symbolize the invisible perfections of God were usurping the place of God, and receiving the worship due alone to him. We may presume the Apostle was not insensible to the beauties of Grecian art. The sublime architecture of the Propylæa and the Parthenon, the magnificent sculpture of Phidias and Praxiteles, could not fail to excite his wonder. But he remembered that those superb temples and this glorious statuary were the creation of the pagan spirit, and devoted to polytheistic worship. The glory of the supreme God was obscured by all this symbolism. The creatures formed by God, the symbols of his power and presence in nature, the ministers of his providence and moral government, were receiving the honor due to him. Over all this scene of material beauty and esthetic perfection there rose in dark and hideous proportions the errors and delusions and sins against the living God which Polytheism nurtured, and unable any longer to restrain himself, he commenced to "reason" with the crowds of Athenians who stood beneath the shadows of the plane-trees, or lounged beneath the porticoes that surrounded the Agora. Among these groups of idlers were mingled the disciples of Zeno and Epicurus, who "encountered" Paul. The nature of these "disputations" may be easily conjectured. The speculations of these philosophers are even now familiarly known; they are, in one form or another, current in the literature of modern times. Materialism and Pantheism still "encounter"

* See Conybeare and Howson's "Life and Epistles of St. Paul;" also, art. "Athens," in Encyclopædia Brittanica, whence our account of the "sacred objects" in Athens is chiefly gathered.

Christianity. The Apostle asserted the personal being and spirituality of one supreme and only God, who has in divers ways revealed himself to man, and therefore may be "known." He proclaimed that Jesus is the fullest and most perfect revelation of God—the *only* "manifestation of God in the flesh." He pointed to his "resurrection" as the proof of his superhuman character and mission to the world. Some of his hearers were disposed to treat him with contempt; they represented him as an ignorant "babbler," who had picked up a few scraps of learning, and who now sought to palm them off as a "new" philosophy. But most of them regarded him with that peculiar Attic curiosity which was always anxious to be hearing some "new thing." So they lead him away from the tumult of the Market-place to the top of Mars' Hill, where, in its serene atmosphere, they might hear him more carefully, and said, "May we hear what this new doctrine is whereof thou speakest?"

Surrounded by these men of thoughtful philosophic mind—men who had deeply pondered the great problem of existence, who had earnestly inquired after the "first principles of things;" men who had reasoned high of creation, fate, and providence; of right and wrong; of conscience, law, and retribution; and had formed strong and decided opinions on all these questions—he delivered his discourse on the *being*, the *providence*, the *spirituality*, and the *moral government* of God.

This grand theme was suggested by an inscription he had observed on one of the altars of the city, which was dedicated "To the Unknown God." "Ye men of Athens! every thing which I behold bears witness to your *carefulness in religion*. For as I passed by and beheld your sacred objects I found an altar with this inscription, 'to the Unknown God;' whom, therefore, ye worship, though ye know him not, [adequately,] Him declare I unto you." Starting from this point, the manifest carefulness of the Athenians in religion, and accepting this inscription as the evidence that they had some presentiment, some native intuition, some dim conception of the One True and Living God, he strives to lead them to a deeper knowledge of Him. It is here conceded by the Apostle that the Athenians were a religious people. The observations he had

made during his short stay in Athens enabled him to bear witness that the Athenians were "a God-fearing people,"* and he felt that fairness and candor demanded that this trait should receive from him an ample recognition and a full acknowledgment. Accordingly he commences by saying in gentle terms, well fitted to conciliate his audience, "All things which I behold bear witness to your carefulness in religion." I recognize you as most devout; ye appear to me to be a God-fearing people,† for as I passed by and beheld your sacred objects I found an altar with this inscription, "To the Unknown God," whom therefore ye worship.

The assertion that the Athenians were "a religious people" will, to many of our readers, appear a strange and startling utterance, which has in it more of novelty than truth. Nay, some will be shocked to hear the Apostle Paul described as complimenting these Athenians—these pagan worshipers—on their "carefulness in religion." We have been so long accustomed to use the word "heathen" as an opprobrious epithet—expressing, indeed, the utmost extremes of ignorance, and barbarism, and cruelty, that it has become difficult for us to believe that in a heathen there can be any good.

From our childhood we have read in our English Bibles, "Ye men of Athens, I perceive in all things ye are *too superstitious*," and we can scarcely tolerate another version, even if it can be shown that it approaches nearer to the actual language employed by Paul. We must, therefore, ask the patience and candor of the reader, while we endeavor to show, on the authority of Paul's words, that the Athenians were a "religious people," and that all our notions to the contrary are founded on prejudice and misapprehension.

First, then, let us commence even with our English version: "Ye men of Athens, I perceive that in all things ye are *too superstitious*." And what now is the meaning of the word "superstition?" It is true, we now use it only in an evil sense, to express a belief in the agency of invisible, capricious, malignant powers, which fills the mind with fear and terror, and sees in every unexplained phenomenon of nature an omen, or prognostic, of some future evil. But this is not its proper

* Lange's Commentary, *in loco*.

† "Ὡς before δεισιδ.—so imports. I recognize you as such."—Lange's Commentary.

and original meaning. Superstition is from the Latin *superstitio*, which means a superabundance of religion,* an extreme exactitude in religious observance. And this is precisely the sense in which the corresponding Greek term is used by the Apostle Paul. Δεισιδαίμονία properly means "reverence for the gods." "It is used," says Barnes, "in the classic writers, in a good sense, to denote piety towards the gods, or suitable fear and reverence for them." "The word," says Lechler, "is, without doubt, to be understood here in a good sense; although it seems to have been intentionally chosen, in order to indicate the conception of *fear*, (δείδω,) which predominated in the religion of the Apostle's hearers." † This reading is sustained by the ablest critics and scholars of modern times. Bengel reads the sentence, "I perceive that ye are *very religious*."‡ Cudworth translates it thus: "Ye are every way *more than ordinarily religious*." § Conybeare and Howson read the text as we have already given it, "All things which I behold bear witness to your *carefulness in religion*." ‖ Lechler reads "very devout;" ¶ Alford, "carrying your *religious reverence very far;*** and Albert Barnes,†† "I perceive ye are greatly devoted to *reverence for religion*." ‡‡ Whoever, therefore, will give attention to the actual words of the Apostle, and search for their real meaning, must be convinced he opens his address by complimenting the Athenians on their being more than ordinarily religious.

Nor are we for a moment to suppose the Apostle is here dealing in hollow compliments, or having recourse to a "pious fraud." Such a course would have been altogether out of character with Paul, and to suppose him capable of pursuing such a course is to do him great injustice. If "to the Jews he became as a Jew," it was because he recognized in Judaism the same fundamental truths which underlie the Christian system. And if here he seems to become, in any sense, as one with "heathenism," that he might gain the heathen to the faith of Christ, it was because he found in heathenism some elements of truth akin to Christianity, and a state of feeling

* Nitzsch, "System of Christ. Doctrine," p. 33. † Lange's Commentary, *in loco.*
‡ "Gnomon of the New Testament." § Intellectual System, vol. i, 626.
‖ "Life and Epistles of St. Paul," vol. i, 378. ¶ Lange's Commentary.
** Greek Test. †† Notes on Acts. ‡‡ Also Clarke's Comment., *in loco.*

favorable to an inquiry into the truths he had to present. He beheld in Athens an altar reared to the God *he* worshiped, and it afforded him some pleasure to find that God was not totally forgotten, and his worship totally neglected, by the Athenians. The God whom they knew imperfectly, "*Him*," said he, "I declare unto you;" I now desire to make him more fully known. The worship of "the Unknown God" was a recognition of the being of a God whose nature transcends all human thought, a God who is ineffable; who, as Plato said, "is hard to be discovered, and having discovered him, to make him known to all, impossible."* It is the confession of a *want* of knowledge, the expression of a *desire* to know, the acknowledgment of the *duty* of worshiping him. Underlying all the forms of idol-worship the eye of Paul recognized an influential Theism. Deep down in the pagan heart he discovered a "feeling after God"--a yearning for a deeper knowledge of the "unknown," the invisible, the incomprehensible, which he could not despise or disregard. The mysterious *sentiments* of fear, of reverence, of conscious dependence on a supernatural power and presence overshadowing man, which were expressed in the symbolism of the "sacred objects" which Paul saw every-where in Athens, commanded his respect. And he alludes to their "devotions," not in the language of reproach or censure, but as furnishing to his own mind the evidence of the strength of their *religious instincts*, and the proof of the existence in their hearts of that *native apprehension* of the supernatural, the divine, which dwells alike in all human souls.

The case of the Athenians has, therefore, a peculiar interest to every thoughtful mind. It confirms the belief that religion is a necessity to every human mind, a want of every human heart.† Without religion, the nature of man can never be properly developed; the noblest part of man—the divine, the spiritual element which dwells in man, as "the offspring of God"—must remain utterly dwarfed. The spirit, the personal being, the rational nature, is religious, and Atheism is the vain

* Timæus, c. ix.

† The indispensable necessity for a religion of some kind to satisfy the emotional nature of man is tacitly confessed by the Atheist Comte in the publication of his "Catechism of Positive Religion."

and the wicked attempt to be something less than man. If the spiritual nature of man has its normal and healthy development, he must become a worshiper. This is attested by the universal history of man. We look down the long-drawn aisles of antiquity, and every-where we behold the smoking altar, the ascending incense, the prostrate form, the attitude of devotion. Athens, with her four thousand deities—Rome, with her crowded Pantheon of gods—Egypt, with her degrading superstitions—Hindostan, with her horrid and revolting rites—all attest that the religious principle is deeply seated in the nature of man. And we are sure religion can never be robbed of her supremacy, she can never be dethroned in the hearts of men. It were easier to satisfy the cravings of hunger by logical syllogisms, than to satisfy the yearnings of the human heart without religion. The attempt of Xerxes to bind the rushing floods of the Hellespont in chains was not more futile nor more impotent than the attempt of skepticism to repress the universal tendency to worship, so peculiar and so natural to man in every age and clime.

The unwillingness of many to recognize a religious element in the Athenian mind is further accounted for by their misconception of the meaning of the word "religion." We are all too much accustomed to regard religion as a mere system of dogmatic teaching. We use the terms "Christian religion," "Jewish religion," "Mohammedan religion," as comprehending simply the characteristic doctrines by which each is distinguished; whereas religion is a mode of thought, and feeling, and action, determined by the consciousness of our relation to and our dependence upon God. It does not appropriate to itself any specific department of our mental powers and susceptibilities, but it conditions the entire functions and circle of our spiritual life. It is not simply a mode of conceiving God in thought, nor simply a mode of venerating God in the affections, nor yet simply a mode of worshiping God in outward and formal acts, but it comprehends the whole. Religion (*religere*, respect, awe, reverence) regulates our thoughts, feelings, and acts toward God. "It is a reference and a relationship of our finite consciousness to the Creator and Sustainer and Governor of the universe." It is such a consciousness of the Divine as shall awaken in the heart of man the sentiments

of reverence, fear, and gratitude toward God; such a sense of dependence as shall prompt man to pray, and lead him to perform external acts of worship.

Religion does not, therefore, consist exclusively in knowledge, however correct; and yet it must be preceded and accompanied by some intuitive cognition of a Supreme Being, and some conception of him as a free moral Personality. But the religious sentiments which belong rather to the heart than to the understanding of man—the consciousness of dependence, the sense of obligation, the feeling of reverence, the instinct to pray, the appetency to worship—these may all exist and be largely developed in a human mind even when, as in the case of the Athenians, there is a very imperfect knowledge of the real character of God.

Regarding this, then, as the generic conception of religion, namely, *that it is a mode of thought and feeling and action determined by our consciousness of dependence on a Supreme Being*, we claim that the Apostle was perfectly right in complimenting the Athenians on their "more than ordinary religiousness," for,

1. They had, in some degree at least, that faith in the being and providence of God which precedes and accompanies all religion.

They had erected an altar to the unseen, the unsearchable, the incomprehensible, the unknown God. And this "unknown God" whom the Athenians "worshiped" was the true God, the God whom Paul worshiped, and whom he desired more fully to reveal to them; "*Him* declare I unto you." The Athenians had, therefore, some knowledge of the true God, some dim recognition, at least, of his being, and some conception, however imperfect, of his character. The Deity to whom the Athenians reared this altar is called "the unknown God," because he is unseen by all human eyes and incomprehensible to human thought. There is a sense in which to Paul, as well as to the Athenians—to the Christian as well as to the pagan—to the philosopher as well as to the peasant—God is "*the unknown*," and in which he must for ever remain the incomprehensible. This has been confessed by all thoughtful minds in every age. It was confessed by Plato. To his mind God is "the ineffable," the unspeakable. Zophar, the

friend of Job, asks, "Canst thou by searching find out God? Canst thou find out the Almighty to perfection? This knowledge is "high as heaven; what canst thou do? deeper than hell; what canst thou know?" Does not Wesley teach us to sing,

> Hail, Father, whose creating call
> Unnumbered worlds attend;
> Jehovah, comprehending all,
> Whom none can comprehend.

To his mind, as well as to the mind of the Athenian, God was "the great unseen, unknown." "Beyond the universe and man," says Cousin, "there remains in God something unknown, impenetrable, incomprehensible. Hence, in the immeasurable spaces of the universe, and beneath all the profundities of the human soul, God escapes us in this inexhaustible infinitude, whence he is able to draw without limit new worlds, new beings, new manifestations. God is therefore to us *incomprehensible*." * And without making ourselves in the least responsible for Hamilton's "negative" doctrine of the Infinite, or even responsible for the full import of his words, we may quote his remarkable utterances on this subject: "The Divinity is in part concealed and in part revealed. He is at once known and unknown. But the last and highest consecration of all true religion must be an altar 'to the unknown God.' In this consummation nature and religion, Paganism and Christianity, are at one." †

When, therefore, the Apostle affirms that while the Athenians worshiped the God whom he proclaimed they "knew him not," we cannot understand him as saying they were destitute of all faith in the being of God, and of all ideas of his real character. Because for him to have asserted they had *no* knowledge of God would not only have been contrary to all the facts of the case, but also an utter contradiction of all his settled convictions and his recorded opinions. There is not in modern times a more earnest assertor of the doctrine that the human mind has an intuitive cognition of God, and that the external world reveals God to man. There is a passage in his letter to the Romans which is justly entitled to stand at the head of all discourses on "natural theology." Rom. i, 19–21. Speaking of

* Lectures, vol. i, p. 104. † "Discussions on Philosophy," p. 23.

the heathen world, who had not been favored, as the Jews, with a verbal revelation, he says, "That which may be known of God is manifest *in* them," that is, in the constitution and laws of their spiritual nature, "for God hath showed it unto them" in the voice of reason and of conscience, so that in the instincts of our hearts, in the elements of our moral nature, in the ideas and laws of our reason, we are taught the being of a God. These are the subjective teachings of the human soul.

Not only is the being of God revealed to man in the constitution and laws of his rational and moral nature, but God is also manifested to us objectively in the realm of things around us; therefore Paul adds, "The invisible things of him, even his eternal power and Godhead, from the creation are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." The world of sense, therefore, discloses the being and perfections of God. The invisible attributes of God are made apparent by the things that are visible. Forth out of nature, as the product of the Divine Mind, the supernatural shines. The forces, laws, and harmonies of the universe are indices of the presence of a presiding and informing Intelligence. The creation itself is an example of God's coming forth out of the mysterious depths of his own eternal and invisible being, and making himself apparent to man. There, on the pages of the volume of nature, we may read, in the marvelous language of symbol, the grand conceptions, the glorious thoughts, the ideals of beauty, which dwell in the uncreated Mind. These two sources of knowledge, the subjective teachings of God in the human soul, and the objective manifestations of God in the visible universe harmonize, and, together, fill up the complement of our natural idea of God. They are two hemispheres of thought, which together form one full-orbed fountain of light, and ought never to be separated in our philosophy. And, inasmuch as this divine light shines on all human minds, and these works of God are seen by all human eyes, the Apostle argues that the heathen world "is without excuse, because knowing God (γνόντες τὸν Θεόν) they did not glorify him as God, neither were thankful; but in their reasonings they went astray after vanities, and their hearts, being void of wisdom, were filled with darkness. Calling themselves wise, they were

turned into fools, and changed the glory of the imperishable God for idols graven in the likeness of perishable man, or of birds, and beasts, and creeping things, . . . and they bartered the truth of God for lies, and reverenced and worshiped the things made rather than the Maker, who is blessed for ever. Amen." *

The brief and elliptical report of Paul's address on Mars' Hill must therefore, in all fairness, be interpreted in the light of his more carefully elaborated statements in the Epistle to the Romans. And when Paul intimates that the Athenians "knew not God," we cannot understand him as saying they had *no* knowledge, but that their knowledge was imperfect. They did not know God as Creator, Father, and Ruler; above all, they did not know him as a pardoning God, and a sanctifying Spirit. They had not that knowledge of God which purifies the heart, and changes the character, and gives its possessor eternal life.

The Apostle clearly and unequivocally recognizes this truth, that the idea of God is connatural to the human mind; that in fact there is not to be found a race of men upon the face of the globe utterly destitute of some idea of a Supreme Being. Wherever human reason has had its normal and healthful development it has spontaneously and necessarily led the human mind to the recognition of a God. The Athenians were no exception to this general law. They believed in the existence of one supreme and eternal Mind, invisible, incomprehensible, ineffable—"the unknown God."

2. The Athenians had also that consciousness of dependence upon God which is the foundation of all the primary religious emotions.

When the Apostle affirmed that "in God we live, and move, and have our being," he uttered the sentiments of many, if not all, of his hearers, and in support of that affirmation he could quote the words of their own poets, "for we are also his offspring;" † and as his offspring we have a derived and a

* Rom. i, 21–25. Conybeare and Howson's translation.

† "Jove's presence fills all space, upholds this ball;
All need his aid; his power sustains us all,
For we his offspring are."—Aratus: "The Phænomena," Book V, 5.

Aratus was a poet of Cilicia, Paul's native province. He flourished B. C. 277.

dependent being. Indeed, this consciousness of dependence is analogous to the feeling which is awakened in the heart of a child when its parent is first manifested to its opening mind as the giver of those things which it immediately needs, as its continual protector, and as the preserver of its life. The moment a man becomes conscious of his own personality, that moment he becomes conscious of some relation to another personality, to which he is subject, and on which he depends.*

A little reflection will convince us that this is the necessary order in which human consciousness is developed.

There are at least two fundamental and radical tendencies in human personality, namely, to *know* and to *act*. If we would conceive of them as they exist in the innermost sphere of self-hood, we must distinguish the first as *self-consciousness*, and the second as *self-determination*. These are unquestionably the two factors of human personality.

If we consider the first of these factors more closely, we

> "Great and divine Father, whose names are many,
> But who art one and the same unchangeable, almighty power;
> O thou supreme Author of nature!
> That governest by a single unerring law!
> Hail King!
> For thou art able to enforce obedience from all frail mortals,
> *Because we are all thine offspring,*
> The image and the echo only of thy eternal voice."
>
> Cleanthes: "Hymn to Jupiter."

Cleanthes was the pupil of Zeno, and his successor as chief of the Stoic philosophers.

* "As soon as a man becomes conscious of himself, as soon as he perceives himself as distinct from other persons and things, he at the same moment becomes conscious of a higher Self, a higher power, without which he feels that neither he nor any thing else would have any life or reality. We are so fashioned that as soon as we awake we feel on all sides our dependence on something else; and all nations join in some way or another in the words of the Psalmist, 'It is He that made us, not we ourselves.' This is the first *sense* of the Godhead, the *sensus numinis*, as it has well been called; for it is a *sensus*, an immediate perception, not the result of reasoning or generalization, but an intuition as irresistible as the impressions of our senses. . . . This *sensus numinis*, or, as we may call it in more homely language, *faith*, is the source of all religion; it is that without which no religion, whether true or false, is possible."—Max Müller: "Science of Language," Second Series, p. 455.

shall discover that self-consciousness exists under limitations and conditions. Man cannot become clearly conscious of *self* without distinguishing himself from the outer world of sensation, nor without distinguishing self and the world from another being upon whom they depend as the ultimate substance and cause. Mere *sensus communis* is not consciousness. Common feeling is unquestionably found among the lowest forms of animal life, the protozoa, but it can never rise to a clear consciousness of personality until it can distinguish itself from sensation, and acquire a presentiment of a divine power, on which self and the outer world depend. The *Ego* does not exist for itself, cannot perceive itself, but by distinguishing itself from the ceaseless flow and change of sensation, and by this act of distinguishing, the *Ego* takes place in consciousness. And the *Ego* cannot perceive itself, nor cognize sensation as a state or affection of the *Ego* except by the intervention of the reason, which supplies the two great fundamental laws of causality and substance. The facts of consciousness thus comprehend three elements—self, nature, and God. The determinate being, the *Ego*, is never an absolutely independent being, but is always in some way or other codetermined by another; it cannot, therefore, be an absolutely original and independent, but must in some way or another be a *derived* and *conditioned* existence.

Now that which limits and conditions human self-consciousness cannot be mere *nature*, because nature cannot give what it does not possess; it cannot produce what is *toto genere* different from itself. Self-consciousness cannot arise out of unconsciousness. This new beginning is beyond the power of nature. Personal power, the creative principle of all new beginnings, is alone adequate to its production. If, then, self-consciousness exists in man it necessarily presupposes an absolutely *original*, therefore *unconditioned*, *self-consciousness*. Human self-consciousness, in its temporal actualization, of course presupposes a nature-basis upon which it elevates itself; but it is only possible on the ground that an eternal self-conscious Mind ordained and rules over all the processes of nature, and implants the divine spark of the personal spirit with the corporeal frame, to realize itself in the light-flame of human self-consciousness. The original light of the divine self-con-

sciousness is eternally and absolutely first and before all. "Thus in the depths of our own self-consciousness, as its concealed background, the God-consciousness reveals itself to us. This descent into our inmost being is at the same time an ascent to God. Every deep reflection on ourselves breaks through the mere crust of world-consciousness, which separates us from the inmost truth of our existence, and leads us up to Him in whom we live and move and are." *

Self-determination, equally with self-consciousness, exists in us under manifold *limitations.* Self-determination is limited by physical, corporeal, and mental conditions, so that there is "an impassable boundary line drawn around the area of volitional freedom." But the most fundamental and original limitation is that of *duty.* The self-determining power of man is not only circumscribed by necessary conditions, but also by the *moral law* in the consciousness of man. Self-determination alone does not suffice for the full conception of responsible freedom; it only becomes properly *will* by its being an intelligent and conscious determination; that is, the rational subject is able previously to recognize "the right," and present before his mind that which he *ought* to do, that which he is morally bound to realize and actualize by his own self-determination and choice. Accordingly we find in our inmost being a *sense of obligation* to obey the moral law as revealed in the conscience. As we cannot become conscious of self without also becoming conscious of God, so we cannot become properly conscious of self-determination until we have recognized in the conscience a law for the movements of the will.

Now this moral law, as revealed in the conscience, is not a mere autonomy—a simple subjective law having no relation to a personal lawgiver out of and above man. Every admonition of conscience directly excites the consciousness of a God to whom man is accountable. The universal consciousness of our race, as revealed in history, has always associated the phenomena of conscience with the idea of a personal Power above man, to whom he is subject and upon whom he depends. In every age, the voice of conscience has been regarded as the voice of God, so that when it has filled man with guilty appre-

* Müller, "Christian Doctrine of Sin," vol. i, p. 81.

hensions he has had recourse to sacrifices, and penances, and prayers to expiate his wrath.

It is clear, then, that if man has *duties* there must be a self-conscious Will by whom these duties are imposed, for only a real will can be legislative. If man has a *sense of obligation*, there must be a supreme authority by which he is obliged. If he is *responsible*, there must be a being to whom he is accountable.* It cannot be said that he is accountable to himself, for by that supposition the idea of duty is obliterated, and "right" becomes identical with mere interest or pleasure. It cannot be said that he is simply responsible to society—to mere conventions of human opinions and human governments—for then "*right*" becomes a mere creature of human legislation, and "*justice*" is nothing but the arbitrary will of the strong who tyrannize over the weak. Might constitutes right. Against such hypotheses the human mind, however, instinctively revolts. Mankind feel, universally, that there is an authority beyond all human governments, and a higher law above all human laws, from whence all their powers are derived. That higher law is the Law of God, that supreme authority is the God of Justice. To this eternally just God, innocence, under oppression and wrong, has made its proud appeal, like that of Prometheus to the elements, to the witnessing clouds, to coming ages, and has been sustained and comforted. And to that higher law the weak have confidently appealed against the unrighteous enactments of the strong, and have finally conquered. The last and inmost ground of all obligation is thus the conscious relation of the moral creature to God. The sense of absolute dependence upon a Supreme Being compels man, even while conscious of subjective freedom, to recognize at the same time his obligation to determine himself in harmony with the will of Him "in whom we live, and move, and are."

This feeling of dependence, and this consequent sense of obligation, lie at the very foundation of all religion. They lead the mind toward God, and anchor it in the Divine. They prompt man to pray, and inspire him with an instinctive confidence in the efficacy of prayer. So that prayer is natural to man, and necessary to man. Never yet has the traveler found

* "The thought of God will wake up a terrible monitor whose name is Judge."—*Kant.*

a people on earth without prayer. Races of men have been found without houses, without raiment, without arts and sciences, but never without prayer any more than without speech. Plutarch wrote, eighteen centuries ago, "If you go through all the world, you may find cities without walls, without letters, without rulers, without money, without theaters, but never without temples and gods, or without *prayers*, oaths, prophecies, and sacrifices, used to obtain blessings and benefits, or to avert curses and calamities.* The naturalness of prayer is admitted even by the modern unbeliever. Gerrit Smith says, "Let us who believe that the religion of reason calls for the religion of nature, remember that the flow of prayer is just as natural as the flow of water; the prayerless man has become an unnatural man."† Is man in sorrow or in danger, his most natural and spontaneous refuge is in prayer. The suffering, bewildered, terror-stricken soul turns toward God. "Nature in an agony is no atheist; the soul that knows not where to fly, flies to God." And in the hour of deliverance and joy, a feeling of gratitude pervades the soul—and gratitude, too, not to some blind nature-force, to some unconscious and impersonal power, but gratitude to God. The soul's natural and appropriate language in the hour of deliverance is thanksgiving and praise.

This universal tendency to recognize a superior Power upon whom we are dependent, and by whose hand our well-being and our destinies are absolutely controlled, has revealed itself even amid the most complicated forms of polytheistic worship. Amid the even and undisturbed flow of every-day life they might be satisfied with the worship of subordinate deities, but in the midst of sudden and unexpected calamities, and of terrible catastrophes, then they cried to the Supreme God.‡ "When alarmed by an earthquake," says Aulus Gellius, "the ancient Romans were accustomed to pray, not to some one of the gods individually, but to God in general, *as to the Unknown.*"§

* "Against Kalotes," c. xxxi. † "Religion of Reason."

‡ "At critical moments, when the deepest feelings of the human heart are stirred, the old Greeks and Romans seem suddenly to have dropped all mythological ideas, and to have fallen back on the universal language of true religion."—Max Müller, "Science of Language," p. 436.

§ Tholuck, "Nature and Influence of Heathenism," p. 23.

"Thus also Minutius Felix says, 'When they stretch out their hands to heaven they mention only God; and these forms of speech, *He is great*, and *God is true*, and *If God grant*, (which are the natural language of the vulgar,) are a plain confession of the truth of Christianity.' And also Lactantius testifies, 'When they swear, and when they wish, and when they give thanks, they name not many gods, but God only; the truth, by a secret force of nature, thus breaking forth from them whether they will or no;' and again he says, 'They fly to God; aid is desired of God; they pray that God would help them; and when one is reduced to extreme necessity, he begs for God's sake, and by his divine power alone implores the mercy of men.'"* The account which is given by Diogenes Laertius † of the erection of altars bearing the inscription "to the unknown God," clearly shows that they had their origin in this general sentiment of dependence on a higher Power. "The Athenians being afflicted with pestilence invited Epimenides to lustrate their city. The method adopted by him was to carry several sheep to the Areopagus, whence they were left to wander as they pleased, under the observation of persons sent to attend them. As each sheep lay down it was sacrificed to *the propitious God*. By this ceremony it is said the city was relieved; but as it was still unknown what deity was propitious, an altar was erected *to the unknown God* on every spot where a sheep had been sacrificed."‡

"The unknown God" was their deliverer from the plague. And the erection of an altar to him was a confession of their absolute dependence upon him, of their obligation to worship him, as well as of their need of a deeper knowledge of him. The gods who were known and named were not able to deliver them in times of calamity, and they were compelled to look beyond the existing forms of Grecian mythology for relief. Beyond all the gods of the Olympus there was "one God over all," the Father of gods and men, the Creator of all the subordinate local deities, upon whom even these created gods were dependent, upon whom man was absolutely dependent, and therefore in times of deepest need, of severest suffering, of

* Cudworth, vol. i, p. 300. † "Lives of Philosophers," Book I, Epimenides.

‡ See Townsend's "Chronological Arrangement of New Testament," note 19, part xii; Doddridge's "Exposition;" and Barnes's "Notes on Acts."

extremest peril, then they cried to the living, supreme, eternal God.*

3. The Athenians developed in a high degree those religious emotions which always accompany the consciousness of dependence on a Supreme Being.

The first emotional element of all religion is *fear*. This is unquestionably true whether religion be considered from a Christian or a heathen stand-point. "The *fear* of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom." Associated with, perhaps preceding, all definite ideas of God, there exists in the human mind certain feelings of *awe*, and *reverence*, and *fear* which arise spontaneously in presence of the vastness, and grandeur, and magnificence of the universe, and of the power and glory of which the created universe is but the symbol and shadow. There is the felt apprehension that, beyond and back of the visible and the tangible, there is a *personal, living Power*, which is the foundation of all, and which fashions all, and fills all with its light and life; that "the universe is the living vesture in which the Invisible has robed his mysterious loveliness." There is the feeling of an *overshadowing Presence* which "compasseth man behind and before, and lays its hand upon him."

Men may contemplate nature from different points of view. Some may be impressed with one aspect of nature, some with another. But none will fail to recognize a mysterious *presence* and invisible *power* beneath all the fleeting and changeful phenomena of the universe. "And sometimes there are moments of tenderness, of sorrow, and of vague mystery which bring the feeling of the Infinite Presence close to the human heart." †

Now we hold that *this feeling and sentiment of the Divine* —the supernatural—exists in every mind. It may be, it undoubtedly is somewhat modified in its manifestations by the

* "The men and women of the Iliad and Odyssey are habitually religious. The language of [illegible] is often on their tongues, as it is ever on the lips of every body in the [illegible] The thought of the gods, and of their providence and government of the world is a familiar thought. They seem to have an abiding conviction of their dependence on the gods. The results of all actions depend on the will of the gods; [illegible] on their knees (θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κεῖται, Od., i, 267) is the often repeated and significant expression of their feeling of dependence."—Tyler, "Theology of Greek Poets," p. 165.

† Robertson.

circumstances in which men are placed, and the degree of culture they have enjoyed. The African Fetischist, in his moral and intellectual debasement, conceives a supernatural power enshrined in every object of nature. The rude Fijian regards with dread, and even terror, the Being who darts the lightnings and wields the thunderbolts. The Indian "sees God in clouds and hears him in the wind." The Scottish "herdsman" on the lonely mountain-top "feels the presence and the power of greatness," and "in its fixed and steady lineaments he sees an ebbing and a flowing mind." The philosopher * lifts his eyes to "the starry heavens" in all the depth of their concave, and with all their constellations of glory moving on in solemn grandeur, and, to his mind, these immeasurable regions seem "filled with the splendors of the Deity, and crowded with the monuments of his power;" or he turns his eye to "the Moral Law within," and he hears the voice of an intelligent and a righteous God. In all these cases we have a revelation of the sentiment of the Divine, which dwells alike in all human minds. In the Athenians this sentiment was developed in a high degree. The serene heaven which Greece enjoyed, and which was the best-loved roof of its inhabitants, the brilliant sun, the mountain scenery of unsurpassed grandeur, the deep blue sea, an image of the infinite, these poured all their fullness on the Athenian mind, and furnished the most favorable conditions for the development of the religious sentiments. The people of Athens spent most of their time in the open air in communion with nature, and in the cheerful and temperate enjoyment of existence. To recognize the Deity in the living powers of nature, and especially in man, as the highest sensible manifestation of the Divine, was the peculiar prerogative of the Grecian mind. And here in Athens, art also vied with nature to deepen the religious sentiments. It raised the mind to ideal conceptions of a beauty and a sublimity which transcended all mere nature-forms, and by images of supernatural grandeur and loveliness presented to the Athenians symbolic representations of the separate attributes and operations of the invisible God. The plastic art of Greece was designed to express religious ideas, and was consecrated by religious feeling. Thus the facts of the case are strikingly in harmony with the

* Kant in "Critique of Practical Reason."

words of the Apostle: "All things which I behold bear witness to your carefulness in religion," your "reverence for the Deity," your "fear of God." * "The sacred objects" in Athens, and especially "the altar to the unknown God," were all regarded by Paul as evidences of their instinctive faith in the invisible, the supernatural, the divine.

Along with this sentiment of the Divine there is also associated, in all human minds, an *instinctive yearning* after the Invisible; not a mere feeling of curiosity to pierce the mystery of being and of life, but what Paul designates "a feeling after God," which prompts man to seek after a deeper knowledge, and a more immediate consciousness. To attain this deeper knowledge, this more conscious realization of the being and the presence of God, has been the effort of all philosophy and all religion in all ages. The Hindoo Yogis proposes to withdraw into his inmost self, and by a complete suspension of all his active powers to become absorbed and swallowed up in the Infinite. † Plato and his followers sought by an immediate abstraction to apprehend "the unchangeable and permanent Being," and, by a loving contemplation, to become "assimilated to the Deity," and in this way to attain the immediate consciousness of God. The Neo-Platonic mystic sought by asceticism and self-mortification to prepare himself for divine communings. He would contemplate the divine perfections in himself; and in an *ecstatic* state, wherein all individuality vanishes, he would realize a union, or identity, with the Divine Essence.‡ While the universal Church of God, indeed, has in her purest days always taught that man may, by inward purity and a believing love, be rendered capable of spiritually apprehending, and consciously feeling, the presence of God. Some may be disposed to pronounce this as all mere mysticism. We answer, The living internal energy of religion is always *mystical*, it is grounded in *feeling*—a "*sensus numinis*" common to humanity. It is the mysterious sentiment of the Divine; it is the prolepsis of the human spirit reaching out toward the Infinite; the living

* See Parkhurst's Lexicon. under Δεισιδαιμόνια, which Suidas explains by εὐλάβεια περὶ τὸ Θεῖον—*reverence for the Divine*, and Hesychius by φοβοθεία—*fear of God.* Also, Josephus, Antiq., Book X, c. 3, § 2: "Manasseh, after his repentance and reformation, strove to behave himself (τῇ δεισιδαιμονίᾳ χρήσθαι) in the *most religious manner* toward God." Also see, A. Clarke on Acts xvii.

† Vaughan's "Hours with the Mystics," vol. i, p. 44. ‡ Ibid., vol. i, p. 65.

susceptibility of our spiritual nature stretching after the powers and influences of the higher world. "It is upon this inner instinct of the supernatural that all religion rests. I do not say every religious idea, but whatever is positive, practical, powerful, durable, and popular. Every-where, in all climates, in all epochs of history, and in all degrees of civilization, man is animated by the sentiment—I would rather say, the presentiment—that the world in which he lives, the order of things in the midst of which he moves, the facts which regularly and constantly succeed each other, are not *all.* In vain he daily makes discoveries and conquests in this vast universe; in vain he observes and learnedly verifies the general laws which govern it; *his thought is not inclosed in the world surrendered to his science;* the spectacle of it does not suffice his soul, it is raised beyond it; it searches after and catches glimpses of something beyond it; it aspires higher both for the universe and itself; it aims at another destiny, another master.

"'Par delà tous ces cieux le Dieu des cieux réside.'" *

So Voltaire has said, and the God who is beyond the skies is not nature personified, but a supernatural Personality. It is to this highest Personality that all religions address themselves. It is to bring man into communion with Him that they exist."†

4. The Athenians had that deep consciousness of sin and guilt, and of consequent liability to punishment, which confesses the need of expiation by piacular sacrifices.

Every man feels himself to be an accountable being, and he is conscious that in wrong doing he is deserving of blame and of punishment. Deep within the soul of the transgressor is the consciousness that he is a guilty man, and he is haunted with the perpetual apprehension of a retribution which, like the specter of evil omen, crosses his every path, and meets him at every turn.

"'Tis guilt alone,
Like brain-sick frenzy in its feverish mode,
Fills the light air with visionary terrors,
And shapeless forms of fear."

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* "Beyond all these heavens the God of the heavens resides."

† Guizot, "L'Eglise et le Societé Chretiennes" en 1861.

Man does not possess this consciousness of guilt so much as it holds possession of him. It pursues the fugitive from justice, and it lays hold on the man who has resisted or escaped the hand of the executioner. The sense of guilt is a power over and above man; a power so wonderful that it often compels the most reckless criminal to deliver himself up, with the confession of his deed, to the sword of justice, when a falsehood would have easily protected him. Man is only able by persevering, ever-repeated efforts at self-induration, against the remonstrances of conscience, to withdraw himself from its power. His success is, however, but very partial; for sometimes, in the moments of his greatest security, the reproaches of conscience break in upon him like a flood, and sweep away all his refuge of lies. "The evil conscience is the divine bond which binds the created spirit, even in deep apostasy, to its Original. In the consciousness of guilt there is revealed the essential relation of our spirit to God, although misunderstood by man until he has something higher than his evil conscience. The trouble and anguish which the remonstrances of this consciousness excite—the inward unrest which sometimes seizes the slave of sin—are proofs that he has not quite broken away from God." *

In Grecian mythology there was a very distinct recognition of the power of conscience, and a reference of its authority to the Divinity, together with the idea of retribution. Nemesis was regarded as the impersonation of the upbraidings of conscience, of the natural dread of punishment that springs up in the human heart after the commission of sin. And as the feeling of remorse may be considered as the consequence of the displeasure and vengeance of an offended God, Nemesis came to be regarded as the goddess of retribution, relentlessly pursuing the guilty until she has driven them into irretrievable woe and ruin. The Erinnyes or Eumenides are the deities whose business it is to punish, in hades, the crimes committed upon earth. When an aggravated crime has excited their displeasure they manifest their greatest power in the disquietude of conscience.

Along with this deep consciousness of guilt, and this fear of retribution which haunts the guilty mind, there has also rested upon the heart of universal humanity a deep and abiding con-

* Müller, "Christian Doctrine of Sin," vol. i, pp. 225, 226.

viction that *something must be done to expiate the guilt of sin*—some restitution must be made, some suffering must be endured,* some sacrifice offered to atone for past misdeeds. Hence it is that men in all ages have had recourse to penances and prayers, to self-inflicted tortures and costly sacrifices to appease a righteous anger which their sins had excited, and avert an impending punishment. That sacrifice to atone for sin has prevailed universally—that it has been practiced "*semper, ubique, et ab omnibus*," always, in all places, and by all men—will not be denied by the candid and competent inquirer. The evidence which has been collected from ancient history by Grotius and Magee, and the additional evidence from contemporaneous history, which is being now furnished by the researches of ethnologists and Christian missionaries, is conclusive. No intelligent man can doubt the fact. Sacrificial offerings have prevailed in every nation and in every age. "Almost the entire worship of the pagan nations consisted in rites of deprecation. Fear of the Divine displeasure seems to have been the leading feature of their religious impressions; and in the diversity, the costliness, the cruelty of their sacrifices they sought to appease gods to whose wrath they felt themselves exposed, from a consciousness of sin, unrelieved by any information as to the means of escaping its effects." †

It must be known to every one at all acquainted with Greek mythology that the idea of *expiation*—atonement—was a fundamental idea of their religion. Independent of any historical research, a very slight glance at the Greek and Roman classics, especially the poets, who were the theologians of that age, can leave little doubt upon this head.‡. Their language every-

* "Punishment is the penalty due to sin; or, to use the favorite expression of Homer, not unusual in the Scriptures also, it is the payment of a debt incurred by sin. When he is punished, the criminal is said to pay off or pay back (ἀποτίνειν) his crimes; in other words, to expiate or atone for them. (*Iliad*, iv, 161, 162.)

"'σύν τε μεγάλῳ ἀπέτισαν
σύν σφῇσιν κεφαλῇσι γυναιξί τε καὶ τεκέεσσιν.'

that is, they shall pay off, pay back, atone, etc., for their treachery with a great price, with their lives, and their wives and children."—Tyler, "Theology of Greek Poets," p. 194.

† Magee, "On the Atonement," No. 5, p. 30.

‡ In Homer the doctrine is expressly taught that the gods may, and sometimes do, remit the penalty, when duly propitiated by prayers and sacrifices accompanied

where announces the notion of *propitiation*, and, particularly the Latin, furnishes the terms which are still employed in theology. We need only mention the words ἱλασμός, ἱλάσκομαι, λύτρον, περίψημα, as examples from the Greek, and *placare*, *propitiare*, *expiare*, *piaculum*, from the Latin. All these indicate that the notion of expiation was interwoven into the very modes of thought and framework of the language of the ancient Greeks.

We do not deem it needful to discuss at length the question which has been so earnestly debated among theologians, as to whether the idea of expiation be a primitive and necessary idea of the human mind, or whether the practice of piacular sacrifices came into the postdiluvian world with Noah, as a positive institution of a primitive religion then first directly instituted by God. . On either hypothesis the practice of expiatory rites derives its authority from God; in the latter case, by an outward and verbal revelation, in the former by an inward and intuitive revelation.

This much, however, must be conceded on all hands, that there are certain fundamental intuitions, universal and necessary, which underlie the almost universal practice of expiatory sacrifice, namely, *the universal consciousness of guilt, and the universal conviction that something must be done to expiate guilt*, to compensate for wrong, and to atone for past misdeeds. But *how* that expiation can be effected, how that atonement can be made, is a question which reason does not seem competent to answer. That personal sin can be atoned for by vicarious suffering, that national guilt can be expiated and

by suitable reparations. ("Iliad," ix, 497, sqq.) "We have a practical illustration of this doctrine in the first book of the Iliad, where Apollo averts the pestilence from the army, when the daughter of his priest is returned without ransom, and a *sacrifice* (ἑκατόμβη) is sent to the altar of the god at sacred Chrysa. . . . Apollo hearkens to the intercession of his priest, accepts the sacred hecatomb, is delighted with the accompanying songs and libations, and sends back the embassy with a favoring breeze, and a favorable answer to the army, who meanwhile had been *purifying* (ἀπελυμαίνοντο) themselves, and offering unblemished hecatombs of bulls and goats on the shore of the sea which washes the place of their encampment."

"The object of the propitiatory embassy to Apollo is thus stated by Ulysses: Agamemnon, king of men, has sent me to bring back thy daughter Chryses, and to offer a sacred hecatomb for (ὑπέρ) the Greeks, that we may *propitiate* (ἱλασόμεσθα) the king, who now sends woes and many groans upon the Argives." (442, sqq.) Tylor, "Theology of Greek Poets," pp. 196, 197.

national punishment averted by animal sacrifices, or even by human sacrifices, is repugnant to rather than conformable with natural reason. There exists no discernible connection between the one and the other. We may suppose that eucharistic, penitential, and even deprecatory sacrifices may have originated in the light of nature and reason, but we are unable to account for the practice of piacular sacrifices for substitutional atonement, on the same principle. The ethical principle, that one's own sins are not transferable either in their guilt or punishment, is so obviously just that we feel it must have been as clear to the mind of the Greek who brought his victim to be offered to Zeus, as it is to the philosophic mind of to-day.* The knowledge that the Divine displeasure can be averted by sacrifice is not, by Plato, grounded upon any intuition of reason, as is the existence of God, the idea of the true, the just, and good, but on "tradition,"† and the "interpretations" of Apollo. "To the Delphian Apollo there remains the greatest, noblest, and most important of legal institutions—the erection of temples, sacrifices, and other services to the gods, . . . and what other services should be gone through with a view to their *propitiation.* Such things as these, indeed, *we neither know ourselves, nor in founding the State would we intrust them to others*, if we be wise . . . the god of the country is the natural interpreter to all men about such matters." ‡

The origin of expiatory sacrifices cannot, we think, be explained except on the principle of a primitive revelation and a positive appointment of God. They cannot be understood except as a Divinely-appointed symbolism, in which there is exhibited a confession of personal guilt and desert of punishment; an intimation and a hope that God will be propitious and merciful; and a typical promise and prophecy of a future Redeemer from sin, who shall "put away sin by the sacrifice of himself." This sacred rite was instituted in connection with the *protevangelium* given to our first parents, it was diffused among the nations by tradition, and has been kept alive as a general, and, indeed, almost universal observance, by that deep sense of sin, and consciousness of guilt, and personal urgency

* "He that hath done the deed, to suffer for it—thus cries a proverb thrice-hallowed by age."—Æschylus, Choëph, 311.

† Laws, Book VI, c. 15.

‡ Republic, Book IV, c. 5.

of the need of a reconciliation, which are so clearly displayed in Grecian mythology.

The legitimate inference we find ourselves entitled to draw from the words of Paul, when fairly interpreted in the light of the past religious history of the world, is, that the Athenians were a religious people; that is, *they were, however unknowing, believers in and worshipers of the One Supreme God.*

Art. II.—THE CHURCH SCHOOL.

The modern Sunday-school has outgrown the fondest hopes of its founders. Devised as a temporary expedient for the education of neglected children on the Sabbath, it developed a form of Christian activity which, in its essential features, was employed in the primitive Church, had also a place in the Jewish economy, and which is, in fact, a legitimate outgrowth of the plan of redemption. The good philanthropists of the last century, in digging that they might build a human fabric, laid bare an ancient and divine foundation. Let us rear our superstructure upon this, rather than upon their narrower bases and after their scantier measurements. We propose in the present paper to examine the relations of the Sunday-school to the Christian scheme, ascertain its distinctive mission, and draw from the subject some practical lessons.

Let us begin with first principles. Man's pupilage as a probationer on earth contemplates his perfection as a saint in heaven. From the moment of his regeneration, the processes of spiritual culture should go on. This twofold work of quickening and culture is effected by the Holy Spirit, through the truth as revealed in and by the Lord Jesus Christ. In the application of this truth no violence is done to either man's freedom or the laws of his mental action. Light, whether from the sun or the planets, is conveyed to the eye through the same medium, and under the operation of the same laws. The constitution of the soul is not changed by the supernatural interventions of redemption. After the visitation of grace, the eye sees, the ear hears, memory goes backward, hope goes forward, and all the intellectual powers act just as before. The Divine Deliverer

and Educator of the race has respected man's constitution in determining the methods of his redemption. Were a street-waif to be taken from the Five Points in our city, and taught under the most competent instructors of the age, we affirm that not a just principle would be recognized, nor a correct method adopted in his training, not already anticipated and applied in the management of the waif Israel taken from the land of Goshen, and instructed in the school of God at Mount Sinai. The same principles appear again, in a higher form, in the methods of the Great Teacher. They are also present in his Church whenever she is under his direction, for they inhere in the very constitution of the human mind and of the Christian society.

In the instruction of a human soul there are three important steps to be taken: 1, Truth must be apprehended by the intellect; 2, accepted by the affections; 3, incorporated in the character. This threefold work is indispensable. One wanting, the culture is incomplete. In the Divine scheme all are recognized, and for each an appropriate form of Church instrumentalities is arranged. We have referred to Israel in Egypt and the Wilderness. Let us trace the divine processes in the education of this people to illustrate the position assumed. Israel was, first of all, removed from the physical, intellectual, and moral bondage of Egypt, just as the child of the Five Points would be separated for his reform and education from his former associations. Israel did not go into Canaan by the way of el-Arish and Philistia, but by the more circuitous route of the sea, Sinai, and the Jordan. The bondmen of Egypt were not at once prepared for the Babe of Bethlehem. They dwelt in the sphere of the material, and were ignorant of spiritual truth. The manifestation of physical force was requisite in order to the recognition of their Deliverer. God must needs appear as a Power, breaking into fragments and trampling under foot their old opinions and dominions. The new wonder-worker must distance, with unmistakable miracle, all competition from the old magician. For the cup of blood in the sorcerer's hand a river of blood must roll to the sea. The new staff-serpent must swallow the conjurers' rods, and become a wand in the Prophet's grasp again. As the rap of the teacher's hand on the school desk reminds the pupil

of a present authority, so "the thunderings and the lightnings, and the noise of the trumpet, and the mountain smoking," caused the people tremblingly to await, and then revere, the revelation. The fixed attention was rewarded. Truth was given. It came in every legal and ceremonial enactment, in every miraculous interposition, in every address of God's Prophet. In the communication of this new truth to Israel, how beautifully we find illustrated the now popular method of "object teaching." Spiritual truth entered the Hebrew soul through the gateways of the senses. The theology of the New Testament was embodied in the arrangements and ceremonies of the Tabernacle.

Thus we find, that for the communication of truth to a race, the All-wise God prescribed the very methods which wise teachers now employ in developing the intellect of a child. Jesus did likewise. He laid hold of the visible, using similes, parables, and objects, as when he placed a child before the disciples to teach them humility, or called for a penny, and made its superscription his text. In the department of religious truth the same method is still employed. What is the Christian family but the object-school of theological truth, in which the authority, attributes, and laws of God are illustrated, and the child taught, through the visible relations and real experiences of daily life, the invisible and eternal verities of the kingdom of God? The Christian family is the tabernacle for the communication of religious ideas to its children, separated as they there are, from the demoralizing tendencies of worldly society, and under the influences of parental love and authority. Thus God provides for the first essential thing in the application to man of his grace in redemption—the apprehension of truth by the intellect.

The truth grasped by the intellect must next be accepted by the will and affections, for truth is never a force in life until the heart is moved and molded by it. The pupil in the secular school must be excited, by personal interest in his work, to self-activity. Israel in the wilderness learned the same lesson. With every revelation of truth God made new requisitions upon their love and obedience. By the strongest mandates of authority, by the most terrible sanctions of penalty, by the fairest attractions of promise, God commended the

new truth to the heart as well as to the eye and intellect of his people.

As contributing to this result, the people were assembled in great multitudes, from time to time, to hear the law of God and the appeals of his servants. The Scriptures, which the services of the tabernacle and the providential interpositions of God had made clear to their understanding, were publicly read. On every such occasion the heart of the people was stirred. The blessings and the cursings rang out in the valley of Shechem, and the elders, officers, and judges, "the women and the little ones, and the strangers that were conversant among them," listened attentively. The outspoken response of "all the people" elicited at that time was a virtual consecration of themselves to God. When Joshua addressed all the tribes before his death, after his fervent appeal to them to "fear the Lord and serve him in sincerity and in truth," he bids them make their choice between the God of Israel and the gods of the Chaldeans and the Amorites. Under the pressure of this public review of God's dealings with them, and this impassioned appeal of the venerable leader, the people cry out, "God forbid that we should forsake the Lord, to serve other gods." How was the heart of the people moved by the public services performed in Jerusalem, when the corner-stone of the new temple was laid in the time of Ezra. And when the people gathered themselves together as one man to hear Ezra read from the book of the law of Moses, it is recorded that "all the people wept when they heard the words of the law."

There was a profound reason in the command to "gather the people together, men, and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn, and fear the Lord your God; and observe to do all the words of this law." Deut. xxxi, 12. The public assembly is favorable to the development of strong emotion. The truth which may be more distinctly outlined to the thought in private, may be more easily impressed upon the heart in public. To the tabernacle system for the conveyance of the religious idea, God added the public assembly for the awakening of the sensibilities and the persuasion of the people to accept and obey the truth. So to-day we have the family tabernacle, and then the pulpit. The first and dis-

tinctive work of the pulpit is to convict the conscience and convert the soul. "We persuade men," said Paul. "We pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." Addressing those whose conscious needs respond to its announcements, the pulpit does not so much depend upon processes of argumentation. It brings available remedies for actual distresses, a message of reprieve to the condemned, vision to blindness, purity to sin. It informs the intellect, quickens the conscience, warms the emotions, and impels to decision; not so much starting the intellectual forces into activity, as bringing the will up to the well-established affirmations of the judgment. The pulpit disseminates the truth rapidly. One utterance may reach ten thousand souls at the same moment. The invisible bond of sympathy that unites an audience, renders each hearer more accessible and susceptible to the truth. The universal silence, the fixed attention, the tacit assent of all to the truth declared, tend to inspire the speaker. The whole argument is in his own hands. No voice can enter its protest. Then the dramatic elements of countenance, gesture, and intonation increase the effect of every sentence. These are some of the natural advantages possessed by the pulpit. And when we recall the Divine promise to accompany the truth by the energy of his Spirit, we do not wonder at the power of this instrumentality. To the Jew, lost in the mummeries of a dead ritualism—to the Greek, deluded by the charms of a merely speculative philosophy—we are not surprised that the public proclamation of salvation through a crucified *Jew* should be "foolishness;" but seeing now the bearings of the truth preached, and the effectiveness of the method, and having enjoyed the fulfillment of the promise, "Lo, I am with you," we acknowledge the preaching of the Gospel to be "the power of God."

After the truth has found a place in the understanding through the early teachings and clear illustrations of the FAMILY, and in the affections through the appeals and persuasions of the PULPIT, the convert enters the inner courts of the Church as a *disciple*. He has now commenced a life of study, struggle, and service. He is a sort of soldier-student. It is his duty to build up the temple of God within him. And he must build as they did in Nehemiah's day, when "every one with one of his hands wrought in the work,

and with the other hand held a weapon." Here begins the SCHOOL of Christ. Having made "disciples," the Church must instruct them. An eminent commentator, in his notes upon Acts xiv, 22, says: "The word disciple signifies literally a scholar. The Church of Christ was a school, in which Christ himself was chief master, and his Apostles subordinate teachers. All the converts were disciples or scholars who came to this school to be instructed in the knowledge of themselves and of their God; of their duty to him, to the Church, to society, and to themselves. After having been initiated in the principles of the heavenly doctrine, they needed line upon line, and precept upon precept, in order that they might be confirmed and established in the truth."*

Thus, for the threefold work committed to her, we find the Church assuming a threefold form. 1. To present the truth illustratively and clearly to the understanding, we have the *Family;* 2. To secure a personal allegiance, we have the *Pulpit;* 3. To mold and perfect character, after the standard and by the operation of the truth, we have the *School.* We certainly do not assume that in every case this series of agencies is formally employed, for the *family* has, alas! too often refused to be part of Christ's Church. It has not taught the truth to its members. And the family having failed to give its children to the *pulpit*, there are too few *disciples* of Christ in this world.

But the Church, from the divine, reconstructive force within

* The wording of the Master's commission (Matthew xxviii, 19, 20,) deserves our consideration: "Go ye therefore and teach (*μαθητεύσατε*, that is, disciple, or make disciples of) all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, TEACHING, (*διδάσκοντες*, that is, *instructing*,) them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." "This teaching is nothing less than the building up of the whole man into the obedience of Christ. In these words, inasmuch as the then living disciples could not teach all nations, does the Lord found *the office of preachers* in his Church—with all that belongs to it—the duties of the *minister*, the *school-teacher*, the *Scripture reader*. This 'teaching' is not merely the *κηρυγμα* of the Gospel, not mere proclamation of the good news, but the whole catechetical office of the Church upon and in the baptized"—*Alford.*

"When through baptism the believer had become a member of the community of the saints, then, as such, he participated in the progressive courses of instruction which prevailed in the Church."—*Olshausen.*

"The *teaching* is a continuous process—a thorough indoctrination in the Christian truth, and the building up of the whole man into the full manhood of Christ, the author and finisher of our faith."—*Dr. Schaff.*

her, proceeds to perform the part of the Christian family by the organization of her mission Sunday-schools. These become the substitute for home to millions of neglected children. They become the temporary substitute for the pulpit. For a time, they took the place of the secular school. How blessed the mission, and how abundant the successes of this comparatively modern expedient for saving and instructing "the stranger within our gates!" It is John the Baptist pointing the untaught multitudes to the "Lamb of God." It is the true god-mother of the Church, folding to her bosom the orphaned ones, and giving them up in holy consecration to God.

But our Church school is quite another institution. It is composed largely of the children of Church members. It is not intended to be a substitute for the family, the pulpit, the pastorate, or the secular school. Nor is it designed to be exclusively a children's institution.

The theory underlying a moral instrumentality has more to do with its efficiency than might at first be supposed. The prestige of ecclesiastical recognition, and much more of divine authority, gives great advantage to any method of Christian effort. The fact that it has a philosophical fitness, at once ennobles it in the esteem of men who judge of a method by its antecedent principles, and accept what is logically true, even without reference to its efficiency in practice. If we can show that the Church school has its place in the system of divine methods, a virtual divine authority, a rational basis, and the indorsement of early example, we may enlist valuable talent in its support, and, on the other hand, guard with greater certainty against the lamentable neglect of other means of grace which a one-sided view of the Sunday-school has occasioned. If the institution is regarded as a substitute for the Christian family, we need not be surprised if parents accept its service, and neglect responsibilities at home from which nothing can justly relieve them. If we make it a substitute for the pulpit, we may expect its members to neglect the ministry of the Word, and thus foster the unpleasant antagonisms between "Church and Sunday-school," between "pastor and superintendent," over which so many faithful hearts have already mourned. If it is for children only, since children in these days so soon pass into maturity, becoming adults ten years earlier than

was the wont a century ago, we need not be surprised if our youth, as soon as parental restraint is relaxed, drop out of the school, and not having been trained to attend "public service," find it convenient to neglect that also. If only for children, since it is commonly supposed that labor in their behalf requires "peculiar gifts," and these not always in highest repute among the "theologians," we need not be surprised that large numbers of ministers look down with a lofty condescension upon the institution, patronizingly commend it, and then neglect it.

What, then, is the Church Sunday-school? We answer: It is that department of the Church which promotes the life, growth, and activity of believers through the study of the Holy Scriptures. It is the *training* department of the Church. It is not merely for conversion. If that work has been neglected in any case, then conversion is the first thing to be sought. But the main thing in the Church school is the development, training, and growth of the disciples, old and young. It is not merely a biblical school for intellectual furnishing in divine truth. It is for *spiritual edification.* It is not merely for children, but for Christians of all ages. As preaching and the accompanying services of the sanctuary are for children as well as adults, the school is for adults as well as children. Here the instructions of the family, the secular school, and the pulpit are supplemented by class recitation, discussion, and conversation. Here take place the activity and attrition of brain and heart by which truth is made clearer to the understanding, and gains a firm hold upon the affections. And this is indispensable to the highest form of Christian life. The pulpit persuades. It also fosters the divine life by the frequent reiteration of the prominent doctrines of Scripture by its expositions, arguments, and illustrations. But the Church has something to do beyond the persuasion and lecture-teaching of the pulpit. This additional work has been admirably stated by the Rev. Augustus William Hare of England, one of the authors of "Guesses at Truth." In a sermon on "Grace and peace be multiplied unto you through the knowledge of God and of Jesus our Lord," he says, "Our forefathers carried on the education of the poor by frequent and diligent catechising; that is, by questioning them over and over about the great truths and facts and doctrines of Christianity. But now that

preaching is looked upon as the great thing in every Church, this catechising or questioning has in many places fallen into disuse. To profit by a sermon, a man must attend to it: he must hear it thoroughly; he must understand it; he must think it over with himself when he gets home. How few in any congregation will go to all this trouble! You come, and sit, and hear, and I hope are able in some degree to follow the meaning of what I say to you from the pulpit; yet how far is this from the understanding and the knowledge by which grace and peace are to be multiplied! But when a person is catechised, when he is asked questions, and called on to answer them, he must think, he must brace up his mind; unless he is determined not to learn, he can scarce help being taught something. And those who want to learn, those who feel a wish to improve, and to grow in a knowledge of their Lord and Master, what progress must they make under such instruction! When I speak thus of catechising, do not think I mean to decry preaching. Both are useful in their turns. Unless the mind be prepared by catechising, preaching loses half its use."

If the principles we have announced be correct, we may expect to find in the primitive Church something corresponding to the institution we have described. That it should be in exact resemblance to the school of our times is not necessary to establish their identity. In many respects, the other religious services of the first and nineteenth centuries widely differ. No divinely authorized mode of government or worship is laid down in the New Testament. The early Christians probably followed the forms of the Jewish synagogue, to which they had always been accustomed, with such modifications as the example of Jesus and the conditions and social characteristics of their community demanded. Love for the Master, familiarity with his simple ways, fellowship in his sorrow, and an eager looking for his second coming, must have given to the religious worship of these Christians a beautiful simplicity and spontaneity. Their remembrance of "the words of the Lord Jesus," daily recalled by the oral testimony of those who were eye-witnesses of his life and inspired reporters of his teachings; the new significance of the Old Testament Scriptures; their faith in the Word as an instrument of salvation—all these

combined to give a deep interest to the constant study and practical application of the truth. It is simply impossible to suppose that in those days of vivid experience and intense activity, the services of Christians were limited to the formal modes of our modern Churches. We learn that "they continued steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine," the "word of Christ dwelt in them richly," and in all wisdom they taught and admonished one another. Several facts aid us in answering the question, How did the primitive Christians thus teach and edify each other?

1. They were undoubtedly guided by the *Master's example*, for they remained in the world to fulfill his commission: "Make disciples, baptize, instruct." Jesus was pre-eminently the "Great Teacher." His methods were rather those of the modern school than of the modern pulpit. By questions, conversations, and illustrations, he excited the minds of his disciples to self-activity. His longest addresses were frequently in reply to some inquiry which his own teachings had awakened. His "What is written in the law?" "How readest thou?" "Understandest thou this?" "What reason ye in your hearts?" "Have ye not read what David did?" "Is it lawful on the Sabbath days to do good?" all these are after the manner of the *teacher*, who awakens and *draws out* the mind of the pupil. And even after his public addresses or sermons, in which he spake the Word to the people "as they were able to hear it," "when they were alone, he *expounded* all things to his disciples." Familiar with his words and modes, the early disciples went forth to "preach and teach in his name."

2. The early Church undoubtedly followed very closely the *methods of the synagogue.** There the Word of God was not only read, but *expounded*, and this in addition to the regular discourse or sermon. Vitringa, in referring to this point, says,

* "Very few particulars are given of the regulations established, of the appointment of the several orders of ministers, of the Divine service celebrated, or, in short, of any of the details of matters pertaining to a Christian Church. One reason for this, probably, was, that a Jewish synagogue, or a collection of synagogues in the same neighborhood, *became* at once a *Christian Church*, as soon as the worshipers, or a considerable portion of them, had embraced the Gospel, and had separated themselves from unbelievers. They had only to make such additions to their public service, and such alterations as were required by their reception of the Gospel, leaving every thing else as it was."—*Archbishop Whately.*

"There was first read a portion of the law, which was explained by a running commentary; so that the discourses in the ancient synagogue were not at all similar to the sermons of the present day, but were rather exegeses and paraphrases of what was either remarkable or obscure in the portion read. But besides the running commentary or paraphrase, there was frequently a discourse (analogous to our sermon) after the usual service of the synagogue." But this was not all, for either in the synagogue proper, or in an adjoining room, after the regular service, discussions and more thorough investigations of the truth were carried on. To these "disputations" reference is frequently made in the New Testament. (Acts vi, 9, 10; ix, 22, 29; xix, 8, 9; xxii, 3; 2 Tim. ii, 2.) All Jews were admitted, and all allowed to ask questions. There, the reading and preaching of the synagogue were followed by teaching and searching the Word.* In the light of this fact we understand the allusions of the Apostle to the customs of the early Christians. They met to sing and pray and hear the truth. But they also "spake together," as in the days of

* "In the Jerusalem Talmud, a tradition is alleged that there had been at Jerusalem four hundred and sixty synagogues, each of which contained an apartment for the reading of the law, and *another for the meeting of men for inquiry, deep research, and instruction.* Such a meeting-hall is called by the Talmudists בית מדרש, that is, an apartment where lectures were given or conversations held on various subjects of inquiry. There were three of these meeting-places in the temple, and in all of them it was the custom for the students to sit on the floor, while the teachers occupied raised seats; hence Paul describes himself as having, when a student, "sat at the feet of Gamaliel." Acts xxii, 3. There are many hints in the Talmud which throw light upon the manner of proceeding in these assemblies. Thus a student asked Gamaliel whether the evening prayer was obligatory by the law or not. He answered in the affirmative; on which the student informed him that R. Joshua had told him that it was not obligatory. 'Well,' said Gamaliel, 'when he appears to-morrow in the assembly, step forward and ask him the question again.' He did so, and the expected answer raised a discussion, a full account of which is given. The meeting-places of the wise stood mostly in connection with the synagogues; and the wise or learned men usually met soon after divine worship and reading were over in the upper apartment of the synagogues, in order to discuss those matters which required more research and inquiry. The pupils or students in those assemblies were not mere boys coming to be instructed in the rudiments of knowledge, but men or youths of more or less advanced education, who came thither either to profit by listening to the learned discussions, or to participate in them themselves. These meetings were *public*, admitting any one, though not a member, and even allowing him to propose questions. These assemblies and meetings were still in existence in the time of Christ and his Apostles."—*Kitto.*

Malachi, (iii, 16,) and *edified* one another. This explains also the counsels of the Apostle in 1 Cor. xiv, 26–33, where he guards this liberty of the Church against abuse. The prophecy of Joel had been fulfilled, (ii, 28, 29,) and even upon "servants" and "handmaids" the Spirit had been poured out. Paul warned against extravagance, and condemned the noisy, unedifying, unsatisfactory rhapsodizing of some Corinthian Christians. There were in the first century (as there are in the nineteenth) disciples who had "a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge."

3. The high estimate placed upon *the study of the Word* by Christ, the Apostles, and the Christian Fathers, must have produced its effect upon the early Church. In the days of Moses the instruction of youth by their parents in the law of God had been commanded. (Deut. vi, 6–9.) This practice is beautifully illustrated in the case of Timothy, to whom Paul refers in his second Epistle, i, 5; iii, 15. In the *Mishna* it is written, "At five years of age let children begin the Scripture; at ten the Mishna, and at thirteen let them be subjects of the law." Schools were also organized for the purpose of training Jewish youth. Even the day-schools of Judaism were Bible schools. This precedent was not forgotten by the early disciples. Dr. Mosheim, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, (first century,) says that "Christians took all possible care to accustom their children to the study of the Scriptures, and to instruct them in the doctrines of their holy religion; and schools were everywhere erected for this purpose, even from the very commencement of the Christian Church."

This high appreciation of the Word, its use in the family, the school, the synagogue, and the "assembly of the wise," accounts for the perfect familiarity with it which the Apostles evince in their recorded discourses. One is struck with this in Peter's sermon on the day of Pentecost, in Stephen's final address, and in Paul's speech at Antioch. In view of all these facts we cannot suppose that the early Christians were satisfied with merely listening to discourses on the truths of Christianity. The new meanings of the Old Testament which the life and teachings of Christ opened to their understanding, their remembrance of the Lord's precious words, the abundant outpouring of the Spirit, their familiarity with the exegetical

and conversational methods of the schools and "assemblies," warrant us in concluding that they, as "disciples," met not only to pray, and commemorate in the "supper" the passion of our Lord, but by prophesyings and teachings to insure "steadfastness in the Apostles' doctrine."

This is further apparent from the emphasis placed upon the Holy Scriptures by Luke and the Apostles. The Bereans were especially commended as "noble," inasmuch as "they received the Word with all readiness of mind, and searched the Scriptures daily, whether these things were so." Acts xvii, 11. Paul advises the Christian warrior to be girt about the loins with *truth*, and to take the "sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." Eph. vi, 14, 17. To the Elders of the Ephesian Church whom he met at Miletus the Apostle says, "And now, brethren, I commend you to God, and to the *Word* of his grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among all them which are sanctified." Acts xx, 32. Had not Paul heard of the Master's prayer: "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth?" To Timothy he writes: "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for *instruction* in righteousness: that the man of God may *be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works.*" 2 Tim. iii, 16, 17. The direction given to the Church at Colosse is very explicit. No modern Church school can desire a more perfect charter. On this passage the Rev. Dr. Adam Clarke says, "I believe the Apostle means that the Colossians should be *well instructed in the doctrine of Christ;* that it should be their constant study; that it should be frequently preached, explained, and enforced among them; and that all the wisdom comprised in it should be well understood. . . . Through bad pointing this verse is not very intelligible; the several members of it should be distinguished thus: 'Let the doctrine of Christ dwell richly among you; teaching and admonishing each other in all wisdom; singing with grace in your hearts unto the Lord, in psalms and hymn and spiritual songs.' This arrangement the original will not only bear, but it absolutely requires it, and is not sense without it." What a description of a thinking, growing, spiritual Church! Did they only *hear* preaching once or twice a week? In the social meetings was there no

study and *teaching* of the "doctrine," "wisdom," WORD of God?

4. The appointment of *teachers*, referred to in the Epistles, recognizes the school element of the Church. (Rom. xii, 6, 7; 1 Cor. xii, 28; Eph. iv, 11.) All these officers are given "for the perfecting of the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ: till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ." Paul, in the verses succeeding, (14–16,) contemplates the growth of the believers through the truth, every joint supplying somewhat, every part working effectually, making "increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love." He says, "The body is not one member but many. Now ye are the body of Christ and members in particular. And God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly *teachers*, after that miracles, then gifts of healing, helps, governments, diversities of tongues." These "prophets" spake unto men "to edification and exhortation and comfort." The "evangelists," according to Olshausen, "journeying about, labored for the wider extension of the Gospel." So the "teachers," according to Clarke, (Rom. xii, 7,) "were persons whose office it was to instruct others, whether by catechising, or simply explaining the grand truths of Christianity."

The early Church was a school. It was designed, like the synagogues and "assemblies" of the Jews, for worship and for the thorough investigation of the Holy Scriptures; with what increase of opportunity and illumination we have already seen. Its members were to "teach" and "edify" each other. The "word of Christ was to dwell richly" among them. They were to grow in "knowledge" as well as in "grace," (2 Pet. iii, 18;) to "add to faith, virtue, and to virtue, *knowledge*," (2 Pet. i, 5;) to be "strong" and "overcome the wicked one," through the "*word of God abiding* in them." 1 John ii, 14. In order to this there were "diversities of gifts," and "differences of administrations," but the same Lord; and in the Church "the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal." "All these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man sev-

erally as he will. For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ." The excellent William Arthur, in speaking of the divers gifts of the Spirit, says, "Spiritual office and spiritual gifts vary greatly in degree, honor, and authority, and he who has the less ought to reverence him who has the greater, remembering who it is that dispenses them; but the greater should never attempt to extinguish the less, and to reduce the exercise of spiritual gifts within the limits of the public and ordained ministry. To do so is to depart from spiritual Christianity." We have little doubt that the "teachers" referred to by the Apostle were a class of persons who gave special attention to this department of instruction, and aided the regular ministry in the edification of the Church.*

The work thus contemplated and performed by the early Church—the work of edification through the truth, taught in the most thorough and effective way by persons appointed for that purpose—remains to be carried on, and by similar modes,

* A pastor was a teacher, although every teacher might not be a pastor; but, in many cases, be confined to the office of subordinate instruction, whether as an expounder of doctrine, a catechist, or even a more private instructor of those who as yet were unacquainted with the first principles of the Gospel of Christ."—*Dr. A. Stevens.*

"No system can be made to accord with this passage, [Eph. iv, 16,] any more than with the general spirit of the New Testament, wherein the pulpit is the sole provision for instruction, admonition, and exhortation; the great bulk of the members of the Church being merely recipients, each living a stranger to the spiritual concerns of the others, and no 'effectual working' of every joint and every part for mutual strengthening being looked for. It is not enough that arrangements to promote mutual edification be permitted, at the discretion of individual pastors or officers; means of grace wherein fellow-Christians shall on set purpose have 'fellowship' one with another, 'speak often one to another, exhort one another, confess their faults one to another,' and 'pray one for another,' shall teach and 'admonish one another in psalms, and hymns, and spiritual songs,' are not dispensable appendages, but of the essence of a Church of Christ."—*Rev. William Arthur.*

Benson on Rom. xii, 8: "'*He that teacheth*' the ignorant; who is appointed to instruct the catechumens and to fit them for the communion of the Church." On Eph. iv, 11, the same writer says: "It is probable the peculiar office of those here termed teachers, as distinguished from those called pastors, was to instruct the young and ignorant in the first principles of the Christian religion. And they likewise were doubtless fitted for their work by such gifts as were necessary to the right discharging thereof."

in the Church to-day. We regard the Sunday-school in its highest form as the divine method for reaching this end.

1. The first and main want of the modern Sunday-school is the MASTER'S presence. The spiritual mission of the institution has been forgotten, less by the talkers at conventions, than by the great majority of teachers who never attend conventions. The theory of the few outreaches the practice of the many. We have reason to fear that there are many teachers who make no personal religious appeals to their pupils, who never pray with them, in whose classes young persons have remained for years without a knowledge of Christ, without any deep-wrought convictions, and even without one zealous effort on the teacher's part for their conversion. Such classes and such schools seem to lack only one thing, but it is the one thing needful. Enthusiasm, numbers, attractiveness, and a score of other charms they may possess, but O! where is the Master? We trace this lamentable lack to the indefinite, if not incorrect theories which underlie the Sunday-school. If what we build be a breakwater instead of a light-house, why be surprised that no rays fall upon the black night from its summit? If the Sunday-school is a human, subordinate, temporary substitute, independent of the Church, and without divine authority, who can wonder that the divine co-operation has not been sought or secured! If it is organized merely to *hold* childhood until the Church itself should come with diviner powers, we need not measure its worth by any spiritual result; and may expect that in the zeal to perfect its organization, display its drill in music, martial movement, and Biblical scholarship, it will too often forget to pass its pupils over to the Church, and not infrequently alienate them from it. But the school is more than this theory allows, and it needs first and always the Divine co-operation. No degree of convenience and elegance in architectural arrangements, no completeness in appointments, no precision and harmony of movement in discipline, no thoroughness in intellectual training, no impressive proprieties in devotional service, no ingenious illustrations from the superintendent's desk or blackboard, no eloquence in occasional addresses,—none of these things can compensate for the absence of the "power" which the Holy Ghost alone imparts. The Master's presence is indispensable,

for ours is the *school of Christ.* We certainly need the Spirit in the school of the Word, because the Word is "the sword of the Spirit."

2. Next to the Master's presence the modern Sunday-school craves *ecclesiastical recognition as a means of grace.* The Methodist Church owes more than she can estimate to her system of class meetings. By this she has maintained a permanent pastorate in connection with the itinerancy. The Class Leaders are the Pastor's assistants — Subpastors. We have often asked, Why may not the groupings or classes of the Sunday-school be incorporated in the arrangements of the Church? Thus we should secure unity of plan, and at the same time increase the number of the Pastor's authorized helpers. Are the objects and appropriate methods of the Church and school classes so diverse as to render this impracticable? The Church class seeks the advancement of each believer in the divine life; it encourages the free expression of his convictions, needs, and attainments; it rebukes, exhorts, admonishes, and instructs, building him up in Christian knowledge and purity. To the inquirer it is the Interpreter's house, where many great truths are for the first time explained to him. Now precisely what the Church-class scholar needs our Sunday-school scholar needs — frank conversation about the way of life, admonition, exhortation, instruction, and encouragement —all tending to growth in grace. We claim that this is the true object of the Church school. It is a spiritual, not an intellectual gymnasium. It strikes at the heart. Alas! that we have so few such schools. Our most approved teachers have inquired more after *method* than after *power.* To recite well every Sabbath, and not so much to live near to Christ, and work for Christ every day, has been the great aim of many of our most celebrated schools. We would fain impress pastors, teachers, superintendents, and scholars with the fact that the Sunday-school is designed to strengthen religious character and experience; and that what the faithful class leader would do for his class member, the faithful Sunday-school teacher should do for his scholar. "But all Sunday scholars are not Church members." *Full members* by faith and baptism, alas! no; perhaps not even *probationers* or *seekers.* We have not been working for this. We have not

informed our pupils upon their admission to the school that we could not do our best work for them until they had given themselves to Christ. And we fear that a large majority of the Sunday-school scholars are unconverted. Though not "full members," "probationers," or "seekers," do these scholars sustain no relation to the Church? "Baptized members from infancy, perhaps." But for them we organize Church classes. Are all other scholars outside of the Church, in such a sense as to render the class arrangement inappropriate and unprofitable? We hold them by parental authority, and generally by their own consent, and we claim, that as candidates for baptism—"catechumens" like those of old—they are in some sense connected with the Church. They walk at least in the outer courts, and we may more easily than we think (because Christ is with us) lead them up through the gate Beautiful into the higher courts of the Lord's house. These catechumens need the pastoral and subpastoral care. By virtue of their relation to the Church through the families to which they belong, we are directed in the Discipline to visit and instruct them. Shall their voluntary relation to the school of the Church grant us no similar or superior advantages? We think that such interest in them, and such ecclesiastical relations guaranteed them, would exalt their view of the Church, and make them eager to enter her higher fellowships.

"But would you turn the exercises of a Sunday-school class into those of a Church class?" We should unquestionably correct the one-sided methods of each by a blending of their respective characteristics. To the study of Scripture truth (the chief thing in the best Sunday-school classes as now conducted) we should add the element of personal experience, (the main thing in the Church class.) The ever-present aim of the Sunday-school teacher should be the spiritual profit of his scholars. The frankest expression of their religious doubts and desires should be encouraged. Every lesson should be examined with a view to the edification of each pupil. And if the Church class leader should follow the Sunday-school teacher's example and introduce more of the divine Word into the exercises of his weekly meeting, we are confident that an element of interest and strength would be imparted to the service. Truth is the sword of the Spirit; truth is the wire through which

the celestial currents sweep. Father Reeves, the matchless Class Leader of Lambeth, knew the value of the Bible, and was never satisfied "until each member *could for himself prove from Scripture* every doctrine he professed, and quote from Scripture the warrant for each promise, on the fulfillment of which he relied." He used occasionally to devote an entire session of his class to the study of a Scripture lesson, as a Bible class would. When men of middle age, and old men who did not know how to read, were brought into his class he taught them. "And," said he, "we set apart a Sunday for them to read a portion of Holy Scripture to us, to hear how they improve, and to stimulate others to learn." * Can we forget the "Holy Club" at Oxford, with their week evening meetings for reading the Greek Testament and the ancient classics, and on Sunday evenings their studies in divinity? "They built me up daily," says George Whitefield, "in the knowledge and fear of God, and taught me to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ." We say, then, let us make the Church-class a Bible school for spiritual growth, and its Leader a teacher, and let the Sunday-school class become a Bible school for spiritual growth, and its teacher a leader. This arrangement will not interfere with, but rather benefit the love-feasts and general classes of the Church, increase the thoughtfulness and stability of Christians, render the preaching of God's word a greater delight, and enable us to retain in the Church the multitudes of young people who now every year drop out of our schools through the lack of Church sympathy, adult attendance, intellectual food, and spiritual influence.

3. The next most urgent demand of the Sunday-school is, to be met by *earnest, trained, Christian teachers.* We would not raise an impracticable standard here. First the teacher should have a general knowledge of the plan of salvation; then, that

* The biographer of Father Reeves, after reporting his method of conducting class, says, "Rather novel this! some may be disposed to exclaim. Yes; but let them that say so think again, and they will acknowledge it undeniably good. This excellent Leader would not have his members satisfied until they could prove from Scripture the soundness of their faith, and until, to the joy of their souls, they could read for themselves in their own tongue the wonderful works of God. May such Leaders and members be multiplied."

experience of God's grace which makes the plan precious and real. These will be accompanied by a love for the "word of his grace." Then he needs the *will* to wrest time enough from the world's grasp every week for a careful preparation of the lesson; *love* enough for the scholars and the truth to make the teacher simple, conversational, and straightforward in his manner; *tact* to draw out the scholars' own thought, and concentrate their attention upon the one central truth of the lesson. These will give the teacher, under the divine blessing, abundant success. After this, the more Biblical and scientific knowledge the teacher has the better. Mere intellectual brilliancy and force, without heart or Christ—away with them! and away with all lifeless systems of teaching! We love system, and believe in thorough analysis in order to exhaustive exegesis, but let this be attended to in the study at home. In the class, let our method be that of free and wisely-directed conversation, arresting the attention of all, eliciting the opinions and experiences of each, and leading to profitable self-application.

The personal character of the teacher is of paramount importance. Piety is as indispensable here as in the Class Leader and Pastor. The teacher's character is a perpetual presence with the scholar, so that it is itself a constant teacher. Through his influence the sown seed of the Sabbath is growing seven days in productive soil, though the teacher "knoweth not how." Frivolity, love of dress and pleasure, carelessness, indifference, unkindness, superficiality and vagueness in teaching—these, too, are seed, and they drop in the soil and grow, and what wonder if they choke the seed of the kingdom in the pupil's soul?

We had intended to offer some further suggestions upon several phases of the modern Sunday-school work. The length to which we have carried our discussion already, prohibits this, and we close with the prayer that our Pastors may be impressed more profoundly with the importance of the Church school as a pastoral agency, as a means of edifying adult Christians, and of establishing our people, old and young, in the grace and knowledge of the Lord Jesus Christ.

Art. III.—SCHLEIERMACHER; HIS THEOLOGY AND INFLUENCE.

A century ago the twenty-first of November last was born in Breslau, Prussia, Frederick Daniel Ernst Schleiermacher; perhaps, with a single exception, the greatest theological genius of the Protestant world.

Schleiermacher was the son of a German Reformed minister, then chaplain of a Prussian regiment in Silesia; his mother was the daughter of Rev. Mr. Stubenrauch, likewise Reformed. As his father was often absent from home on official duties, his early training devolved almost entirely upon his mother, who used her great influence very skillfully and successfully, so as to secure her son's lasting gratitude. His father removed afterward to the country, and young Schleiermacher stayed under the paternal roof up to his fourteenth year, being instructed by his parents and by a private teacher, who inspired him with enthusiasm for classical literature. At this early period he was assailed by a "strange skepticism," which made him doubt the genuineness of all the ancient authors. In 1783 he was sent to Niesky, where the Moravians had an excellent school, and two years later, to the Moravian college at Barby. A spirit of child-like piety pervaded these schools, instruction and amusement were happily blended, and these influences impressed him most happily and lastingly. Even at this early period he had painful doubts as to the nature of the atonement and the eternity of the punishment of the wicked; and he went to work so independently, that a rupture, not only with his beloved teachers, but also, temporarily, with his father, was the consequence. In 1787 he entered the University at Halle, where he attended the lectures of Semler and of Wolf, the great philologist, mastered the modern languages and mathematics, and read the works of Spinoza, Kant, Fichte, and Jacobi. Although his mind was very impressible, yet he was too independent to follow any one master. After two years he left the university without any fixed system of religious opinions, yet with the hope of "attaining by earnest research and a patient examination of all the witnesses, to a reasonable degree of

certainty, and to a knowledge of the boundaries of human science and learning." In 1790 he passed his examination for licensure, and became private tutor in the family of Count Dohna, where he stayed three years, and received his first polish in intercourse with refined and noble-minded women. In 1794 he took holy orders, and became assistant of his uncle at Landsberg; in 1796 he was appointed chaplain of a hospital in Berlin, where he stayed till 1802. During these six years he moved mostly in cultivated and literary circles, and identified himself with the so-called romantic school of poetry, as represented by Frederick and August Wilh. Schlegel, Tieck, and Novalis. This connection tended to elevate his taste and to stimulate his mind, but was rather unfavorable to a high-toned spirituality and moral earnestness. In 1802 he went as court preacher to Stolpe in Pomerania. Here he commenced his translation of Plato, completed in six volumes from 1804 to 1826. In 1804 he was elected extraordinary professor of theology and philosophy in Halle. When this university was suspended in 1806 by Napoleon he went first to Rügen, and then to Berlin as minister of Trinity Church. In 1809 he married the widow of his friend Willich, and, although he was much older than she, yet it proved a union of lasting happiness. He took a great part in the establishment of the Berlin University in 1810, became its first professor of theology, and spent the remainder of his life there as academical teacher and pastor of Trinity Church. He lectured two hours daily on almost every branch of theology and philosophy, and was, with his former pupil, Neander, for over twenty years the great theological luminary and point of attraction of Berlin. As a preacher he gathered around him every Sunday, in Trinity Church, the most intelligent audiences, students, professors, officers, and persons of the higher ranks of society. Wilhelm von Humboldt says, that Schleiermacher's speaking far exceeded his power in writing, and that his strength consisted in the "deeply penetrative character of his words, which were free from art, and the persuasive effusion of feeling, moving in perfect unison with one of the rarest of intellects." He never wrote his sermons, except the text, theme, and a few heads, but they were taken down by friends, reviewed by him, and published. Besides his regular duties as preacher, pro-

fessor, and member of the Berlin Academy of Sciences, he took an active part in the most important movements of his country and age. During the most critical and depressed period in the history of Prussia he exerted a powerful influence in the pulpit, in the chair, and through the press, to stir up in all classes that pride of nationality and love of independence which resulted in the war of liberation and the final emancipation of Germany from French usurpation. He adhered to the end of his life to his liberal principles, and exposed himself to the danger of being exiled, like his friends De Wette and E. M. Arndt. He retained, however, his position, received even the order of the Red Eagle, which, however, he never wore, and never enjoyed nor sought the personal friendship of Frederick William III. He assisted in the work of the union of the Lutheran and Reformed Confessions in 1817, and strongly favored the introduction of the Presbyterian and synodical form of government. He assisted in compiling the Berlin hymn book in 1829, which, with all its defects, opened the way for a hymnological reform, which has since been going on in all parts of Germany.

Notwithstanding this extraordinary activity, he mingled freely in society and was the center of attraction in a large circle of friends at his fireside. He was small of stature, and somewhat humpbacked; but his face was noble, earnest, sharply defined, and highly expressive of intellect and kindly sympathy; his eye was piercing, keen, and full of fire; all his movements were quick and animated. He had a perfect command over his temper, and never lost his even composure. In the beginning of February 1834 he contracted a cold, which settled on his lungs and terminated his life in a few days. His death filled all Germany with gloom; it was universally felt that a representative man, and a great luminary of the age, had fallen. A complete collection of his works has been in the course of publication ever since 1835. His productions embrace classical philology, philosophical ethics, dialectics, psychology, politics, pedagogics, Church history, hermeneutics, Christian ethics, dogmatics, practical theology, sermons, and a large number of philosophical, exegetical, and critical essays. These are a few meager outlines as to the man Schleiermacher. We must next review Schleiermacher the

theologian, the regenerator of German theology, of German religious thinking, the father of modern orthodox theology. In sketching him in this capacity we shall mainly follow Dorner in his admirable recent work, History of Protestant Theology, not yet translated into English, and noticed in a rather unsatisfactory manner in several of our Reviews.

In order to understand Schleiermacher himself, the development of his theological consciousness, and the unbounded influence which he has heretofore exerted, it is necessary to take into account not only the state of religious thinking in Germany in the days of Schleiermacher's first appearance in public, but also that feature of the German mind which is so reluctant to receive any thing on mere authority, but which prefers rather to investigate it fundamentally, to study both its nature and beginning, before forming a lasting opinion; a peculiarity which, of course, is liable to abuse, and exposes the German mind to the charge of skepticism by other nations, but which we, notwithstanding, look upon as the *conditio sine qua non* of all thoroughness and real science. Hence the attempts at Ontology, the very being and nature of God, of the Spirit, and Theogonies, etc.; subjects which many good people take on trust, but on which they have, perhaps, for this very reason, no idea whatever—God, Spirit, being to them mere terms or abstractions.

In theology Supernaturalism had, after a protracted struggle, yielded to Rationalism, as it had partially yielded in England to Deism. A cold, lifeless preaching of morality had emptied the churches, Kant's stern imperative, *Thou shalt*, had, after a temporary effect, been superseded by Schelling's physical and Hegel's logical Pantheism, and the people had lost all interest not only in Christianity, but in all religion as such. In this state of things Schleiermacher appeared on the stage himself, as a matter of course, affected and shaped by the spirit of the times. In 1799 he published his "Discourses on Religion, addressed to the Educated Men among its Despisers." In these discourses he does not appear as a specifically Christian preacher, but as an eloquent priest of Natural Religion in the outer courts of Christian Revelation, to convince educated unbelievers that religion, so far from being incompatible with intellectual culture, as they thought, is the deepest and most universal want of

man, being different from knowledge and from practice, a sacred feeling of relation to the Infinite, which purifies and ennobles all the faculties. Beyond this he did not go at that time. But, says Dorner, in order to understand the man, we must examine his *theological* stand-point. Here his principal merit and his real importance for the history of theology lie. Schleiermacher overcame the antagonism between Supernaturalism and Rationalism, which prevailed up to 1820, in principle; a deed of science, which was performed, not by *uniting electically the elements of truth peculiar to each of the two systems, but by uniting the truths contained in both by a principle higher than both systems into a new system.*

This principle is Schleiermacher's idea of religion as a quickening principle; whereas religion is, as is well known, according to the two systems, merely a *function of the will and the intellect*, a *modus cognoscendi et colendi Deum*, (the manner of knowing and worshiping God,) an essentially Deistical notion of God prevailing. In Rationalism inheres a longing for personal persuasion and mental appropriation of truth instead of a blind submission to mere outward authority, for which reason it keeps its look steadily fixed upon an indissoluble connection between the natural and the ethical world. This is the truth in Rationalism. Supernaturalism takes it for granted that man is insufficient to himself, in his highest relations, and in want of divine assistance; or, that Christianity is not a product of nature, Christ not the natural offspring of the race, but a supernatural phenomenon. This is the truth in Supernaturalism. These two elements of partial truth inhering in the two systems—liberty and authority, personal appropriation and tradition, the ideal and the historical—Schleiermacher unites by falling back upon the fundamental idea of the Reformation—upon religion or faith in the evangelical sense of the term. Of this faith, the quickening material principle of the evangelical Church, he vindicates the rights—its independence and inward certainty—in distinction from a mere historical belief, as from mere convictions resting on thinking and conclusions. This faith is to Schleiermacher what it was to the divines of the Reformation—a *fides divina*, something essentially divine; a restoration of a common life between God and man, produced by the spiritual contemplation of the historical

image of Christ and its power of attraction. This faith, giving itself up to the Redeemer, partakes thereby of his spirit and life, and secures to its possessor both the consciousness of being redeemed and of the power inhering in Jesus to redeem. This process, viewed from the stand-point of natural and redeemable life, is supernatural, a miracle; but viewed from the stand-point of the Church, which was founded by Christ and necessarily partakes of his spirit, it is merely a continuation of that which has become normal in history, has been intended for mankind from all eternity, and belongs to the idea of humanity, since it completes its creation. As to the beginning of the Church and of the person of Christ, therefore, the superrational or supernatural is at the same time rational and natural when viewed from the stand-point of God and his eternal decree, which comprehends all things and pre-arranged man's redemption according to his wants. For the spiritual element in man, the *νοῦς*, (in Scripture language it is the heart,) although it forms, as the *λογικόν*, his center—of which every thing else is the periphery—is in his natural state so powerless, and by the sensual element, the *ψυχή* and the *σῶμα*, so completely controlled, that the Scripture correctly calls the *νοῦς*, in this condition, *flesh*. But on the other hand it is, nevertheless, the *νοῦς* with which the divine spirit, *πνεῦμα*, unites, in order to bring from this center the whole psychical and bodily organism under its influence and control. It must, therefore, be taught that the appropriation of Christianity presupposes an antecedent relation to Christ; that is, an inward longing of human nature for Christ, which is developed into a live reciprocity, and satisfied by the actual presentation of Christ's image. On the one hand, the human *νοῦς* is not the Christian *πνεῦμα*, being unable, without Christ, to raise its reciprocity to spontaneity, and the Christian spirit is not even potentially included in the human spirit. This is the truth in Supernaturalism over against Pelagianism. But on the other hand we must say, because of the world's unity and the continuity of the ethical process, the unity of the human and of the Christian spirit is involved in the longing of the first for the second, which longing can, indeed, not be satisfied by its own strength, but only through the appearance of Christ. Rationalism is wrong in saying that the spirit of Christ was nothing but the human spirit in a higher state of

development, since the human spirit could by no process be developed into that of Christ, with which it was, however, in so far one as it had an everlasting longing for it.

What we call the spirit of Christ or the Christian spirit, and the human spirit, are complements of each other, and we must allow a certain original identity of both. Reason is intelligible only as a transition from the other intellectual functions of man to the divine principle manifested in Christ, while the πνεῦμα is only a higher development of what we call reason, which development is, however, not the outgrowth of reason. Christianity, however different from limited human reason, is supremely rational; a manifestation of divine wisdom, which is reason, and it is, therefore, no contradiction to say that Christianity is superrational, since it can absolutely not be the product of human reason, and that it is, at the same time, for the reason which it raises from the condition of longing to that of possession.

As the antagonism of the rational and supernatural, so is also that of nature and grace.

By *nature* is meant what the human spirit can be developed into, considered both by itself and in connection with the other functions of the mind; the appearance of Christ, and the communication of the πνεῦμα based on it, is *grace*. If this is so, there is no absolute antagonism between nature and grace, since both are adapted to and exist for each other. Naturalism says, indeed, the development of man through grace and his natural development are one and the same process; Supernaturalism says, man's natural development through his reason is essentially different from his development through grace. But this contradiction appears only as a relative one when viewed from a higher stand-point. Supernaturalism is right in its position when the subject is considered from the stand-point of what a man *can* do and actually does; for considered in this light, that which is contained in Christianity goes far beyond nature, and is *supernatural;* and by no development of reason could that which is in Christ and is imparted to human nature through faith, have been produced without the workings of the divine principle manifested in Christ. But Supernaturalism is wrong in saying that Christ's appearance is absolutely supernatural, that is, in relation to God and God's

idea of man; and Rationalism is right in saying that, considered from the unity of the divine decree, the supernaturalness of the appearance of Christ becomes natural, since things that appear to our final conception as different are necessarily one in the divine mind. Viewed in this light, the decree of creation cannot be separated from that of redemption and final completion. Both decrees are for the Divine Being equally natural and coexistent, and there can be no decree of redemption and final completion apart from that of creation, which can be completed only by the decree that includes Christ, and must, therefore, be considered as susceptible of Christ's redeeming and completing power from the beginning.

Schleiermacher's view is, indeed, not free from determinism, including, as it does, also moral evil in God's decree; but the point under consideration here cannot be affected thereby, because the absolute oneness of the divine decree, the indissolubility of these two elements—creation and redemption—cannot be annulled by the fact that the fall is the free act of man, because the idea that God had not foreseen sin, that sin had, as it were, taken him by surprise, is simply absurd. Schleiermacher is correct in saying that nature is merely the accomplishment or realization of the divine decrees in time and space; but by this very position a higher view of nature is absolutely demanded than that held by Pelagianism and Rationalism—that is, a view in which there is involved the appearance of Christ itself in such a manner that it cannot be traced from human reason nor from the intrinsic power of the race, but must be ascribed to an extraordinary interference of God to a divine act, which act, however, becomes a unity with the decree of creation in the divine decree, whose expression is the universe.

By faith in Jesus Christ we partake of his sinlessness and blessedness, are saved from our condition of sin and guilt, and that in such a manner that we are conscious of it. We are reconciled unto God, who beholds us in him as animated by his spirit, and as parts of him; he having implanted, at least, the principle of divine life into the Church, the portion of mankind in union with him, which in turn, by means of the true image of Christ impressed into itself, propagates this life until the Church and mankind shall have become coextensive and identical. All religions, that is, forms of religion, must finally be

merged in Christianity. The essence of the Christian religion, however, consists in the redemption through Jesus of Nazareth, which is destined to be the all-pervading power of the Christian's life, and is the highest and purest form of attainable God-consciousness. In this definition of Christianity, containing two ideas, namely, that of human redemption and that of the person of Christ, the Church is carefully distinguished from every thing not Christian. The idea of human redemption would be nothing if humanity could save itself without Christ; or if, on the other hand, humanity was irredeemable. The first would be Pelagian, the second Manichean, heresy, and redemption would either be superfluous or impossible. The Christian idea of the person of the Redeemer absolutely requires the recognition of the presence of full redeeming powers in him. But if even his unique character is recognized, but his humanity proper denied, as is done by Doketism, it is impossible for him to affect humanity organically, and he cannot be its Redeemer. Again, if his humanity proper is recognized, but that absolutely perfect indwelling of God in him denied, from which his all-sufficient power to redeem proceeds,—if he is taken to be an extraordinary man without a specific dignity, as is done by Ebionitism,—he cannot be the Redeemer. But all Christological views that keep within these two extremes are, according to Schleiermacher, Christian; and if they need any correction, the very recognition of these limits furnishes it. In the Redeemer, who is to Schleiermacher the center of every thing Christian, he sees the idea of humanity realized, the ideal man actualized; the God-consciousness has acquired in him absolute strength, has become a personal indwelling of God in him, as far as human nature is capable of such an indwelling. In Jesus God has revealed himself not only as the Omnipotent, Holy, and Just, but also as Love and Wisdom, and a higher revelation is not necessary nor to be looked for; because the believer in Jesus knows that he partakes of a principle that is sufficient for his final completion, because every thing that hinders or disturbs this process is not based on this principle, but is opposed to it. If it be said that the realization of ideal perfection in Christ must be problematical, or that it is impossible that the idea of perfection, even if apprehended, should be a guarantee of its realization, or, on the other hand, that the actual-

ized idea as beheld in Christ does not prove total purity and perfection, Schleiermacher answers: The impossibility of realizing absolute perfection is the impossibility of realizing our moral destination, and would be a combination of Manicheism and Ebionitism. If it must be admitted, therefore, that the ideal humanity has been realized in Christ, the reply to the assertion that the actual realization of the ideal cannot be known to a certainty is this: Whoever surrenders himself in a feeling of his need of redemption wholly to the influence of Christ, becomes infallibly certain of his redeeming character and specific dignity.

A real appreciation of Christ's image is possible only through true faith, which secures also a participation in his supreme blessedness and sinless perfection. Christ secures these blessings to us in his threefold office of King, Prophet, and High Priest. Schleiermacher lays special stress on Christ's high priestly office, on his active and passive obedience, and represents him as full of high priestly sympathy, taking our place in order to raise us to himself and to make us his own. God looks upon those that are in this life-communion with the Saviour in and through Christ as redeemed, and as parts of Christ himself, since they are partakers of his spirit. From this stand-point the supernaturalistic evidences of the divinity of Christ, miracles, prophecies, and inspiration appear to him as weak, and the fear of criticism as weakly and unevangelical, proceeding, as it does, from a want of confidence in the peculiar power of Christianity to prove its divinity to the human spirit by its own essence, and relying, as it does, on intellectual proof which can never afford perfect certainty. From this central position, which Schleiermacher assigns to faith, standing on the real basis of the Reformation, he is obliged to, and does, distinguish between *faith* and *dogma*, which are so often taken for each other, especially by the intellectualism, even the supernatural one, according to which faith is the receiving of the supernaturally revealed doctrine, that is, of the mysteries of Christianity. But doctrine is neither redemption nor power of redemption; we are destined to a real communion with God through Christ, and only where this life-communion is, there is real piety; this involves more than a change of views or maxims of life. Doctrine, as evangelical preaching, without which

there can originate no faith, is, according to Schleiermacher, indeed also independent of faith; but this doctrine is different from the dogma, is very simple, and has its power in the preaching of Christ, in the truthful and quickening presentation of his image. Genetically considered, the dogma is the result of faith, is the scientific expression of the kind of appropriation of the Gospel story by the Church for the time being, and has its origin in the reflection upon the conditions of the Christian mind. Being dependent upon these it is not unchangeable, like the preaching of the Gospel; has not the consistency and uniformity of the writings of the New Testament, which possess normative authority as the depository of the pure primitive Christian tradition, or as the authentic record of revelation. From this it appears that Schleiermacher assigns to the Church and to tradition a higher place than was done before him in the evangelical Church. He draws, indeed, this distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant Church, namely: In the Catholic Church the relation of the individual believer to Christ is dependent upon his relation to the Church, while in the Protestant Church the individual believer's relation to the Church is dependent upon his relation to Christ. But it is not his intention to deny, by this distinction, that the individual attains to faith only through the Church and her offices; yea, he even says that the Church communicates the Holy Spirit to the individual, denying every operation of the Spirit not mediated by the Church. Necessary ingredients and constituent elements of the Church, however, are, according to Schleiermacher, the Holy Scriptures, which she preserves, and the sacraments, which she administers, and the Holy Spirit, attending her efforts. That the Holy Spirit is confined to the Church, or even to certain institutions, that what the actual Church does, is also the work of the Holy Spirit, Schleiermacher unqualifiedly denies. But in order to conceive of Christianity as a historic power he has assigned an important place to tradition; not to tradition, however, in its common acceptation, as the summary of a well-defined number of views and doctrines, but as a living power, proceeding from Christ and ever present in the Church from her very origin; and his ideas have not failed to impress the Catholic Church and some of her most eminent theologians, as Drey,

Möhler, Klee, Staudenmaier, and others, powerfully. The Church, as the work of Christ upon earth, was to Schleiermacher, in her laws of life, sufferings, and failings a unity; and for this reason he worked incessantly for the healing of schisms in the evangelical Church, for the union of the Lutherans and Reformed, and especially also in his Dogmatics, published in 1821, three centuries after the publication of Melancthon's "Loci Communes," which he intended to be the statement of the common faith of Protestants, as "Melanchthon's Loci" had been for the as-yet-undivided Protestant Church. Also, toward the Roman Catholic Church his position is very irenical; although he was fully satisfied that the antagonism between the two Churches had not yet reached its acme. This, his irenical position, had its basis in his conviction that the Catholic Church was divided from the Protestant Church not only through unevangelical elements, but also through a peculiar Christian individuality, namely, her strong leaning toward symbolism.

Through his whole architectonic method, especially through his definition of Christianity and its limits, Schleiermacher introduced a more correct estimate of the individual doctrines in theology. Every doctrine must now be estimated by its nearer or more distant relation to the central point; and the distinction between the foundation, upon which every thing in the Church rests, and between what is built thereon, (1 Cor. iii, 10–15,) which had, indeed, never been entirely forgotten, but greatly obscured, has become prominent again. Here is the basis of Schleiermacher's stand-point over against the different theological schools, and of his position in the Church. His love of union is not based upon a desire to shake off the symbolical books of the Church, nor on dogmatical indifferentism, since he devoted most of his time and strength to dogmatics, and saw a vital function of the Church in her progress in developing dogmas; and still less did he work for the union from personal considerations. No, his love of union was based upon his firm conviction that there is no radical difference in the doctrine of the two Churches; that, therefore, the differences of individual doctrines growing out of the common basis are not of vital importance, from which it follows that the split of the two Churches cannot be morally justified. By this act of uniting, the Evangelical Church harmonizes her

conduct with her theological knowledge of the necessity of distinguishing between the foundation and between what is built thereon; between religion and dogma; and she throws out those sickly elements that have been at all times a necessary outgrowth from the confounding of these differences; namely, the intellectualism of a negative and positive, of a churchly or subjective character, that derives its strength from its mistaking dogma for religion, and the darkening of the principle whereby its healthful development is not only impeded, but of which it is also a very natural consequence, that upon one or another of the doctrines of the Church undue stress is laid. The result of such a decomposition of evangelical doctrine, through the weakening of the influence of its central principle, is, for example, the peculiar stress laid for the Evangelical Church upon her tradition, as her sacraments, or the clerical office, or upon the authority of the canon without any regard to criticism or the settling of the material principle. If the principle of the Reformation, justification by faith, is obscured in its central position, the other doctrines assume, to say the least, a co-ordinate position; but the necessary consequence of the loss of its hegemonical position is, that the king becomes a subject. For as there must necessarily be a power confirming all dogmas, this power, after it has been taken away from the evangelical principle, is transferred to something else, be it the authority of the Church, or of the canon, or of human reason; and the whole evangelical basis is jeopardized by obscuring this principle or abandoning its central position. Here it appears, at the same time, that the higher importance which Schleiermacher attaches to tradition, correctly understood, for the Evangelical Church, is of essential service in preserving her pure character and principle. For tradition is, according to Schleiermacher, the power of the Christian testimony constantly renewed by the Holy Ghost; which testimony has, through the Holy Spirit, its absolute certainty in itself, and is produced through the preaching of the Gospel, and has the Scriptures for its basis and norm. The evangelical Christian draws thus his proofs for the divinity of the Scriptures, not from rational and historical arguments, nor from the authority of the Church, but from the testimony of the Spirit as to his actual redemption through Christ; be-

lieving, indeed, in Christ, not through the mediation of the Scriptures or the preaching based upon it, but in the Divine authority of the Scriptures through and for the sake of Christ; from which it appears that tradition, correctly understood, consists in the progressive production of real believers by the operations of the Holy Ghost through the preached word; which believers occupy a relatively independent position toward the sacred Scriptures, which owe their highest confirmation, and the recognition of their authority, to the authority of Christ, who reveals himself to faith through the Holy Ghost as the Redeemer.

While Schleiermacher has clearly drawn the line between Christianity and fundamental errors, it may be a cause of regret that he has pointed out only anthropological and Christolo gical, and not also theological errors, as the antagonism of Theism and Pantheism. But Schleiermacher looked upon both Theism and Pantheism as philosophical views of God, and he wished by all means to keep Christian theology strictly distinct from all merely philosophical views of God, such as a so-called natural theology holds. Moreover, it must be admitted that his *theology* was not free from great errors, which only his sincere love of the Redeemer prevented from exerting their legitimate pernicious influence. By this love he was constrained to admit self-consciousness, personality in God, however inadequate to his philosophical nature this idea appeared for a designation of the Infinite.

Moreover, one peculiarity of Schleiermacher must not be overlooked; it was his constant endeavor and great object to show religion to be independent of philosophical systems, and in order to do this effectually he went so far as to recognize in the Christian self-consciousness, primarily and peculiarly, only a personal feeling in motion, but not a concrete, objective knowledge of God. Certain forms of Theism are, indeed, inconsistent with, and, therefore, excluded by, the consciousness of absolute dependence; which is perennial, as taught by Schleiermacher; as well as a false independence of the world over against God, making God a limited being. By the same absolute dependence, the pantheistic view is also excluded, according to which the world is God, and man possesses absolute knowledge and is absolutely free.

But in his dogmatics he is not sufficiently guarded against determinism; by which every thing happens by virtue of eternal determinations, whether these are deistically so received, as if every thing was from eternity fixed by the connection of nature; or pantheistically, so that every thing is referred to the universal world-power in such a manner that the spiritual world is neither the relatively independent cause of its formative activity, nor appears as an independent life.

This determinism of Schleiermacher, which lays the main stress upon the absolute causality or omnipotence of God, leads him also to assign to those divine attributes, by which man's moral nature, his liberty and accountability, his imputation and guilt, are conditioned, only a subordinate position; so especially, too, the Divine holiness and justice; whence it is that he does not properly appreciate the Old Testament in its true and lasting value, although he views omnipotence as spiritual, and in Christianity, as absolute love and wisdom.

Schleiermacher denies the possibility of *knowing* God; and the pious feeling is to him the only form into which the Absolute can spiritually be received. From this source his determinism flows. The existence of God is philosophically thus proved by him: As certainly as there is knowledge, and the necessary duplicity between thinking and being finds in this knowledge its unity; as certainly as the necessary difference between the willing agent and the object of his will disappears in the act, where the two become a unit: so certainly an absolute transcendental cause as God must be assumed, in whom all the dualisms of the world can find their final union. Without their absolute union in God, even their partial union in the world would be impossible, and there would be no possibility of either knowing or acting. God's existence is, therefore, as certainly to be admitted by the reason, as there is a possibility of knowing and acting. But what God is, his being and constituent parts, we cannot know, according to Schleiermacher; to whom philosophy is merely a knowledge of the world, taking, of course, a transcendental God for granted. But theology, to which he denies likewise a knowledge of God, is, according to him, only a knowledge of the Christian consciousness, or of Christian piety; consequently only self-consciousness—taking God as the absolute causality

and supreme unity for granted,—indeed, knowledge also, but such a knowledge as stands primarily in the service of the religious community, the Church, that is animated by no interest in the theory in itself or objective knowledge, but which refers every thing to the Church, and must, therefore, be kept distinct from philosophy and its fluctuating systems, and can as certainly be kept distinct from it as religious life,—is something independent of thinking or willing. But, however unsatisfactory Schleiermacher's philosophical ideas of God, or his philosophical theology, may be, his deep piety and genuinely Christian feeling lead him back to the truth when he says, in keeping with the teachings of the Scriptures, that God alone can know himself; when he calls God the unity, that which is not identical with the totality of knowledge and being, but is their absolute basis; when he calls God not only the spiritual Omnipotence, but also Love and Wisdom.

Schleiermacher has founded no school, neither a philosophical nor a theological one. He appreciated independence of thought too highly for himself and for others to entertain even such an idea. But as we have said before, he has exerted an influence upon the religious world and upon religious thought as certainly no one after the Reformation period; and there is scarcely one of the living theologians of Germany that has not been powerfully affected by Schleiermacher, and that does not owe a large share of gratitude to him. Schleiermacher was, in the strict sense of the word, not orthodox; but the path he opened was in the right direction, as appears from the fact that nearly all his followers are more orthodox than he himself. We mention only the following as expounders of the New Testament: Lücke, Bleek, Usteri, Neander, Schmid, Olshausen, Tholuck, Osiander, Messner, Riehm, Weiss, Lechler, Holzmann. As writers on historical theology: Neander, Hagenbach, Jacobi, Piper, Erbkam, Uhlhorn, Reuter, Dorner. In dogmatical theology have been influenced by Schleiermacher, notwithstanding their individual independence and their differences from each other, Nitzsch, Twesten, Julius Müller, Rothe, Tholuck, Sack, Vogt, Hagenbach, Martensen, Liebner, Hoffmann, Auberlen, Ehrenfeuchter, Lange, Ebrard, Gess, and many others. Schleiermacher's determinism has been retained only by Schweitzer, Romang, and Schotten, the two former

being Swiss, the last Dutch. All these construct dogmatics, not merely from the formal principle of the Scriptures, as Biblilical Supernaturalism did, nor from natural reason, as the Rationalists did, but from the material principle of the Reformation, faith in unison with the holy Scriptures. Scarcely any less has his influence been on the field of ethics, as we see from the speculative ethics of Werth and Rothe, and the Christian ethics of Schmid. Practical theology owes its scientific form to Schleiermacher's influence altogether, as we see from the original works of Nitsch, Palmer, Liebner, Schoeberlein, etc.

The great Catholic theologians, that were more or less affected by Schleiermacher's spirit, have been named already; of English divines we mention only Maurice and Trench.

One remark more. It cannot have escaped the thoughtful reader how great a similarity, if not full identity, there exists between Methodistic Christianity and Schleiermacher's Christianity in its highest scientific form. To Methodism Christianity is primarily a new life in God, mediated to the believer by the Church through the preaching of the word and prayer; so to Schleiermacher. Both Methodism and Schleiermacher's theology deny that the natural man, the unchanged and unsanctified intellect, has any insight into the mysteries of religion; but this identity is only partial. When we go to a revival meeting, to a class meeting, or love-feast, we cannot be mistaken as to the completeness of the identity; but when we go to the recitation-room in our higher institutions of learning, and our theological seminaries, if we examine the course of study prescribed for our young preachers, then this identity is greatly marred; not only the identity of Methodism and Schleiermacher's theology, but also the identity of *Methodist life* and *Methodist theology.* This is the case with nearly all our apologetical literature. Here we meet as highest authority Paley, Butler, (Analogy,) and other writers from the deistical period. None of these men viewed Christianity *as a new life from and in God, none referred to the testimony of the Spirit,* none makes a change of heart the *conditio sine qua non* of understanding the Bible; but all endeavor, as Supernaturalism did, to construe from miracles and prophecies an argument amounting, if it could have been completed, to a demonstration, thus making the unsanctified νοῦς, which St. Paul calls

flesh, the infallible umpire on the subject of religion, of which, from the nature of the case, it can understand but little. In the face of such facts we may well exclaim, "O consistency, thou art a jewel!" If this article should call the attention of the Church to this self-apparent inconsistency, the writer would feel more than repaid for the labor of writing it.

Art. IV.—GROWTH IN LANGUAGE.

Lectures on the English Language.. By George P. Marsh. First Series. Fourth edition. New York and London. 1861.

The Origin and History of the English Language, and of the early Literature which it Embodies. By George P. Marsh. London. 1862.*

Lectures on the Science of Language. Delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain. By Max Müller, M.A. First and Second Series. New York. 1866 and 1867.

Language and the Study of Language. Twelve Lectures on the Principles of Linguistic Science. By William Dwight Whitney, of Yale College. New York. 1867.

I. Max Müller, Marsh, and Whitney, may be ranked together as the leading writers in English upon the principles of linguistic science. Mr. Marsh might disclaim having attempted a scientific treatment of language; the professed scope of his works is limited to one of the nine hundred languages † spoken among men; but he has illustrated that one with a wealth of learning derived from the study of the facts and principles of human speech. His opinions upon generalization in this science have the rare value that they are pronounced with the exemplification in hand, and then always with an extreme guardedness. He can scarcely contain his wrath against speculative inquirers who "guess out hidden meanings and analogies," and "build the whole fabric of a national history, extending through ten centuries, on the Roman orthography of a single proper name belonging to a tongue wholly unknown to the Romans themselves." ‡

* For convenience' sake this work will be referred to in this article as Second Series.

† Müller, First Series, p. 35.

‡ Marsh, Second Series, p. 30. London edition.

Notwithstanding the considerable advance in the science, probably he would not now withdraw this, which he said in 1862:

> Comparative philology is in its infancy—a strong and vigorous infancy, indeed—but still, in its tendencies and habits, too precocious. It is the youngest of the sciences. Modern inquirers have collected a very great number of apparently isolated philological facts; they have collected multitudes of seeming, as well as numerous well-established, linguistic analogies; and they have found harmony and resemblance where, until lately, nothing had been discovered but confusion and diversity. But still here, *as every-where else*, speculation is much in advance of knowledge, and many of the hypotheses which are sprouting like mushrooms to-day, are destined, like mushrooms, to pass away to-morrow.*

Professor Max Müller is the antipodes of Mr. Marsh. The former is the extreme of scientific courage as the latter is the extreme of scientific caution. But Müller brings so much learning to his aid, has at command such large resources in the results of German research, and announces his broadest generalizations with such limitations, that even Mr. Marsh must admire the flight he would not himself dare. Still, paradoxical as it may seem, and much as it runs against the popular opinion in this country, Max Müller's chief merit is, that he has popularized the theories of his German brother scholars for our large English-eared audience. We hail Professor Whitney as a new star rising in the American quarter of our Anglican sky. His little book marks an epoch in the science of language in this country; as a contribution to exact study in this department of human knowledge, it will give American scholarship an honorable place in that of the world.

Professor Whitney has set himself a more exact task than Max Müller had taken up; this appears in the very titles of their respective works,† and still more in the points of departure which they select. The Oxford professor begins with claiming for his science a place among physical studies, and

* Second Series, p. 28. Three words are italicized here to call attention, not to a novel opinion, but to the predominant quality in Mr. Marsh's studies. Compare Whitney, p. 324.

† "Lectures on the Science of Language" leaves the writer to wander at will; "Language and the Study of Language" imposes an obligation to method.

this assumption determines to some extent the method which he pursues. The Yale professor tells us, in his first chapter, that "the whole subject of linguistic inquiry may be conveniently summed up in the single inquiry, 'Why do we speak as we do?'" (page 10,) and this question is the key-note of his book. Müller's method has an unpleasant flavor of the didactic and dogmatic; Whitney's is prevailingly inquiring and inductive. We have been so much accused, not altogether unjustly, of being a nation of theorizers and dogmatists, that it is a pleasure to be vindicated by such an example and contrast in a field where, until recently, there have been about as many theories as facts.

II. What is meant by growth in language, and what is the scientific import of the fact of such growth? Whitney crosses swords, if so martial a figure be allowable, with Müller on the second of these questions, and makes good his position by an answer to the first question. The Oxford professor makes language a natural growth on three grounds: first, that it is not in the power of man to produce or prevent the changes that occur in language;* second, that language must be classed among the works of God, rather than among those of man;† third, that the method of its study is the same, and that the science has passed through the same stages as the physical sciences.‡

Müller every-where treats the subject so discursively—so implicitly admits all the facts which make against his theory, and adorns his pages with such a profusion of illustration—that it is as difficult as it seems uncandid to put definition into his mouth. What seems to be his best reason for calling the science of language a physical science is found in a passage which is designed only to show the importance of the study:

> If you consider that whatever view we take of the origin and dispersion of language nothing new has ever been added to the substance of language, that all its changes have been changes of form, that no new root or radical has ever been invented by later generations, any more than one single element has ever been added to the material world in which we live—if you bear in mind that in

* See First Series, page 47, *et passim.* † Ibid., p. 32.

‡ Empirical, classificatory, and theoretical. See first and second lectures of the First Series.

one sense, and in a very just sense, we may be said to handle the very words which issued from the mouth of the Son of God when he gave names to "all cattle, and to the fowl of the air, and to every beast of the field"—you will see, I believe, that the science of language has claims upon your attention such as few sciences can rival or excel.*

Not less important to his theory is an assumption much dwelt upon in his pages, that the individual man cannot, by his conscious action, out of deliberative purpose, change the words of a people.

It is doubtful whether, if both these assumptions were admitted, language could properly be classed among the physical sciences. If man has not made language he has at least changed it, and his intelligence has been active in this process; if an individual cannot alone, by conscious effort, modify the words of a people, the whole people do in some way by their choice, however unconsciously exercised, alter their words. Perhaps it is not out of place to ask, Of what value is the eternal barrier between us and the brutes which is found in language, if our vocal mark is only a physical one? If speech lies outside the domain of man's intelligent action and voluntary powers, is not the discovery a step toward breaking down the line of demarkation between man and the inarticulate world below him? Müller insists with so much emphasis upon this barrier, he thrusts it in the faces of the Darwins with so much confidence, that one must believe that he has not perceived the drift of his own theory.†

We ask a more pertinent question when we demand whether these generalizations of Müller lie at the base, or are the cap-stones of the science? From a careful induction, were it possible, it might result that man has not within the field of history added to the radical part of language, but such a discovery would be the last step in the analysis. It involves the unity of human speech, the revelation or development by the first man of all that is essential to language, and leaves nothing to be studied but the modifications of that language, the ebb and flow of these waves of sound upon the tongue of man. But these theories are disputed on all sides, and even

* First Series, p. 37.

† First Series, p. 354: "Language is our Rubicon, and no brute will ever dare to cross it."

Müller himself admits that our present knowledge only renders probable the original unity of human language. But on what safe principle of scientific inquiry are we authorized to assign a science its place on the merits or significance of its last *possible* or *probable* generalization? Still further, the growth we are to consider is one which is intimately associated with human intelligence, which expands its volume with the expansion of man's intellectual and moral nature; puts on luxuriance in the highest civilization, and dwarfs and dwindles in declining empires; which is so closely related to the spiritual activities of man that some cannot distinguish between the soul and the word. How does Max Müller separate man from his language?

If we understand him, he relies much upon the fact that linguistic and political classifications are not identical. "The science of language may declare itself independent of history," because it is not coterminous with *political* history.* The history of the Celtic language is not that of the British Isles; but it is none the less true that the history of the Celtic language is inextricably bound up with the history of the Celtic race. He further declares that we may study languages by themselves, apart from the people who spoke them, and we must, in fact, do this with regard to all the oldest forms of human speech. They belong to peoples whose records have perished, whose history we must, in part, spell out from the debris of their language scattered over the theater of human action. Two things suggest themselves here: Could we proceed at all in the analysis of these oldest fragments of speech—could we ever discover their elder brothership to our later tongues—but for the light which history sheds on more recent languages? History enables us to determine the characteristics of languages spoken in its ear, and, negatively, to excerpt and set apart those which it cannot interpret. Further: our earliest inductions, which furnish us the materials for all later researches, are made upon facts of personal consciousness and observation. Who could construct a science of language without his experience with words? But if it is possible to treat languages apart from man and his history—to analyze them as we do flowers, to classify them as we do animals—if the

* First Series, pp. 78, 79.

play of human fancy and the struggles of human thought in expression are no necessary part of the science of language, why has not Müller himself given us an example of such a system? The ever-present charm of his pages is man's facile intelligence at work upon words. Had he treated his subject as a physical science, he might have established his position; he would certainly have spoiled a rarely charming book. He constantly betrays his cause,* and he cannot set in motion the machinery of human utterance without putting the muscles of the face under the control of the human will. Were this speaking-machine altogether an instrument in the hands of constant forces it would always yield the same results; the shorn syllable, the cramped and dying sound, the word worn smooth as a pebble on the ocean beach, owe their elisions and attritions to the purpose or caprice of human will.

III. Professor Whitney does not directly criticise the book of Professor Müller, but he makes a masterly refutation of the doctrine that linguistics can be classed among the physical sciences. He denies the doctrine that language has a life and growth independent of its speakers, with which men cannot interfere, and revindicates the maxim *usus norma loquendi* as of "supreme and uncontrolled validity." Page 40.† The changes which now occur in language are matters of common consent. *Telegram* is discussed in the newspapers; *reliable* is shut out of the best society, but gradually wins its way among the less fastidious. A by-stander, seeing the first schooner launched into Massachusetts waters, exclaims, "How she scoons!" and the owner responds, "A *scooner* let her be, then!" and adds a word to our language. Individual agency is inoperative, except as it is ratified by the community, but the community acts through individual initiative. There was a first man who made a given change in pronunciation or spelling, or attached a new meaning to an old word. (Page 44.)

* "The growth of language and the growth of the mind are only two aspects of the same process." Second Series, p. 96. On the next page he speaks of "that wild spirit of etymology which would handle words as if they had no past, no history, no origin."

† It is not intended to teach that Müller is the author, or chief advocate even, of any theory attributed to him in this article; he is taken as the popular representative of particular views.

Our Yankee professor points out the spot where his German predecessor stumbled in the following paragraph:

> What makes a physical science is, that it deals with material substances acted on by material forces. In the formation of geological strata, the ultimate cognizable agencies are the laws of matter; the substance affected is tangible matter; the product is inert, insensible matter. . . . In language, on the other hand, the ultimate agencies are intelligent beings; the material is not articulated sound alone, which might in a certain sense be regarded as a physical product, but *sound made significant of thought;* and the product is of the same kind, *a system of sounds with intelligible content*, expressive of the slowly accumulated wealth of the human race in wisdom, experience, comprehension of itself and of the rest of the creation. What but an analogical resemblance can there possibly be between the studies of things so essentially dissimilar?—P. 49.

In the two phrases which we have italicized, Professor Whitney has happily expressed the subject of linguistic growth —what it is that grows; and the statement that "intelligent beings are the ultimate agencies" of that growth, gives the direction, and defines the boundaries, of these studies. We cannot hope to pursue these investigations to advantage if we do not clearly comprehend the nature of the forces which produce linguistic change. These forces are human, social, intelligent, volitional. Language is, therefore, according to our author,

> An institution—the word may seem an awkward one, but we can find none better or more truly descriptive—the work of those whose wants it subserves; it is in their sole keeping and control, it has been by them adapted to their circumstances and wants, and is still every-where undergoing at their hands such adaptation.

This science is historical and moral; a branch of the history of the human race and of human institutions.

> The human mind, seeking and choosing expression for human thought, stands as a middle term between all determining causes and their results in the development of language. It is only as they affect man himself in his desires and tendencies, or in his capacities, that they can affect speech; the immediate agent is the will of men, working under the joint direction of impelling wants, governing circumstances, and established habits.—P. 48.

IV. The field opened by this difference between Müller and

Whitney is large and fascinating; only some small portions of it can be surveyed in this article.*

1. The limits of individual action in modifying that which belongs to society—the power of man over the institutions of men—constitute one of the points of divergence. Nor are political theorists and social philosophers more harmonious on the same question. The associated action of men so far transcends the power, and so outruns the purpose, of individuals, that the unit seems lost in the multiplications. What is true of language as an institution is equally true of every other institution—one man cannot build alone. We may say Cesar made the Roman empire; but we know, so soon as we reflect, that the Romans must be reckoned as the true factors of the empire, and it is a more accurate statement that the Romans made Cesar. The Cesars, wherever they work or rule, must work out the tendencies of their times, must rule in sympathy with the conscious wants of preponderating classes of men. Individuals seem to have vast power when they move in the drift of society, but it is the drift that carries them forward. No man can change a word against the wants and tendencies of a language; but let the change be in the drift of the movement in his speech—let it be born in due time—and it will pass unnoticed, unrecorded, into the common tongue.

How much is to be ascribed to the individual in the work of linguistic change is not of very great importance; but it is difficult to believe that these changes are in any sense, or at any stage of a language, properly instinctive and spontaneous. They begin in the individual life, and spread with greater or less rapidity, but always progressively, through the community or nation.

The wisest individual is commonly incapable of determining the results of forces operating in nations. They are not the wisest who now tell us that they saw the Reconstruction conflict before the Rebellion, nor those who tell us that they saw one million soldiers marshaled when the anti-slavery struggle began. Wise men in political science have forecast our national future with quite opposite results. The rule seems to be,

* The relations of thought to language, for example, especially the question of the identity of the two, are not touched upon. Professor Whitney discusses the subject at length in Lecture XI, pp. 405–421.

that the wishes and sympathies of the astrologer are the controlling factors in his calculations. And so it happens that the moderately wise, or even the ignorant, spell out the future about as well as the Champollions of prophetic sociology. This impotence of discernment limits individual action; deprived of prescience, deprived even of full knowledge of social forces already at work, the wise man seldom perceives the social want, the strong man rarely catches the social opportunity.

Institutions—language as well as others—are left to grow out of the bosom of society much as trees grow out of the soil;* but this bosom of society vindicates its intelligent and volitional characteristics in the very fact of defying the prescience or steadfast control of the wise and strong. One man can do nothing against his age; but when a great man is cast by instinct, or moral sympathies, or Providence, into a great human movement, he seems godlike in power, because he expresses, embodies, a whole people. No one can demonstrate that great movements, in language have not illustrated the rule. The historical growth of language affords scope for such individual action. "The tradition of generations is broken by political or ethenic earthquakes, and the work has frequently had to be done over again from the beginning, when a new surface had been formed for the growth of a new civilization."†

2. The *unconsciousness* of linguistic growth is another debatable land of the science of human speech. We sadly need a nomenclature for the latencies of the mind, especially for the unconscious activities of man's intellect and will. The want of fit terms probably explains why Professor Whitney describes the same thing as conscious and unconscious, though not without an effort to distinguish it as twofold.

* Like a tree, unobserved through the solitude of a thousand years, up grows the mighty stem, and the mighty branches of a magnificent speech. No man saw the seed planted; no eye noticed the infant sprouts; no register was kept of the gradual widening of its girth, or of the growing circumference of its shade, till the deciduous dialects of surrounding barbarians dying out, the unexpected bole stands forth in all its magnitude, carrying aloft in its foliage the poetry, the history, and philosophy of a heroic people."—Ferrier, quoted by Farrar, Orig. of Lang., p. 204. London, 1860.

† Müller, First Series, p. 30.

The passage in which this distinction is made is so important to the theory of our author, and is so good a specimen of his style, that we quote at length:

While, however, we are thus forced to the acknowledgment that every thing in human speech is a product of the conscious action of human beings, we should be leaving out of sight a matter of essential consequence in linguistic investigation if we failed to notice that what the linguistic student seeks in language is not what men have voluntarily or intentionally placed there. As we have already seen, each separate item in the production or modification of language is a satisfaction of the need of the moment; it is prompted by the exigencies of the particular case; it is brought forth for the practical end of convenient communication, and with no ulterior aim or object whatsoever; it is accepted by the community only because it supplies a perceived want, and answers an acknowledged purpose in the uses of social intercourse. The language-makers are quite heedless of its position and value as part of a system, or as a record with historical content; nor do they analyze and set before their consciousness the mental tendencies which it gratifies. A language is, in very truth, a grand system of a highly complicated and symmetrical structure; it is fitly comparable with an organized body; but this is not because any human mind has planned such a structure and skillfully worked it out. Each single part is conscious and intentional; the whole is instinctive and natural. The unity and symmetry of the system is the unconscious product of the efforts of the human mind, grappling with the facts of the world without and the world within itself, and recording each separate result in speech. Herein is a real language fundamentally different from the elaborate and philosophical structures with which ingenious men have sometimes thought to replace them. There are, indeed, artful devices in which the character and bearing of each part is painfully weighed and determined in advance; compared with them, language is a real growth; and human thought will as readily exchange its natural covering for one of them as the growing crustacean will give up its shell for a casing of silver wrought by the most skillful hands. Their symmetry is that of a mathematical figure, carefully laid out, and drawn to rule and line; in language the human mind, tethered by its limited capacities in the midst of creation, reaches out as far as it can in every direction and makes its mark, and is surprised at the end to find the result a circle.—P. 50.

The distinction that, while "each single part is *conscious* and intentional," "the unity and symmetry of the system is an *unconscious product*" of human *effort*, is well taken, though the deficiencies of language leave room for captious criticism.

But there is a distinction lower down, which seems to us to explain Professor Whitney's. Each single part of a language is conscious and intentional—or the product of a conscious and intentional effort; not in the extreme import of these words—not, for example, in the sense in which we choose, after deliberation, to say import, rather than significance, in this place. Indeed, it may be doubted whether the rule of our author does not seem to be reversed. The word *its* was not probably used at first with deliberation. It slid into *a* place in the language through human carelessness, just as most changes in the pronunciation of words begin, but a certain amount of deliberation, and that a considerable amount, attended its assignment to a permanent place and office in our literature.*

The truth is, that the greater part of our conscious and intentional action is non-deliberative. Each drop of our volitional life falls into the unbroken stream of our spiritual activities, and is lost to our inward sight in the constant flow of our habits and tendencies. Conscious choosing, or deliberate choosing, occurs only upon the arrest of some small part of the moving mass of our intellectual life. Hence the paradox—existing only in the words, however—that our conscious volitional life is for the most part unconscious, or not written out in the large type of deliberative consciousness.

A new inflection in a language is first used by some one to supply a momentary need; it is caught from his lips by others, it passes into the language by continued repetition, it is never debated, or if debated the discussion occurs after it is a real constituent of the spoken language of the people. But it was used at first, and repeated afterward, through a volitional activity.

But in what sense is the whole system of a language instinctively constructed? In this, that the linguistic instinct, or æsthetic sense of consistency, or the tendencies of intellectual habits, or the genius of the language, presides over the outreaching hand which marks out the circle of any one human speech. This attempt to render more clear the action of the will in language, and to set in better light the workings and

* Professor Whitney probably refers this later stage, or the discussion, to his "single part" class; but such discussion usually involves its fitness to the existing whole.

passivities of consciousness in the choice of what is encompassed and conceded by habits, may fail; but the failure cannot carry down with it the doctrine that the growth of language is a product of the travail of the human mind. We must concede that man has filled his sound-systems with sense, whether or not we agree upon, or can understand, the manner in which his volition acts upon the single parts or unites the parts into the magnificent whole.

3. The doctrine that language can be studied independently of history must break down when applied to any particular speech; but how can the science dispense with the results of the closest and most thorough study of the best-known tongues? We have not a fact to spare from the clothing of any of our theories, and many of them are sadly in need of at least aprons of fig-leaves to cover their nakedness. Max Müller tells us that when "language itself becomes the sole object of inquiry"—that is, when we are not pursuing the study of a tongue as a means, as, for example, to serve "as letters of introduction to the best society or to the best literature of the leading nations of Europe"—"dialects which have no literature, the jargons of savage tribes, the clicks of the Hottentots, and the vocal modulations of the Indo-Chinese are as important, nay, for the solution of some of our problems, more important, than the poetry of Homer or the prose of Cicero." * With proper limitation, perhaps, this is true; but it is misleading. The history of the growth of any one language spoken by a people who have risen up into civilization must be of incomparably more value to those who propose to study the science of language in the spirit of scientific inquiry than the whole mass of languages which have no history and can scarcely be morphologically classified. We shall understand dialects and jargons and clicks only when we bring to the study of them all the knowledge of linguistic change which can be obtained from careful research into the earliest forms, successive variations of forms, losses and gains of words in such a language as our own, coupled with a thorough search after the causes of growth and decay. If it be suspected that the one speech is deflected from normal lines

* First Series, p. 33. Compare Marsh, Second Series, pp. 25–28, especially note to page 27; and Müller, Second Series, pp. 260, 262.

of progress by special forces, political or moral, and such deflection is inevitable, our resource is to follow another language through its history. We shall by this time begin to discover what is constant, and a wider study will enrich us with the fundamental inductions of the science.

No one has succeeded in this branch of human inquiry upon any other system. Müller pursues no other. Here, as everywhere else, his theory of method is contradicted by his own practice. It is no chance that the Latin, Greek, French, German, and English tongues furnish the best illustrations of his leading laws of growth. The laws were learned from the study of these languages which come to the student clothed with a history.* The Latin language—spread out over the face of Europe—identified with all the written history of a continent—colliding against and mixing with barbarian dialects of diverse character—dying, and yet embalmed in a literature and living in tongues—less majestic, perhaps, but not less beautiful or copious—this Latin language, and those which are commonly derived from it, have given us the larger and better part of our principles of linguistic growth. Sanscrit would have been useless without the Latin which was whipped into us at school, and all our explorations on the barbarian frontiers may not yield as much scientific result as would historical studies into the early growth of the French and Spanish languages.

This is not written to disparage the study of the languages spoken by uncivilized tribes. The hut of the savage has its place in a science of architecture, but let us not dream that it can teach us more than the Parthenon.

The value of historical evidence collected from the best known languages appears whenever a principle of classification is to be adopted. For instance: it is a favorite maxim of Müller that there can be no mixing of grammars; hence grammar is one of the most important family marks by which languages can be genetically classified.† If the principle be true, no better proof can be had than is afforded in the history of our own tongue. Our vocabulary is more than half of

* See First Series, p. 55, for an illustration of what is meant.

† First Series, p. 82. Of course it is not meant that the maxim is peculiar to Müller.

Latin derivation, direct or indirect; our language was for centuries subordinated to the literary lordship of Latin and Norman-French—a better test could not be desired. If English syntax is, and always has been, Teutonic, the rule starts with a striking example. But suppose it were proved that at some period in its history English has possessed a mixed syntax, and further, that this mixture is now discoverable in our grammar; the rule would lie under suspicion, because discredited by the growth of our own language.*

Language grows into its highest development only under or along with, as a constituent of, a complex civilization. Shepherds and fishermen, roaming the hills or grouped in huts by the sea-side, have no use for an elaborate speech. They could not be endowed with one; they must be something more than fishermen and shepherds before their language can expand into the luxuriousness of full-grown speech. Events which were long probable, but which happily did not occur, might have arrested the growth of our language and consigned it to the catalogue of rustic dialects of Teutonic stock. The failure of the Plantagenets to unite all France under their government saved the English nation, and rendered possible the wonderful and complex growth of our mother tongue. Mr. Marsh suggests that the failure of the Reformers to emancipate England from her allegiance to the Papal See would have been followed by results analogous to those which must have accompanied the reduction of Britain to a principality of France.† We are entitled to believe that political convulsions have often hastened, retarded, or arrested the growth of other tongues.

The limits assigned to this article arrest us here. We dismiss the theme for the present with one reflection. The motives which impel linguistic students to seek recognition

* This is a question of fact which cannot be considered to be settled. See Marsh, First Series, Lec. XVII. On the principle itself Mr. Marsh writes in his Second Series, p. 45, "This theory is carried too far, I think, when it is insisted that *no* amalgamation of the grammatical characteristics of different speeches is possible;" and Whitney, page 323, says, "Penetrating study often brings to light resemblances between two languages which escape a superficial examination, and . . . shows the illusiveness of others which at first sight appeared to be valid evidences of relationship."

† First Series, p. 170.

among physicists afford a very good illustration of unconscious tendencies. The "school of modern philosophers who are trying to materialize all science, to eliminate the distinction between the physical and the intellectual and moral, to declare for naught the free action of the human will, and to resolve the whole story of the fates of mankind into a series of purely material effects, produced by assignable physical causes, and explainable in the past, or determinable for the future, by an intimate knowledge of those causes, by a recognition of the action of compulsory motives upon the passively obedient nature of man;" * have obtained the ear of the world, and fascinated all who cultivate any department of knowledge. Psychology itself seems ambitious of the popular livery.† To get a place among men whose words are taken as the everlasting gospel of science, is the scarcely-concealed object of Max Müller's theory; and yet no one will suspect him of a deliberate surrender of man's part in language to the control of material laws.

Art. V.—METHODISM: ITS METHOD AND MISSION.

The *method* of an ecclesiastical system is as important to its proper interpretation as the method of a school of philosophy. Let the question be, then, How has Methodism reached its present *status* in doctrine, Church polity, as an experimental missionary system, a civilizing force, and an administrative power? What has been and ought to be its method of obtaining truth, wisdom, and efficiency?

To answer safely, a few leading facts must be carefully considered. We first ask attention to the fact that the religious faith of mankind is not, first and chiefly, a logical conviction; and the method of Methodism accepts this fact. Our people do not reach the doctrine of depravity, for instance, first by argumentation. They have felt the presence of a searching, revealing Spirit. Startling revelations have been made to the

* Whitney, p. 49.

† See Prof. Jewell's article in the April Quarterly. Psychologists have invented some of the plagues that threaten their domains with devastation.

individual consciousness, and each sinner has found himself crying, "O wretched man that I am," *My* heart "is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked." In like manner, and not by scholastic processes, justification by faith takes its place in our theological system. There is first a painful conviction for sin, then a view of Christ—not the Christ of the books but the Christ of inspiration—Christ rising, extending, stronger every moment, at length almighty to deliver; and confidence in him triumphs over timidity and conscious guilt, and thus faith in a divine-human Christ brings justification and peace with God. Henceforth adoption is matter of illuminated consciousness. Its evidence is not the *dictum* of a priest, but "the witness of the Spirit." Now come the keen convictions of indwelling depravity, the yearnings for purity, the manifestation of unlimited merit in the blood of Jesus, and the faith which brings the cleansing power into the soul, and the witness of perfect love. Like their great founder, Methodists accept the doctrine of holiness, not first as a part of systematic divinity, but as a great experimental fact.

So, also, the doctrines of the possibility of final apostasy, of the duty of perpetual progress, of the great truths of the uninterrupted consciousness and immortality of the soul, of the resurrection of the body, of the general judgment, of the endless happiness of the righteous, and of the eternal punishment of the finally impenitent, came to their places in the faith of Methodism not first as elements of a dogmatical system, but, like all other Bible truths, as great religious convictions, to be thoroughly examined and tested by logical appeal to the only inspired standard.

Thus by what may be termed, in some strong sense, inspiration, scrutinized by the severest logic, the Methodist Church has received the clearest, best defined, and least mutable system of theology known in the history of doctrines. This is our first indication of the general law of method for which we are searching.

In further pursuing this inquiry, let us come again to facts. In the light which God poured into the mind of Wesley he saw the fallen state of the Church and the peril of souls. He felt "inwardly moved" to go out and try to save them. When with his brethren he found himself in a flame of revival, and was called upon to explain, his answer was

"God thrust us out to raise up a holy people." In the mean time certain laymen appeared among the people, like John the Baptist in the wilderness, announcing a message from heaven, and with tears and overwhelming power beseeching men to "flee from the wrath to come." Wesley was startled. But if the "preaching" of these plain, unordained men was not "with enticing words of man's wisdom," it was surely "in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." Promptly the inspired logic of his lofty-souled mother came to the help of his own, and he said, "Go and preach, for the Holy Spirit commands you. What am I that I should withstand God?" Belief in the essential priesthood of the laity, and the paramount authority of a divine call to preach the Gospel, is, therefore, very primitive Methodism. If, then, it be demanded why so many plain laymen have become powerful Methodist preachers, the answer is, With us preaching is not a profession, but a vocation. As in the early apostolic Church, "not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called: but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty; that no flesh should glory in his presence." From the very first divine utterance to the soul which brings up the strange "woe is me if I preach not the Gospel," on through all the grades of the sacred office, "moved by the Holy Ghost," gives expression to the profoundest truth in the constitution of our holy ministry. This alone fully explains a remarkable fact in the history of the Methodist pulpit. The logical method evidently would be, first to learn to preach, and then preach. We preach first and learn to preach afterward. It explains also our grand itinerancy. In the logical method, ministers should be called by a congregation at a stipulated salary. But we have heard, sounding through our souls to their very depths, the call of the Master, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved; but he that believeth not shall be damned:" and we have gone, "thrust out," regardless of salaries, church calls, parish lines, and prescriptive forms, to save, if possible, some of these millions rushing down to hell. Under such inspirations our ministry arose, and hence every true Methodist

preacher is a heaven-appointed missionary, and the apostolic announcement of the great-souled Wesley, "The world is my parish," becomes at once luminous and prophetic.

Questions of logical Church order follow inspiration promptly, and reason supernaturally illuminated has extraordinary clearness and power. It was *felt* that authority came from Wesley; men were *moved* to submit to it, and argument declared it reasonable. Carefully scrutinizing and rationally accepting the indications of Providence, logic in its proper place gave position, which proved to be historical, to the "Conference," the "Minutes," and the "Deed of Settlement," and ordained a reliable succession. The class meeting was an inspiration, and logic came in to help sustain, extend, and perpetuate it. The love-feast was an historical recognition. So also were an episcopal form of Church government and presbyterial ordination. General Superintendents, Presiding Elders, Quarterly, Annual, and General Conferences, came in due time to their respective positions, the Conference "Minutes" grew and changed into the form of a compact and comprehensive "Discipline," all pervaded by a vigorous life, and including a scope and perfection of organic practical power which could under no circumstances be the product of mere human reason, and yet answering promptly to the severest logical tests.

Thus a system of Church polity rises up before us most evidently vitalized by inspiration, and sustained by logic; and precisely in this way the Methodists have become the grandest organizers in the world. This is a further indication of a general law.

We are now prepared to examine the unprecedented successes of Methodism. Large numbers, of themselves, prove nothing good or valuable. But it should be considered that the vast multitudes of Methodism have been gathered, not by any recognized natural laws. Proselytes have not been made by any proffered pleasures, affluence, or honor. No covert corruption has appealed to the lower passions, or promised "indulgence" for money. We have dropped into no strong popular worldly current to float with the masses. Upon the contrary, from the very first, with holiness for our great central idea, we have sought to arrest the cherished sins of the people, thrown every possible obstacle in the way of their carnal gratifications, and

denounced, in language of scathing rebuke, all forms of private and popular wrongs, whether in high places or low. By the plainness of most unwelcome truths, and the thoroughness of fearless exposures, we have provoked the bitterest opposition. We were a handful of the poor and despised amid countless numbers of enemies, rich and powerful as well as unscrupulous and vulgar. By all laws of human forces, we should have been overwhelmed and annihilated. But instead, we grew rapidly. We made converts of our enemies, high and low, in astonishing numbers; converts, be it observed, from trust in "things that are seen" to faith in the invisible; from a moral condition most natural and universal to one most dreaded and restricted in its natural gratifications. We demanded that men and women should leave the "broad" and enter "the narrow way"—from license to law. We made no pretensions to a "liberal" Gospel. We resisted all temptations to popularize the message. True, it did contain much that was tender and compassionate, but it was solemn, awful, severe! How strange, how contrary to nature! And yet multitudes were won by it. It was again the marvel of apostolic times. Under the teaching of a few despised men, these multitudes came to love the things they once hated and to hate the things they once loved. Thus has arisen a large, powerful organization for the promotion of holiness; and the movement increases in momentum beyond all precedent, the Methodist Episcopal Church alone rolling up its hundred thousand and more net increase a year.

To explain these extraordinary results is the problem. The reasons assigned must not be those which would apply equally to the other excellent Churches, much older in organization than ours, which we have left far in the rear.

Let it be first observed that the grand power which is to convert the world is not logic, but inspiration. This is a divine adjustment of the Gospel of salvation to the Gospel of creation. The minds of men are not first and chiefly logical, but sensitive. They have reason in various degrees, but in development the logical consciousness is much later than the sensitive. This is true of all classes of mind, but most conspicuous in the masses. It follows that an emotional Christianity arrests and impresses more promptly

and successfully than a form in which the intellectual predominates. This would be an easy and rational explanation of the popular influence of Methodism. We are warm, energetic, and nearly ubiquitous. We are subdued, melted, moved. Our whole system of worship and action is instinct with a joyous contagious life. The people, therefore, like us. We sprang from them, and remain in intimate sympathy with them. Our Gospel of freedom strikes them at once as being true. Our ministers, coming from the people, have generally had the good sense to remain among them. "The Church of the people" is, therefore, our most naturally suggested designation.

The apparent limitations of this reasoning are not, however, reliable; for true religious convictions in all classes of mind, and all true regenerations, are from the Holy Spirit. This agency in the efficient work of saving men must not be assigned a subordinate or mediate, but a primary and independent office—as independent when acting through instrumentalities as without them. Let it therefore be considered settled that there is absolutely no conversion without inspiration, and that this work of the Holy Spirit must antedate all other influences, and prepare the soul for them. Now this period of conviction for sin is no time to settle theologies, no time for an appeal to the logical consciousness. The soul must *see*, not argue. All other things being equal, therefore, the services most spiritual, conveying with the greatest certainty and the least delay the purest inspirations, will be most successful in producing true faith and true conversion. Warm, fervent, powerful prayers, which call down the Spirit's baptism; clear, earnest instruction, coming from sound beliefs and souls dissolved in love, and singing full of melting pathos and glowing inspirations, move thousands into the arms of Jesus, while the cool, intellectual processes of cautious logic, in the same period of time, bring comparatively small numbers into the light.

The connection between true Methodist fervor and spiritual efficiency is not therefore accidental nor temporary, but real and necessary; as clearly a necessity to such minds as those of Patrick Henry and Andrew Jackson, who were powerfully converted under its influence, and became Methodists late in life, and the late Judge M'Lean, early, and to the moment of death, a glowing Methodist, as to the general masses of men. We

insist that spiritual earnestness—receiving and imparting divine inspirations—is the legitimate method of evangelical power. Scholars, therefore, who have conceded to us a high degree of spirituality, and assigned us an important pioneer mission, but predicted our decline after this work is done, are in this unscholarly. They have based their judgment on the assumed temporary character of demonstrative religious fervor, and not upon the great law of spiritual adjustments. Under this law people of all grades of mind become Methodists in spirit, first by conversion, and not by indoctrination; and as inspiration from God is the efficient force employed in conversion, we see here at once the grand secret of our power and *the method* of our progress. This has been tested in action upon souls in a great variety of circumstances. Dead scholastic formalists, haughty infidels, and vulgar persecutors, who have resisted all logic, have been melted down and brought into "the kingdom of Christ" by the inspirations received through the most humble teaching and simple pleadings of faith in prayer. In our great missionary work we have not depended, first and chiefly, upon education, or any other secular civilizing agencies, but upon the power of the Spirit, accompanying a spiritual Gospel, and exalting to supernatural force our humble spiritual services. Chinamen high in scholarship as well as those lowest in caste, Mohammedans and Pagans of different grades in India, dark degraded minds and princes in Africa, as well as polished Europeans and Americans, have been born again by the power of the Spirit; and whole conferences of ministers, missionary and native, have risen up in each quarter of the globe. Methodist songs and prayers, exhortations and sermons, and shouts of joy are ringing in the ears of the people, and rising up to heaven in the most splendid languages and barbarous dialects of earth. Now, these stupendous results are not given in any philosophical development, by any logical method, however scientific or perfect. They are absolute *re*-creations upon a vast scale, and hence of God alone. Human power could be instrumental in their production only as energized by inspiration truly divine. We are, therefore, prepared for the statement that

Inspiration is the primary vitalizing force of the great experimental missionary system of Methodism. It is hence

thoroughly alive, sovereignly aggressive, tending rapidly to universality. This is the third indication of our general law.

We may now direct attention to the stimulating, expanding effect of this *method* of power upon mind and its activities. The great work of spiritual *re*-creation and illumination must, from the unity of mind, produce marked intellectual effects. The desire to know, under this quickening impulse, advances promptly to earnest longings after truth of all kinds. For the purposes of study the first great necessity of mind is, to be thoroughly aroused. This certainly occurs in the inspirations of the new life; and the yearnings for spiritual science naturally produce yearnings for all science. Scholars, therefore, who profess to be amazed at the powerful and really unprecedented growth of educational ideas and institutions in the Methodist Church are in this also unscholarly. It is in our system, as all discerning men ought to see. The grand inspirations upon which Methodists depend for prompt regeneration and aggressive missionary power quicken the whole man and the whole mass, and give rapid development and vigorous movement to every thing.

One of the first results ought to have been, and was, an unusual degree of self-help, and the production of a large number of self-taught men, who would be powerfully felt in every community where Methodism appeared. This explains the result of the rudeness and rashness with which they were attacked. Men of books and schools, in large numbers, turned to look with astonishment at the rough granite-men they had dashed against; and tried, with noticeable confusion, to comprehend the power by which they had been vanquished.

But this self-developing force would naturally lead to scholastic training, and bring back to itself a large infusion of science from common sources. Hence appeared the pushing influence of Methodists as citizens in organizing and carrying forward the great common school system, especially in the newly-settled portions of the republic. Hence the promptness with which our Conference academies arose and moved to the front in numbers and popular power. Hence the enthusiasm in multiplying "colleges and universities," too frequently indicating inspiration in defiance of logic. But soon stern reason would sit in judgment on these impromptu

creations; and, in numbers, location, and resources, they would come to order so promptly that invidious criticism would wonder where the thing was which it was about to ridicule.

This whole argument applies equally to the kindred development of literature. The forces which have produced our periodical and volume press, our immense publishing houses and literary commerce, are to a good degree occult, and especially unknown to our rivals and envious critics. It is safe to say, that no adequate explanations can be found in any argument which would show their necessity or attempt to estimate their importance. No great master-mind has ever contrived these schemes, produced their constituent elements, or adjusted them to each other, in their present completeness and reach of organized power. Like our general intelligence and enterprise, our seminaries of learning, and our great societies for the propagation of the Christian faith, they are the growth of the Church. All our presses, periodicals, and volumes, with our millions of money invested, and our hands, and brains, and hearts employed, are the direct product of the life-power of the Church. They are of the Church, in the Church, and for the Church. They feed the life which produced them, and every day increase its power to produce other larger, mightier outgoings for the conquest of the world to Jesus, "the life, the truth, and the way." We will now candidly say that these vast publishing interests are not merely Christian in the ordinary sense. No *common* Christian enterprise could have produced them. They are Methodist institutions, born of the very providence and potent with the very energy which has produced Methodism. Methodism could not have existed without producing them. They could not have existed without Methodism. Their potentiality and dependence are organic and inseparable. Neither the spirit of thought, nor the pathos of style, nor the business energy of this heart-earnest aggressive Christian literature, can be explained without the inspirations which have every-where taken the lead in the constitution of Methodism.

We now advance to say, that so far from being a suppression or degradation of *logic*, the spiritual philosophy of this movement has been most favorable to its development. It may be

safely affirmed that from Wesley and Fletcher down to Bangs and Fisk, no more trenchant logicians or masterly disputants have ever appeared in the field of dialectics than the Methodist Preachers. They were regarded at first as innovaters upon established Church order, and at length as invaders of Calvinistic orthodoxy, to be met and repelled, first by authority and denunciation, and then to be overwhelmed with logic. The former failed, as must always man against God; and as to the latter the challenge was promptly accepted. Our spiritual warriors, plain and polished, battled over the whole field of theological and moral truth with a "cleverness" and success which have amazed both antagonists and friends, demonstrating the fact that "logic on fire" arises directly from inspiration, honored in the advance.

We here come to a most noticeable fact. It is, that wherever these warm controversialists began, they went straight to the point of personal liberty and responsibility. Three grand impediments to the providential mission of this free republic rose before them, and their masterly power in dealing with each of them is slowly advancing to historical recognition.

They first encountered the limitations of the will, which in every form firmly antagonized human freedom, and by a strict logical necessity released man from responsibility. They, therefore, attacked and drove this grand usurpation from its imperious dogmatic position into biblical exegesis and philosophical criticism, whence, after successive defeats on its own chosen ground, it at length seems nearly content to make its last retreat into old books, and defunct formulas, henceforth not to be depended upon to furnish a practical Gospel for any class of people, nor allowed to interfere with its development of power. In this the citizens of the Great Republic generally coincide, for, with characteristic common sense, they say if the will is not free there is no freedom any where. This battle the Arminian Methodists fought nearly alone.

The next grand impediment to American liberty appeared in the limitations of conscience. In the first period of this contest the Methodists joined the Baptists, who were by many years their heroic pioneers. As the result, puritanic and prelatical bigotry gradually lost their dominant power in the East

and South, and their last hope of becoming national on this continent passed away. Both went down under the crushing blows of inspired logic. Religious toleration first, and at length pure religious liberty, became the grandest, most potential fact of national life in America.

From despotic governments abroad a religious despotism has been imported to this country, and with this form of the attempt to limit and virtually destroy the rights of conscience the battle continues. But the progress of freedom, under the guidance of true inspirations, firing and strengthening the logical consciousness and power, has accumulated from all denominations able defenders of the soul's most sacred rights; and the will, emancipated from the thraldom of prescriptive dogma, is combining one grand Protestant phalanx against this menacing usurpation; while from its relative numbers, organic compactness, and vigorous life, in its own characteristic method, Methodism moves in the van of this noble army of religious liberty, and the decisive victory is already historically indicated.

The final form in which personal rights were antagonized here was African, and at length American, slavery. The fiery logic of Methodism rushed upon this monster despotism with really reckless energy. Profound, however, in its reach, and formidable in its resources, its assailants were staggered, and the victory awaited successive assaults, and the gathering of providential forces, bringing on the grandest crisis of modern history, and then it was overwhelming. Recognizing as we do the noble heroism of our brother warriors of every Church in which throbbed the great heart of liberty, it is yet most agreeable to know that the Methodist spirit, true to its early inspirations, rallied again and again to the battle, and had its just position at the front in the last great conflict, when the monster fell to rise no more.

In the sweeping away of these three formidable limitations of liberty in this country one great question is, we believe, settled forever. Let it be asked, What will be the religion of the people which will inspire and control the civil life and destiny of the Republic? The answer, given in clear historic revelations, is, It will not be necessarian Calvinism, it will not be Roman Catholicism, it will not be slave despotism; it

will be, in whatsoever form and by whomsoever represented, "Christianity in earnest."

We are now entitled to claim that inspirations from God, wielded by severe logic, have imparted to Methodism as a grand civilizing force the broadest, loftiest spirit of enlightened justice. In this it has availed itself of a power absolutely indestructible, and destined to become universal. We have here, then, the fourth indication of a general law.

We come next to consider the adaptation and adjustability of administrative to missionary Methodism. Let us refer again to the announcements of Mr. Wesley, "to spread scriptural holiness over" all lands, "the world is my parish." The claim of universality included in these commanding propositions embodies the words of Jesus, and "they are spirit, and they are life;" "Sanctify them through thy truth; thy word is truth;" "Go ye into all the world and preach my Gospel to every creature." Now the Church which in its fullest sense obeys this high behest will be "the Church of the future." The problem, therefore, is, Channels every-where for the outflow of the spirit of Christianity, provisions for the certain delivery of Christ's "Gospel to every creature."

To be thoroughly prepared to meet her proportion of these responsibilities it is evident that the Methodist Church must not only receive frequent and powerful Spirit-baptisms, but must realize the unobstructed action of the Holy Ghost.

Her logic must be spiritual in its life, wide in its grasp, and practical in its tendencies.

Thus under direction of both rational inspiration and inspired logic she must advance rapidly to the completion of her unity, the first fact of which will be to render available to the largest practicable extent her spirituality, wisdom, wealth, and business ability. This she is candidly attempting. To succeed she needs to see distinctly that a thoroughly practical division of labor does not imply, nor admit of, organic separation, either nominal or real. Whatever is essential to Church vitality is common to all, and must never in any part of it be excluded from any vitalizing work. We take the word *spirituality* to represent the first and largest indivisible element of aggressive vitalizing Church power. This soul-life of the Church is from the Holy Spirit, and is self-propagating;

it must, therefore, live, pray, sing, give, speak, and vote for the salvation of souls. It follows that to bring us to the highest unity, all the spirituality of the Church must be brought to bear upon all her deliberations and work for the extension of the Christian life. Any practical measure from which the spiritual power of any portion of the Church is excluded is just so much the less potential. Now to combine the spiritual power of the Methodist Episcopal Church in, her great acts of legislation under the Master, she must bring forward that vast amount of it included in the laity, and avail herself of its renovating influence and inspiring love, its spiritual insight and missionary zeal, in all the "rules and regulations" made to render free and rapid the outflow of the life of Christ into this dead world. It is evident that the first great want of our law-making deliberations is spiritualization; and we record it as our profound conviction that a vast accession of this vital force is available, and is moving up from the laity to take its place in the highest, most responsible working body of the Church. Further, in all deliberations which affect the *status* of Church members, and the propagation of the faith, (and we have no other,) *wisdom*, next to spirituality, is the great demand. But the line which distinguishes the ministry from the laity does not indicate in the slightest degree any boundaries or limitations of this high requisite for safe or aggressive legislation. It lies largely upon both sides. It is one of the pervasive forces of the Church. To dispense with it as it exists in either the ministry or laity is so far to diminish the power of this indispensable agent of Church development.

Now the grand material agent which is available to spiritualized wisdom in carrying out its plans may be represented by the term *wealth*. This, from the largest to the smallest sums, is scattered throughout the laity and the ministry. It is required in every enterprise for the extension of the Redeemer's kingdom. It gets its position of power not by force or authority, but by Christian beneficence. To call out in largest amounts the immense treasures which God has intrusted to individual Christians for the evangelization of the world, the influences which inspire confidence must reach to the extremities of the Church, and the combinations which produce unity of purpose in the appropriations of these funds,

and the highest, broadest responsibility in their administration, must comprehend the givers. Wealth is one of the universals of the Church. It is neither of the ministry nor membership as such, so neither will its use be in completed unity.

One other great practical force which we must mention may be termed *business ability.* The Church has become a vast business organization. She must not, however, secularize her Christianity, but Christianize her secularity. The business talent of the Church is not restricted nor indicated by classes. Now let this power in the ministry and the laity be spiritualized, and meeting at all points, blend in the largest, most energetic unity. The ecclesiastical business functions of the ministry received, from necessity, an earlier development than that of the laity, and it may be admitted that the inspirations of the ministry have in this field carried them beyond the supports of their logic, while the Church business inspirations of the people are behind their logic. The retiring of the former to their logical supports, and the corresponding advance of the latter to their logical demands, are necessary to the realization of the most commanding business unity; and as both these are the conspicuous and inevitable tendencies of the age, the party-form of our problem is rapidly dissolving. Our outward differences are being thrown off by the healthy growth of our inward vital unity.

Now it is evidently the design of Providence in its control of us to send out the laborers every-where, thoroughly imbued with all the vitalizing power, and in command of all the practical forces, common to the whole Church. We are, therefore, acting in harmony with Providence when we are seeking to combine into one grand working unity all the spirituality, wisdom, wealth, and business ability of Methodism. But as this cannot be done by aggregation it must be by completed representation. Men coming up from the people to our ecclesiastical bodies must bring into them for use there, and render available for missionary power, all the great moral forces which have developed in our growth. Plans for the realization of this grand result have been submitted with great unanimity by the ministerial representatives of these four unifying forces to the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Let them be promptly accepted in June next, and our representative unity

in spirituality, wisdom, wealth, and business ability will be thus completed.

The next form of the question of unity is one of administration. Methodism was expected to prove itself unsound in doctrine because it did not formally, at first, announce a creed; erratic in movement, because it would not be governed by traditions from the dead past; and temporary, because it was not robed in apostolic vestments. But in its receptive and demonstrative liberty were the hidings of its power. So far from becoming latitudinarian in its faith, by allowing the truths it would grasp to move freely among themselves, claim their affinities, and record their own definitions, it was in this way only that it received the clearest, best defined, and most unchangeable system of doctrines known in ecclesiastical history. While, therefore, it is true that Wesleyan Methodism as an organized spiritual movement in the Church of England demanded no subscription to an inflexible creed as a condition of membership in its societies, it is unhistorical to say that the Methodist Episcopal Church has no binding definitions of faith in which her members ought to agree. For the very reason that our doctrines have been received and identified by the method of inspiration, and tested, compiled, and published by the severest logic, they are fit to be the acknowledged standards of all Christians, however spiritual or intellectual. Methodism is "Christianity in earnest" for the defense and propagation of all forms of fundamental truth, dogmatical as well as experimental. This is historically settled as included in our providential mission; and for this very purpose our system of doctrine has been produced by our providential method. We dictate no faith, but we teach and recognize faith. We repudiate hereditary visible Church membership because it would be involuntary, and reject contentious heterodoxy because it is disturbing to Church order and ruinous to souls. We guard the soundness of our ministry by test examinations from probation to ordination, solemnly pledging them to "banish and drive away all erroneous and strange doctrines," because they are indoctrinating teachers of responsible disciples. We have an undoubted right to question all candidates for Church membership as to their belief in our doctrines because successful organization must be of homogeneous elements.

It must, however, be admitted that we have been unfortunate in one of our questions.* Our "Articles" are chiefly an expression of our Protestant and free-will faith against Popery and Calvinism. They make no pretensions to be an exhaustive statement of "the doctrines of Holy Scripture," as taught by "the Methodist Episcopal Church." They are alone neither historically, legally, nor popularly the standard of Methodist doctrine. Candidates are confused, rather than relieved, by the restricted form of the question, many of them showing that they have never mastered the phrase "Articles of Religion." Ask them directly and simply, "Do you believe in the doctrines of the Methodist Episcopal Church?" and they will all answer promptly and heartily, "Yes;" for they do. Let this more appropriate, comprehensive question take the place, as soon as practicable, of the much too technical and scholastic question we now have.

This, however, by the way. The truth is to be firmly seized that the providential growth and informal exposition of the fundamental faith of Methodism the more (not the less, as has been claimed) entitle us to ascertain the essential correctness in belief of those whom we admit to full fellowship in the constitution of our Church unity, and in the great work of extending the truth as it is in Jesus; to remove disturbing innovators and opposers from our membership; and especially to depose ministers who insist upon the right of misleading our people by teaching "erroneous and strange doctrines," which they have solemnly covenanted to "banish and drive away:" let these men join other branches of the Christian Church if any are willing to receive them, with the understanding that they intend to take in with them the right of being "carried about by every wind of doctrine," the right of irresponsible agitation and revolution, which they have been calmly and religiously denied in the Methodist Episcopal Church. This claim rises directly out of the method of our faith. If it were to be settled first and chiefly by logic, then "debates" would have much more plausible ground for the right to be endless.

We go further, and affirm that the great system of ethics and practical Christianity known as "the General Rules," is,

* "Do you believe in the doctrines of Holy Scripture, as set forth in the Articles of Religion of the Methodist Episcopal Church?"—Discipline, 1868, p. 155.

seen from the same stand-point, to be of binding force, and to furnish a proper basis of Church discipline. They are not speculative or optional. They come of inspiration, and our members must observe them or forfeit their standing among us. "These are the General Rules of our societies; all which we are taught of God to observe, even in his written word, which is the only rule, and the sufficient rule, both of our faith and practice. And all these we know his Spirit writes on truly awakened hearts. If there be any among us who observe them not, who habitually break any of them, let it be known unto them who watch over that soul as they who must give an account. We will admonish him of the error of his ways. We will bear with him for a season. But if then he repent not, he hath no more place among us. We have delivered our own souls."

It is, in the same light, seen to be an error to presume that because our Church polity and government became not in form matters of direct revelation, they are therefore not of binding force. God has made us responsible for the use of illuminated reason in the settlement of discretionary Church order, and our "Rules and Regulations" when made, or as amended or constitutionally changed, are of the nature of a sacred covenant between members and the Church, and are all binding as the legitimate results of responsible liberty. The Church has therefore authority in its high discretion to require its members to meet in class, not because this particular *form* of religious conference and worship is named in the Scriptures, but because to her is committed the watch-care of souls, and because the special mode of doing this effectually is left in some respects to her discretion. If this were otherwise, then nothing in prudential church order is binding. But the apostolic command is, "Obey them that have the rule over you, and submit yourselves: for they watch for your souls, as they that must give account, that they may do it with joy, and not with grief." Let this law become a nullity, and schism and disorder are inevitable and without remedy. Let our Twenty-second Article define the duty of loyalty and the highest wisdom in church prerogatives. "It is not necessary that rites and ceremonies should in all places be the same, or exactly alike, for they have been always different, and may be changed

according to the diversity of countries, times, and men's manners, so that nothing be ordained against God's word. Whosoever, through his private judgment, willingly and purposely doth openly break the rites and ceremonies of the Church to which he belongs, which are not repugnant to the word of God, and are ordered and approved by common authority, ought to be rebuked openly, that others may fear to do the like, as one that offendeth against the common order of the Church, and woundeth the consciences of weak brethren." They argue erroneously, therefore, who claim discretionary license for Church members in regard to Church order in prudential matters. A wise paternal discipline, based upon the principle here distinctly brought out, has been for years the accumulating want of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Let the fact that class meetings were instituted by Providence, and have been sustained by broad and invigorating historical power, indicate the wrong and danger of negligence in regard to them, either by members or administrators. They are the result and means of our most distinguishing inspirations. If it be assumed that we have grown to such immense proportions as to render our former administrative unity impracticable, I allege exactly the contrary. Never in our history could we with so much strength and safety as now, in this and all other respects, prudently, but firmly, return to the Discipline. By no other standard, in no other way, can we be one in administration or marked in efficiency.

Let the question of completed unity be now much further extended. The equilibrium between the aggressive power and receptive capacity of the Church is of the highest moment. For instance, when the missionary force brought to the last General Conference Annual Conferences from the four quarters of the globe, the representative Church looked amazed at her trophies, asked where to put them, hesitated, debated, decided, and they moved to their organic position, to be instantly felt not as a burden, but as an augmentation of aggressive power. The grandest fact of that great assembly was the clear demonstration of the exact equilibrium, up to that period, of the conservative and progressive forces of the Church.

This brings us naturally to the great question which, from our large increase and extension must soon force a solution,

How can one General Conference be composed of delegates from all parts of the world, and one administration reach and keep in order ten millions—twenty millions—of members, and seventy-five thousand—a hundred and fifty thousand—traveling ministers, of peoples so diverse and remote? There is undoubtedly a strong historical relief in the statement, that fifty years ago, the question, Can one administration manage seventy-two Conferences and a million of members in America, Europe, Asia, and Africa? would have been scarcely less startling. We venture the additional statement, that if the unobstructed movement of the Gospel requires one universal Church, bringing to the highest available power at any given point all general spiritual agencies, then our historical equilibrium of discipleship and government may be extended to this result as easily as it has been perfectly preserved in a rapid progress of a hundred years directly toward it.

But to grapple with this great question in its most formidable aspect, let it be stated that all our ecclesiastical bodies are adjustable in number, constitution, periodicity, and jurisdiction. Let us now suppose a Quarterly Church Conference, an Annual District Conference, a Biennial State Conference, a Quadrennial National Conference, a Sexennial Judicial Conference, and an Octennial General (Ecumenical) Conference.

As this plan is intended only to show that the grave question before us admits of a practical solution, I do not propose to encumber it with details. The following suggestions, however, may assist those who are inclined to give it a candid and thorough examination:

1. This would concede the now tolerably well settled fact that our Annual Conferences must be composed of *districts* not strictly conformable to State lines, their limits being determined by business and religious associations and unalterable physical geography, while it would give us all the advantages of complete adjustment to all the civil divisions of the earth.

2. The General Conference would of course observe strict fidelity to the Discipline in constituting these several bodies and defining their powers. It would, therefore, be not revolution, but simple development.

3. I would retain the present disciplinary membership in the Quarterly and Annual Conferences, and also make the

Bishops ex-officio members of the General Conference. The Judicial Conference would of course be composed only of the peers of the parties going up to it for justice; but, with the Bishops, it should be made our Constitutional Judiciary. Then the delegated membership in all the other bodies should be a full impartial representation, with adjustable *pro rata* numbers.

4. The functions of our ecclesiastical bodies might be very much simplified by admitting suggestions in regard to each, coming from territorial limitations, and by a natural distinction between legislative, judicial, deliberative, and executive assemblies. The General Conference would be relieved of appeals and constitutional questions, of all corrupting elections, and of much detaining local business, and become, as it ought to be, the depository of *ultimate* power for the conservation of doctrine, the enactment of laws, the unification and efficiency of administration, and the spread of the Gospel. The State and National Conferences would be deliberative, and could conveniently take charge of such business matters, in connection with our great educational, publishing, and other interests, as should be referred to them. The Annual Conferences, relieved of anniversaries and many inconvenient business details, could become more efficiently executive, and more deeply spiritual.

5. Let the idea of a ubiquitous "general itinerant superintendency" be fully realized. This does not require a large increase of the number of Bishops, which for economical and connectional reasons will generally be admitted to be inexpedient; nor diocesan episcopacy, which would destroy our itinerancy. Let our Episcopacy remain in jurisdictional authority entirely indivisible, as though it were in one universal Bishop. The genius of our Church polity requires it, and there is absolutely no other way of realizing administrative unity in unlimited extension.

There is, however, a power for good, partly personal and partly of office, which appertains to the Episcopal presence and labors which ought to be fairly distributed, and which, like all other pastoral functions, absolutely demands assignable limits for its most effective application. This is inevitably localized, and its area largely determined by the residence of the Bishop. Let, then, the General Conference divide our

whole territory into as many districts as there are effective Bishops, and direct that one shall reside in each district, to exchange within a prescribed period, leaving jurisdiction and the distribution of administrative labor precisely as they now are. This, with a *pro rata* increase of numbers, and a provision for honorably relieving from the office all who, for any reason, are incompetent to perform its duties, that they may return to the body of the eldership to which they belong, in such Conference as they may choose, will raise the Methodist Episcopacy to its highest practicable efficiency, and preserve intact the principles on which it rests.

Then let the Presiding Eldership be extended in its scope and exalted in its *personnel* so as to be, in the "general itinerant superintendency," the exact complement of the Episcopacy. Thus that completeness of official supervision will be secured, which is attempted by the Protestant Episcopal Church by the multiplication of Diocesan Bishops—officers in practical rank, more analogous to the Presiding Elders than to the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church, a fact which will be more evident when their *status* is further defined by the ordination of Metropolitans above them.

This completes one attempt to show that our capacity for homogeneous assimilation and governmental unity may be kept exactly equal to our extension, in fulfillment of our great commission to go into all the world and disciple all nations. Let us now advance to another.

The spiritual is the vital, indestructible element of the Church. So far as it is material, secular, or economical, it is adjustable; but in its divine life it is like God, and can neither be destroyed nor changed. Precisely here appears the grand mistake of many religious propagandists. They seek to render *forms* immutable and universal. In these attempts the moral exhausts itself and fails, and prerogative, vainly endeavoring to supply its place and accomplish the impossible, pushes itself into *force*, and fails also. There is no infallibility nor universality *in forms*, and yet in forms large portions of even the Christian world are still struggling to realize them. The Latin and the Greek Churches are notable examples of this stupendous folly. Protestantism, so far as it attempts to follow them is, like them, "*a failure.*" Of this the Ritualists of the Epis-

copal Church in England and America are just now the most conspicuous and mournful instances.

Here let us gratefully acknowledge the manner in which God hath made us to differ from all other Churches. The Roman Church, by setting aside the illimitable, and devoting its paramount energies to the necessarily limited, has proved historically that it can never become catholic. The Methodists at the very first firmly grasped the illimitable, and hold on to it, assigning the limited and the variable to its adjustable position. Successional Episcopalianism, substituting tradition for history, undertook to realize universality in an illiterate mistake. Methodism rejected the inevitably limitating error, and accepted an adjustable, and therefore an effective Episcopacy. Presbyterianism grasped the true apostolic ordination, but rejected all Episcopacy, and thus missed an indispensable unifying direction. Methodism accepted presbyterial ordination, and thus became historical and flexible, while it received Episcopacy without its fictions, and is hence commanded, in a unified spiritual efficiency, unparalleled in the history of the world. Congregationalism made a center of the localizing idea. Methodism seized the connectional idea, and adopted the itinerancy, and thus became the fullest and most vitalized embodiment among men of the grand apostolic commission. The Baptists, guided by an exegesis, unsustained by the criticisms and historical reading of a large majority of the Christian world, made adult modal baptism a controlling idea; restricted communion followed, and all rational hope of universality was sacrificed. The Methodists took the water emblem to symbolize the baptism of the Holy Ghost, the "one baptism," and thus reached catholicity in both the sacraments.

Finally, while nearly all other evangelical denominations, adopting limiting principles of exegesis, became Necessarians in theology, and were logically driven either to a limited atonement and a partial salvation or the irreconcilable contradictions of responsible freedom and absolute foreordination, thus compelling the extensive rejection of their scheme by the common sense of the people, the Methodists were conducted by broad general principles of interpretation to personal liberty, and a "free and full salvation," all of which the common judgment of mankind declares ought to be true—is true.

In view of the whole we are compelled to admit, and we should do it with trembling, that Methodism alone has become capable of practically demonstrating the universal prerogatives and destination of the visible Church in one organic body.

Advancing from her present position in the honest endeavor to fulfill her great mission, Methodism will find her larger unities. Her inspirations must proceed with their organization. Her forms separate her activities—her spirit must combine them. This spirit is not wholly the divine, nor wholly the human, but the resultant of both. The Infinite Vitality acts upon the finite in regeneration, and develops a mixed life—a very live thing called Methodism. Now as the human predominates we divide, as the Divine predominates we unite. We do not, therefore, direct attention first to logical efforts, but to the inner spiritual force, to effect larger organic combinations. Hence we say our inspirations must go on with their organizations. The truly Methodistic soul of Methodism, giving fuller, freer scope to the Divine, must work out the human—namely, ignorance, selfishness, and prejudice—and realize its external from its internal unity. This is not speculation, but providence, history, and prophecy. The identity of the Methodist spirit throughout the world is moving her numerous bodies cautiously but evidently toward each other, and at no very distant day this vital progressive power will inevitably master geography and caste, and we shall reach organic unity for our mission to "all nations" in one grand representative council, and a practically unified administration. The discovery (uncovering) of one broad potential fact heretofore hardly known to exist, will hasten this grand consummation: we mean the real identity of Methodist executive authority, in all its forms, throughout the world. That identity consists in the complete responsibility of personal liberty to connectional authority. This, in some of its various ways, commands the ministry, and gives the Gospel to the people; and it is the only form of executive authority on the globe which reaches this result with absolute certainty. Now whether this administrative authority is ostensibly in a bench of Bishops, distributed and surrounded by a council of Presiding Elders, or in an Annual Presidency and Stationing Committee,

—whether preparatory representation and measures are from the people through Quarterly Conferences or District Meetings, the great facts are every-where the same, a willing people, a loyal ministry to obey, and somebody to command them. The result is a ubiquitous, live itinerancy. In this all Methodist executive authority culminates. Its *forms* are equally adjustable to local civil institutions and to connectional demands, and this is all that organic unity requires. The best of its forms must be that which, under discipline, is most effective in molding, concentrating, and using the intelligence and will of the people, anticipating their wants, and promptly overcoming all the obstacles which human sin and folly have thrown in the way of their full supply. This will probably be found to be full representation, and a powerful responsible Episcopacy. But we do most confidently submit that whatever may be its form, the fact that it is even now essentially one in principle and result greatly simplifies all our problems of organic unity.

Let us now step out a little further. Passing beyond external organisms into the Christian life, and losing our denominational egotism in the soul of our common Christianity, we find our brethren of the catholic faith every-where advancing to meet us in one holy mission of "peace on earth and good-will to men." Here we have a unity, vitally organic, of immense working power; and it is charming to see how grandly this inward unity is, in our day, developing in outward harmony and aggressive labor. In the fires of the Spirit how rapidly sectarian bigotries are dissolving, theologies simplifying, and great souls combining to grapple with giant iniquities, and spread every-where the power of a free and a full salvation! It is not necessary for us to identify and claim the Methodist spirit in the warm, joyous outgoing freedom of the live Churches of to-day. Our brethren and history will accord us all that our humility will bear. It is only necessary here to say, that if God shall make us in any sense "the Church of the future," it will be through and by all other Churches. Let us, therefore, draw them more closely to us, and with loving justice acknowledge and honor their evangelical power.

Looking carefully over the whole field we may clearly see, and without reservation say, that whether in one organization or several, by attracting other ecclesiastical bodies to herself or

pouring her life current through them, the mission of Methodism is to demonstrate the universal prerogatives and destination of the spiritual element in religion. But we have found administrative Methodism perfectly adjustable to this grand and glorious mission, and therefore capable of embodying this vital element, and rendering it objective and sovereign in every form of life, in every place, over the globe. This is its prerogative, this its destination.

We now venture nothing in asserting that this really supernatural adaptation is the result of inspirations from the All-vitalizing Infinite Power. It could never have been produced by human reason, though the severest logic vindicates it.

We thus conclude our search for the method of Methodism. We have found that, in some high and important sense, inspiration has been first in order of time, and alone as a vitalizing force, in giving to Methodism a pure system of doctrines, a wise Church polity, an experimental missionary energy, a broadly-just civilizing power, and an administrative ability capable of indefinite expansion and indissoluble organic unity. We are therefore entitled to our conclusion:

THE METHOD OF METHODISM IS INSPIRATION, IN DISTINCTION FROM LOGIC.

Let us here, in a few words, fix our sense of the term inspiration. The inspiration of authoritative revelation for the race was *pure truth*, accompanied by a miraculous suspension or control of the imperfect human, while the inspiration available to all good men is *pure truth*, without miraculous suspension or control. It follows that the one is subjectively infallible and objectively true, while the other remains subjectively fallible and may be objectively untrue. Hence the clearness of Divine wisdom in holding the fallible judgment subject to the infallible revelation. Here also appears the value of one of our most sacred precedents. Our venerated founder, though a man of the broadest scholarship and the purest inspirations, became at length, in submissiveness and docility, "*homo unius libri*," a man of one book.

Concerning the future our method and our history teach us soundly. Recognizing inspiration as first in time and rank, we must have the Holy Ghost in renovating, sanctifying, directing power always, every-where. Without this we shall be worldly,

vain, dead. We must also give ample scope to the power of logic. Without this our zeal will become fanaticism. Illuminated reason must sit in judgment on the promptings of our souls, deeply moved by the Spirit of God. It must be henceforward more thorough in its scrutinies and impartial in its judgments. It must retrace our history, to remind us constantly and forcibly that not numbers, or wealth, or popular influence, but spirituality, humility, holiness has been the measure of our power. If we dare to lay aside our humble trust in the Redeemer alone, for self-seeking and worldly glory, it should thunder in our ears the rebuke of Paul to the Galatians: "Are ye so foolish? Having begun in the Spirit are ye now made perfect by the flesh?" We know that our inspirations, directed by logic, have built schools and colleges, driven the press, founded missions, erected churches, and organized Conferences; but our spirituality lost, no amount of wealth, numbers, or popular influence could restore it. We therefore know absolutely that we cannot reverse the method by which we have risen to greatness as a Christian power. We are commanded by the voice of Providence to pass on into the future with it unchanged.

We are a large and rapidly-increasing number of the most prosperous citizens of this Republic, and marked increase in wealth and cultivation must be inevitable. How strong, therefore, the temptation to extravagance in every thing, and especially in church building. There is certainly no sin in the beauty of form or color. It is not even human, but evidently divine in its creation, and in the refined sensitiveness which renders us susceptible of esthetic enjoyment and expression. But there are limits to the proper use of money in the adornments of our persons and houses, the expensiveness of entertainments, and the splendor of church architecture. We must check our extravagance, or in our oncoming future exchange a spiritual for a material Christianity. All Christian culture and social accomplishments belong as legitimately to Methodists as to other people, but our method and history forbid us to advance a step in the direction of balls, theaters, operas, cards, the cup, or any of their kindred "pleasures." In themselves or associations they are historically shown to be of the nature of sin, the chosen indulgences of unpardoned sinners,

including the vilest of men and the most degraded of women. We cannot use them "in the name of the Lord Jesus;" we therefore cannot use them and be Methodists. We are to teach a joyous, but self-denying, heavenly-minded Christianity. We were raised up "to spread scriptural holiness over all lands." We must prudently, but firmly, arrest our tendencies to worldly conformity, or fail to accomplish this mission. We shall continue to build magnificent churches, endow institutions of learning, and pass up into positions of high trust and responsibility; but from our *method* of development we can see clearly that our only safety in all this will be in taking with us our original power, to inspire the worship offered in our most splendid as well as humblest church edifices, to give purity to our motives, breadth to our principles, and elevation to our leadership in Church and State. Migration is not progress. We could become neither great nor strong by leaving the frontier for the city, the poor to take care of the wealthy, or our primitive simplicity for learning. But to retain all our humility, and reach, with the power of resurrection, the very lowest and poorest of men, while we rise to the highest heights in scholarly wisdom and esthetic culture, advance with the foremost in business energy and success, and gather in the highest in social position, *is progress.* We must therefore go on as we began, to preach the Gospel to sinners wherever we can find them, in private rooms, in barns and school-houses, in the streets and in the groves, as well as in more convenient and superb edifices. We should give due attention to the call of the Church and the order of discipline in the appointment and ordination of men to the sacred office, but we must not wait for this before we try to save sinners. We should recognize, and hail with tears of gratitude and joy, the Gospel entreaties of the young convert when in broken accents he begs his companions to come to Jesus. We must multiply our Exhorters, Local Preachers, and itinerant Ministers by thousands, pushing them into every open door to proclaim to the vilest and poorest as well as to the highest and richest of men the "unsearchable riches of Christ;" and we must include a meaning deeper and higher every year when we ask our candidates for holy orders, "Do you trust that you are moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you" this sacred office? With this we should urge forward our ministers, young

and old, in all scholarly attainments. Our theological schools —few, let us trust, but strong and very spiritual—will perform a high function in preparing men for the whole field. If, however, we make them supersede our historical method of inspiration they will not be addition or progress but change, in the direction of narrowness and not of breadth. While our population is rushing up and outward in such bewildering numbers, and sinners in countless thousands are sinking to hell, we cannot, will not wait for conventional training nor the reaching of high scholastic standards before permitting our young men to cry, "Behold the Lamb!" In other acts of holy worship we must go on to do as we began. We must pray first and then learn to pray. We must sing first and then learn to sing. We must teach our young converts by no means to wait for study of speech or forms of prayer, but with glowing love and conquering faith to begin at once to plead with God for the conversion of souls. Our singing must not be limited to science nor restrained by instruments, but our joyous melodies and ringing choruses must roll out from warm, gushing hearts, sending the inspirations of spiritual life and power thrilling deep down into the hearts of common sinners, moralists, formalists, and infidels alike. Then let the highest culture increase the breadth and discrimination of importunate prayer, and give accuracy and taste in musical science and art. This is the method of inspiration, and it is, we insist, as exact Methodism as apostolic Christianity to say truthfully, "I will pray with the spirit and I will pray with the understanding also; I will sing with the spirit and I will sing with the understanding also."

Let us then move forward *in our own method* to the accomplishment of our mission, thus rendering illustrious and true for his apostolic successors, scattered abroad every-where, but one and inseparable, the heroic announcement of Wesley, "The world is my parish."

Art. VI.—THEODICY.

Redeemer and Redeemed: An Investigation of the Atonement and of Eternal Judgment. By Charles Beecher, Georgetown, Massachusetts. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1864.

The key to this remarkable book is to be found in the author's experience, in early life, of the severities of the Calvinistic creed, as described in the preface: "I can remember grave homilies on total depravity, and other abstruse doctrines, when I could not have been above six or seven years old. 'Henry,* do you know that every breath you draw *is sin?* Well, it is, every breath!' There was a profound satisfaction in being thorough, even in those early days, that I have not yet entirely outgrown. The severity of the conception did not appall me in the least, while its terrible radicalism was irresistibly fascinating." . . . "The origin of evil, the freedom of the will, and similar subjects, absorbed me, and I abandoned myself to them. They brought me to grief, but I cared not; they threw me into collision with my father, but I could not ignore them. For a time they wrecked, temporarily, and threatened shipwreck eternal, but I could not forego them." . . . "That man was a fallen, ruined race, born under a just wrath of God and curse of a holy law, I was equally certain. That Christ's death was necessary to man's salvation was to me self-evident. But why the blood of Christ should be necessary, or what connection it had with forgiveness, or how it operated to secure it, I knew not." . . . "On that problem my mind has worked and struggled and agonized, day and night, for twenty years almost incessantly, and has found rest in the views presented in this volume."

The scheme to which the author's investigations conducted him is the following; it is derived from the Holy Scriptures by blending literal and allegorical interpretations of numerous passages:

1. That sin, though theologically unaccountable as to its origin, had historically its beginning in the mind of Lucifer. The king of Tyre, in Ezekiel xxviii, was but an emblem of Satan, whose exaltation, temptation, and fall is the principal object of the prophetic vision. "Such," he says, "was the

* The Author's brother, Henry Ward Beecher.

view of Augustine, Jerome, Tertullian, Ambrose, and other early fathers. Indeed, Fairbairn remarks, 'Most of the early commentators have supposed that verses 12–14 were not properly used of the king of Tyre, but mystically of Satan.' At the same time Fairbairn characterizes this as an arbitrary mode of interpretation. Arbitrary or not, however, it is a mode that has commended itself to the mind of the Church for ages as well-nigh self-evident. As an illustration, let it be remembered that the title Lucifer, now universally current as a proper appellation of Satan, owes its application to him wholly to this method applied to Isaiah xiv, 12, 'How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning!'"

The primary sin, according to our author, was pride. This was followed by unholy ambition to be independent of Divine control; then came corruption and malfeasance in his office as prime minister of heaven; then the seduction of inferior and subordinate angels; then, after all, when man was created in heaven to supersede in due time the revolting angelic hosts, the seduction of mankind and their destruction, which Satan believed and proclaimed to be irremediable, because God had no prerogative of pardon for such rebels.

2. The pre-existence of man he assumes as already proved by the learned and able work of his brother, Dr. Edward Beecher; but he exonerates him from all responsibility for the peculiar views maintained in the present book. He disposes of St. Paul's observation on the fall of man, Romans v, 12–19, as follows: "Instead of saying, 'By one man righteousness entered into the world, and was forfeited and lost,' he says, 'By one man sin entered into the world;' that is, when he entered sin entered." . . . "The only expression which could be thought to favor the common view is, 'By one man's disobedience many were made sinners.' But how made? Not by the fall of a righteous man, but by the test applied to an unrighteous man taken as an average sample. Out of a thousand bushels of wheat one bushel being taken, as a fair sample or specimen, and found to be damaged, makes the whole damaged." He refers to the "Conflict of Ages" for a full exegesis of this passage, which, in his opinion, no one has yet refuted or can refute. His doctrine is, that the human race was created in heaven, to supersede in due time the Satanic race; and that

Lucifer, discovering this, set about seducing the human race, and succeeded in his fell purpose, with the solitary exception of one, Jesus Christ, who, like Abdiel, in Milton's fall of the angels in heaven, remained faithful.

> "Faithful found
> Among the faithless, faithful only he."

Him the second Person in the Trinity took into personal union with himself, and he became the Son of God, and interposed in behalf of the seduced race. Special compassion was felt for fallen man on account of his temptation by Lucifer, and he was granted another probation. For this purpose the earth was prepared, and these sinful beings have been, and will still be, one after another, sent down into material bodies to have an opportunity, under very favorable circumstances, to recover their original righteousness.

3. He argues that God did not immediately cast Lucifer down from heaven, because he is a God of infinite love and mercy. He had a special love for Lucifer as the first and highest of all created beings, and he sought by forbearance and kindness to reclaim him. Having the absolute prerogative of pardoning the penitent, as was proclaimed on Mount Sinai at the time of the giving of the law to man, "The Lord God, merciful and gracious, slow to anger, forgiving iniquity, transgression, and sin;" he hoped to see him become penitent and obedient. Moreover, holding empire over intelligent moral beings, it behooved him to proceed in disposing of Satan in a way to satisfy all that his decrees were just and right. This is the course which an earthly parent or a wise and benevolent monarch would take in such a case. A mistaken theology seeks to make the heavenly Father too absolute in his administration of justice, not considering that he must have respect to the laws and habits of mind when he rules in the realm of mind and not of matter.

Mr. Beecher carries out these principles in his explanation of the atonement and of eternal punishment. Christ died to illustrate the malignity of Satan, and morally to overthrow his ascendency in heaven over the confidence and affections of the heavenly hosts. God offers forgiveness yet to lost men and devils on condition of repentance, and he will always do so. They only are to blame for the perpetuation of their misery

because they will not repent. In this he differs from the Universalists only in supposing that after the present probationary life no condemned person will ever choose to forsake his evil ways; while they hold, that God cannot fail in finally securing the submission and repentance of every apostate soul.

4. In due time Adam appears in Eden, and his posterity follow, born of him only as it respects the flesh, and with such depraved traits of mind as the Bible ascribes to mankind. After four thousand years Christ too is born of a woman, and commences his redeeming work. Satan and his angels are allowed to assault and tempt man in his new probation, and all his malignity of cunning is exerted to seduce the Son of God. Failing to seduce or terrify the Redeemer, he tempts wicked men to put him to death. But Christ rises and appears in heaven, and confronts Lucifer, and by his exposure of his character and malicious works he sets all heaven against him. All created minds being thus prepared, God rises and casts down Satan and all his host. He falls upon this world and redoubles his exertions for the destruction of man, and for the thwarting of the Divine purpose and plan of human redemption. The New Testament history and prophecy reveal the conflict and the fatal result.

Such is a synopsis of Mr. Beecher's scheme, but no synopsis can give an adequate idea of the amazing web of Scripture, tradition, and analogy in which it is woven together, nor of the purity of style, the lucidity of the reasoning, the extensive erudition, the noble candor, and elevated piety which make the book not only a study for the theologian, but a charm for the poet and the scholar. The effect of the whole upon one who should receive it (and, strange as it is, there are those who, relying on the allegorical mode of interpretation, will receive it) is to dissipate the painful mystery of man's congenital depravity, of the atonement by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ, and of the unceasing, eternal misery of the incorrigible. On the minds of those who do not receive it, it leaves the conviction that some great mistake has been made by theology, orthodox as well as heterodox, and that a satisfactory theodicy is yet a thing in the future; a desideratum to which every soul that loves God and desires the well-being of mankind should earnestly aspire.

The points on which light is needed are, 1. The origin of sin. 2. The native depravity of the human race. 3. The atonement. 4. The eternal doom of the wicked. These points are so related to each other that fundamental error on one will throw a shadow over all the rest. If you exaggerate, for instance, the doom of the wicked, making it unceasing and ever increasing torment in actual fire or its equivalent, then no vindication can be made of the justice of the Almighty in creating beings capable of sinning and liable to sorrow infinite in duration and immeasurable in intensity. If you intensify the depravity of the heart, and make it dominant over the will from the beginning, then you cannot justify any punishment, however light, for sin is thus made inevitable, and you make the atonement a farce. Let us, therefore, find some point which, by itself, can be made clear in the light of reason and religion, and then admit of no view which conflicts with this, and so proceed to the end.

1. Let us take, then, the point which is naturally first in order, namely, the origin of sin. Mr. Beecher regards it as an impenetrable mystery in a universe originally holy and happy.

> If such was the original condition of the universe, the question arises, How sin could possibly enter? Some minds have felt the difficulty so strongly upon this point that they have rejected the Bible account of the matter, and denied the existence of any sinless state of the universe. But the answer to the question is simple. Sin is in its own nature anomalous, and, therefore, mysterious; it is in its own nature an unaccountable thing. For, the moment we admit that it is properly accounted for,—that is, the moment we assign a good and sufficient cause for it,—that moment it ceases to be sin. A good and sufficient cause is a good and sufficient excuse, and that which has a good and sufficient excuse is not sin. To account for sin, therefore, is to defend it; and to defend it, is to certify that it is not sin.

We quote this passage, not as a specimen of Mr. Beecher's logic, but as expressing his opinion, in which he agrees with so many able writers. A recent work on "Eternal Life and Eternal Death," by Professor Bartlett, of Chicago, published by the American Tract Society, considers the origin of sin a mystery as great as its eternal continuance and perpetual

punishment. He quotes, also, and indorses the remarks of Archbishop Whately:

> The existence of any evil at all in the creation is a mystery we cannot explain. It is a difficulty which may perhaps be cleared up in a future state, but the Scriptures give us no revelation concerning it. And those who set at defiance the plain and obvious sense of the Scripture by contending, as some do, for the final admission to eternal happiness of all men, in order, as they themselves profess, to get over the difficulty by this means, and to reconcile the existence of evil with the benevolence of God, do not in fact after all, when they have put the most forced interpretation on the words of the sacred writers, advance one single step toward their point. For the main difficulty is not the amount of the evil which exists, but the existence of any at all. Any, even the smallest portion of evil, is quite unaccountable, supposing the same amount of good could be attained without that evil. And why it is not so attainable is more than we are able to explain. And if there be some reason we cannot understand why a small amount of evil is unavoidable; there may be, for aught we know, the same reason for a greater amount. I will undertake to explain to any one the final condemnation of the wicked if he will explain to me the *existence* of the wicked; if he will explain why God does not cause all those to die in the cradle of whom he foresees that when grown up they will lead a sinful life. The thing *cannot* be explained.—Page 133.

A man with the brightest eyes cannot see any thing to which his attention is not directed; so, without disparaging the ability of any of these able writers, it seems to us that there is no more mystery in the origin of sin, if you will look at it aside from its supposed future consequences, than there is in the existence of virtue. God could have made a material universe full of beauty and sublimity, and he could have created minds capable of beholding and admiring it, without possessing any ideas of right and wrong, or any freedom of choice or action in respect to it; but in such a creation there would have been wanting all moral beauty and grandeur, and no one would reflect his Maker's moral image. Now if God would have a moral world, and emblazon it with the gems of various virtues, he must make creatures with the capacity of distinguishing right and wrong, and of choosing between them. Now it is impossible for a moral agent to choose the right without being made also free not to choose it, or to choose the wrong. It is true, such a being could be put in a position where his happiness would be so clearly and constantly on the

side of right that he would feel no temptation to choose the opposite. Such a place is heaven, and there may be beings created in such a condition. Why, then, did not God place all moral creatures in such a condition, and keep them there? The answer is, that to intensify virtue, as well as to produce certain species of virtues most glorious and desirable, moral agents must be put under some trial; that is, they must be put where appeals may be made to their natural feelings and passions which it would be difficult to resist. Then, if they successfully endure the ordeal, as in the case of Job, their righteousness shines out with resplendent luster, brighter than the sun, and rare virtues of patience, resignation, courage, heroism, trust, appear as the brightest constellations of night. To have an opportunity of yielding such fruitage moral beings must be free to choose differently, and so they are made liable to sin. Now, if those who fail to undergo the trial successfully, as God designed, should be instantly put out of being, no one could see any injustice in the economy of God, but the greatest goodness in giving finite creatures an opportunity of excelling in holiness and deserving eternal life. The mystery, then, is not in sin any more than in virtue, but in its supposed consequences of depravity and suffering. But these do not now come into consideration. When we come to them we may find that as they ought to be in harmony with the true origin of sin, so they may be regarded in the clearest light of revelation and of reason.

If this plain and obvious view of the origin of sin be accepted, it furnishes ground for the overthrow of the entire foundation of Mr. Beecher's theory of sin by the revolt of Lucifer, for he makes Lucifer to sin in heaven, in the very presence of God, and surrounded by the glory of his power; a condition in which, however free his moral choice, he would be under no liability to sin whatever; for if to choose wrong in such circumstances might not be pronounced absolutely impossible, it may be declared impracticable. We know that we are free this moment to rise up and go and throw ourselves off some precipice or into the fire, but in the absence of any influential motive to such a mad procedure we are safe enough. A condition of such liability of sinning, as Mr. Beecher supposes, is not practicable in heaven. Were his theory true,

there would be no heaven for men or angels. Heaven is a place of rest, of security, of freedom from fear and care and peril. If Satan fell in heaven, as Milton imagined, and half the religious world takes thoughtlessly from him and the theologians, and as Mr. Beecher thinks is proved from Scripture on the allegorical mode of interpretation and otherwise, then the redeemed will be liable to fall. But this is made impracticable, not by destroying free agency, or abolishing the law, but by their being separated from all inducements and temptation to do wrong. Mere freedom under the law does not argue danger without special motives to a wrong choice, for then no beings, however exalted, would be safe a moment. Christ himself might fall at the head of his Church, and God, the Judge of all, cease to do right.

It is time the tradition of Satan falling in heaven were exploded. Satan never was and never will be in heaven, nor any other sinner, nor any sin. The four texts which are usually made to support the popular tradition are easily disposed of: "How art thou fallen from heaven, O Lucifer, son of the morning," (Isa. xiv, 12,) is a typical expression, addressed in the style of the East to Nebuchadnezzar, the king of Babylon, as is evident from the whole context; as, for example, (verse 16,) "Is this the man that made the earth to tremble?" "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." (Luke x, 18.) Literally, this reads, "I beheld Satan, as lightning from heaven, fall." It means simply, Suddenly, as a flash of lightning from the clouds I saw the power of the devil broken by the preaching of the Gospel. The seventy had just returned, reporting, "Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name." It had no reference whatever to the past before the day of Christ, but to what was then going on, and to the future. "And there was war in heaven: Michael and his angels fought against the dragon; and the dragon fought and his angels, and prevailed not; neither was their place found any more in heaven." Rev. xii, 7, 8. This, like every thing else in Revelation, has reference to future events. It is a typical prophecy of the overthrow of the moral and spiritual power of the devil in the ages to come before the day of judgment. "And the angels which kept not their first estate, but left their own habitation, he hath reserved in everlasting chains

under darkness unto the judgment of the great day." Jude 6. The term "angel" does not mean a celestial spirit, but describes usually a spiritual being who is not of this world, but may be in hell or elsewhere as well as in heaven. Nor does the passage otherwise indicate their original locality. "They left their own habitation," it says; but where was that? Not heaven, if heaven is a place of rest and happiness, and not of trial and probation.

Thus all the foundations of Mr. Beecher's system disappear as frost-work in the dawn of a spring morning.

But if Satan never was in heaven, where did he have his origin and fall? Doubtless in some paradisaical state, where he was placed under probation, as man was in Eden. The nearest approach to an explanation of it is the passage already quoted from St. Jude's Epistle. From this we learn that the test of his obedience was to abide within the limits of his estate. As God forbade to our first parents the fruit of the tree in the midst of the garden, so it would seem that he said to the angels, Pass not beyond the bounds of your habitation. This, then, was their trial, and they failed under it. But how could beings, made pure and holy, be moved to transgress when no tempter as yet existed? Why, just as good men go astray now. They possessed a variety of natural passions, all tending to their appropriate objects, among which was the disposition to rove; but God saw fit to limit its exercise for good and sufficient reasons. This made an inevitable antagonism between the passions and the conscience, and gave occasion for the trial of their obedience. They yielded to their passions, and were condemned. In this world Adam fell at the solicitation of Eve, and Eve at the solicitation of Satan; but the only difference was in the extra excitement of their natural passions by the suggestions of the tempter. It is clear enough that without a tempter the very interdiction of what was naturally attractive to the passions made a sufficient occasion for a trial more or less severe, and such as might have resulted in their fall. But the presence and fatal influence of the tempter was made the occasion for making a difference in God's feelings toward them, and a reason for showing them mercy, which he did not extend to Satan and his angels, who fell without solicitation. In this light we see

no more mystery in original sin, either that of man or angels, than in any sin now committed; any disobedience to the law of the family, of the school, or the state. That sinners are permitted to live and tempt others has no more difficulty in it than the placing of moral beings in a state of trial. If the trial is intensified it gives the tempted opportunity of developing sublimer virtues and securing a brighter crown of righteousness. Were the trial greater than the creature could bear it would be no probation, but a subjugation; for as man is not responsible if not free, so he is not free if the pressure of motive is too great to resist. In such a condition of mind we consider a person insane, and pity him. It is not a condition in which either virtue or vice can originate. No axiom or postulate in mathematics is clearer than that responsibility and ability are commensurate.

DEPRAVITY.

These remarks explain the mystery of inherent depravity. We are not responsible for its existence, nor for its instinctive operations, but only for our voluntary obedience to its dictates. A child who inherits a drunkard's thirst for liquor is not to be blamed for it, but his special trial is to watch it and resist it. Nevertheless, it is a depravity and an evil; but while he resists it and maintains temperate habits he acquires extraordinary merit. The Bible accounts such defects, and all defects of our nature, "sin," simply in the sense of being contrary to the original law made for a perfect humanity; but it declares to all who will believe in Christ that they are not under the law, but under grace; that is, the law, while it is not abolished as a rule of life, no longer stands as a condition of acceptance with God and of final salvation. What complaint, then, can be made against the honor and justice of God in permitting our human race to be propagated from a depraved stock? As well might you complain of a probationary state of any kind wherein one is tempted to sin. But is it a "disgrace to us" to be born so depraved? No; no more disgrace than to be born of intemperate or diseased or feeble-minded parents.

"Act well your part,
There all the honor lies."

And all the greater honor, yea, greater than born angels may acquire who have no extreme inducements to do wrong.

Our author does not explain his view of the nature of our depravity; but it is a very gloomy view, if we may judge by its supposed origin in a celestial state, or by the reference made to it in the family of the Beechers, as related in the preface as already quoted. "Every breath you draw is sin," said the venerable patriarch to his now famous son Henry. Is there any sense, we would inquire, in which such an expression can be considered true of human beings in this life? Yes, four or five.

1. In the sense of imperfection attached to all finite moral agents. "Behold," said Eliphaz to Job, "he put no trust in his servants; and his angels he charged with folly." Job iv, 18. But there is no turpitude, no shame to be ascribed to such imperfectness, for Eliphaz adds in another place, (xv, 15,) "Yea, the heavens are not clean in his sight;" and Bildad responds to Job in a similar vein: "How then can man be justified with God? or how can he be clean that is born of a woman? Behold even to the moon, and it shineth not; yea, the stars are not pure in his sight. How much less man, that is a worm? and the son of man, which is a worm?" Job xxv, 4–6. And he who was "born of a woman," and delighted to call himself the "Son of man," said to the young ruler, doubtless in reference to his human nature, which was yet susceptible of further knowledge and grace, "Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one, that is, God." (Matt. xix, 17.) But how absurd to apply such an ambiguous word as "sin" to such a want of absolute and infinite perfection! And yet many make the same mistake as Job's counselors did.

2. In the sense in which we fall short of our moral ideals. The most gifted and perfect minds have the brightest ideals, and they are the most deeply pained by their failure to realize them. As they advance their ideals advance too, so that they are destined to a deeper and deeper chagrin blended with their more exquisite satisfactions. This is true of artists; it is true of angels doubtless. There is but one Being who realizes his own ideal. "God is light, and in him there is no darkness at all." 1 John i, 8. How preposterous, then, for good and

holy men to fret themselves because they have not yet reached the perfection they conceive of as possible.

3. We are "sinners," as falling short of the law originally given for a perfect humanity. What that law was we know not, if it were any thing different from the ten commandments and the law of love: (though many good men talk about it as if they knew all about it, and blame themselves because they are not as perfect as Adam was before the fall;) but our blame is to be measured by our ability, for we are bound only to do what we can to approach the original pattern.

4. There is a sense in which we may be justly called sinners — when we find ourselves incapacitated from duty by previous neglects or abuses of our nature. But if we are penitent for these defects our guilt is forgiven, and our imperfection is thenceforth of no more concern to us than if it were born in us, or than the defects of another person. "Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow." If now "we walk in the light, as He is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin. If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, he is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." 1 John i, 7–9.

5. Finally, if we continue impenitent and unbelieving, then, do what we will, we sin all the time. A boy who is playing truant and forsaking his father's house is doing wrong all the time in every thing, even if he be enlisted in the service of his country, and fighting for her rights. If we are disloyal to God it qualifies our whole life, and makes every thing disloyal which we do. A man may commit robbery, and then apply his stolen money to a religious or charitable purpose; but even this disposition of it is wicked. True, it would be greater wickedness to gamble it away, and thereby involve another's virtue; but it is still wicked to spend one cent of it to feed the poor or to build a synagogue. In this sense only the virtues of unconverted men are sins; but there is no reflection on God in all this, and no mystery to stumble us.

So much for this question. But here comes the difficulty. How can we vindicate the government of God for bringing human beings into the world with such a moral ca-

pacity and under such temptation as actually results in mankind up to this day being generally impenitent and habitual sinners? Mr. Beecher's theory of the projection of beings already depraved into this life has the same difficulty, for they do not seem to have very good luck so far in the new probation. Nor is there in either case so much to perplex us, and to seem to reflect on God, seeing these men are free in their rebellion, as there is in their future doom. If they have but a poor chance for virtue and acceptance with God, that chance is a gracious gift, provided there be no liability to too severe punishment, or if some ulterior arrangement should be provided to bring about their reformation in another state of being. This is to be hereafter considered. In a general view we may no more complain of the world's depravity than of its physical disorders, and so we understand our great poet:

> "If plagues or earthquakes break not Heaven's design,
> Why then a Borgia or a Cataline?
> Who knows but He, whose hand the lightning forms,
> Who heaves old ocean, and who brings the storms,
> Pours fierce ambition in a Cesar's mind,
> Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind? . . .
> Better for us, perhaps, it might appear
> Were there all harmony, all virtue here;
> That never air or ocean felt the wind,
> That never passion discomposed the mind:
> But all subsists by elemental strife,
> And passions are the elements of life."
>
> *Essay on Man.*

ATONEMENT.

Leaving the subject of depravity, which has been abundantly discussed in previous articles of this Review,* we pass to that of the atonement. The author's theory has already been mentioned. It is distinguished from and defended against three different theories which have largely obtained, and for a long time, in the Christian world: the Patristic theory, the Scholastic, and the Modern. The latter he styles the New England theory, but it is substantially that of several non-Calvinistic and transatlantic writers. On this subject Mr. Beecher lays out his greatest strength, and though we may not adopt his theory, we concede his unrivaled ability in maintain-

* See Harmony of Moral Philosophy and Theology, *Meth. Quart.*, 1855.

ing it, and acknowledge his great candor in debate. We must add, also, that if the piety which he every-where manifests were the exclusive offspring of his theory of redemption it would go very far to prove its divine origin, and would certainly prove that no particular theory of atonement is essential to salvation.

The substance of the ancient theory is, that the human race by original sin had made themselves the servants of Satan, and being doomed to die in consequence, they were taken after death into Hades, a subterranean region, and made his captives and slaves. To redeem mankind from this deplorable condition God offered to Satan a ransom in the person of his Son Jesus Christ. This offer was accepted, and Jesus came into the world, and was subjected to Satan's temptations, and finally put to death. He then descended into Hades and claimed the ransomed captives, and suddenly displaying his divine attributes, before artfully concealed from Satan, he overwhelmed the opposition which Satan began to make to the fulfillment of the contract, and rescued the captives, and ascended with them to paradise.

This theory he traces as far back as Clement of Rome, in the first century. "The sole cause of the Lord's descent into Hades," says Clement, "was to preach the Gospel." Irenæus in the second century writes: "The law burdened sinful man by showing him to be the debtor of death, and in order to his release Satan must be justly conquered. . . . His suffering was the means of awakening his sleeping disciples, on whose account he descended into the lower part of the earth." Tertullian, Justin Martyr, and Origen are quoted for similar testimony. Modern authors are quoted, attesting this to be the doctrine of the early Church, as Huidekoper, Neander, Knapp, Hagenbach, Bauer, and Schaff. The latter remarks: "The negative part of the doctrine, the subjection of the devil, the prince of the kingdom of sin and death, was naturally most dwelt upon in the Patristic period. This theory continued current until the satisfaction theory of Anselm gave a new turn to the development of the dogma."

After commenting justly and apologetically upon the element of deception as to Christ's divine nature, which the early Christian ages admitted into their theory, Mr. Beecher re-

marks, "There was something fascinating to the imagination in it that completely dominated over that rude and iron age. It awoke all their love of the marvelous, all their sense of the sublime, all their pity, horror, and shuddering sympathy. That Jesus, a helpless man, alone dared to meet the wrath of demons dire, treading that downward path from which the angels shrank; that in the heart of the infernal dungeon he met the enemy, and engaged in personal conflict with him and all his legions; that he defeated them, and with infinite strength broke the adamantine gates, and crushed the eternal barriers; these ideas thrilled their whole being through and through, and woke toward Jesus their highest adoration and love."

Mr. Beecher thinks that this theory had an element of truth in it in the respect it had to Satan, so far as authorized by such passages as these: "And I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Gen. iii, 15. "That through death he might destroy him that had the power of death, that is, the devil." Heb. ii, 14. "He that committeth sin is of the devil; for the devil sinneth from the beginning. For this purpose the Son of God was manifested, that he might destroy the works of the devil." 1 John iii, 8. He concludes that no theory of the atonement can be accepted which ignores these passages.

SCHOLASTIC THEORY.

He now comes to the Scholastic theory, which was elaborated by Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, near the close of the eleventh century, and very rapidly supplanted that which had obtained for over a thousand years.

> This theory may be reduced to the two main propositions. . . .
> 1. Sin is so intrinsically deserving of punishment that the non-execution of penalty in a single instance would be a crime in divine administration.
> 2. God does in fact execute the penalty of the law upon the sinner's substitute.

To show that these propositions are maintained by theologians he quotes in support of the first from Turretin, Dr. Hodge of Princeton, Professor Shedd of Andover, Bradbury,

Bellamy, and the celebrated Baptist preacher, Mr. Spurgeon; and in behalf of the second proposition he cites from Calvin, Luther, Bourdaloue, Barrow, the Westminster Assembly, President Edwards, the late Dr. Spencer of Brooklyn, Dr. Spring of New York, Spurgeon, Dr. Hodge, and Professor Shedd. All these in various forms of speech, florid and plain, simple and elaborate, calm and enthusiastic, clear as a mathematical statement, and glowing with eloquence like a prophet's word, all declare with one voice that divine justice can only be satisfied by a plenary execution of the penalty of the law upon the sinner or upon his substitute.

Either, then, the sinner, however penitent, must bear his penalty, or some one must bear it for him. To this end Infinite Wisdom discovers a way. He gives his own Son. Christ consents. Upon him, as the sinner's surety, God executes full punishment—a punishment sometimes identical with, sometimes only equivalent to, that due to the transgressor. At the same time, Christ's perfect obedience is imputed to the believer, he is freed from penalty, and endowed with full title to heavenly felicity.

"This theory," he adds, "is by no means obsolete."

In New England, indeed, it is seldom heard. A few ministers still cling to it; but though obsolete in New England, it is dominant throughout evangelical Christendom, except where the new divinity has penetrated. All the creeds and formulas of the Reformation have it—all the Protestant Churches of the old world. And it yet stands uncondemned in the creeds of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, both Old School and New. The difference is, in the Old School it is believed and taught, and in the new it is supplanted by a new theory, hereafter to be considered.

The first prominent opponent of this theory was Socinus, in the sixteenth century. He contended that the satisfaction of justice by proxy is impossible in the nature of things, and if it were practicable there would be no grace in forgiveness. Says Mr. Beecher:

Grotius, of the seventeenth century, attempting to defend the doctrine, in reality gave up its fundamental principle, and in a measure anticipated the New England theory, though he did not fully elaborate and defend it. His defense, therefore, availed nothing, and produced little effect. Men continued either to hold the Scholastic doctrine or become Socinians. It was not till after President Edwards's day that the new theory, of which the germs were found in Grotius, was fully elaborated and enabled to take

the place of the old, so that a man might reject it without falling into Socinianism.

In addition to the objections of Socinus, the New England divines have asserted that the satisfaction theory leads either to a limited atonement or to Universalism, and Mr. Beecher urges still other objections.

Here opens an exciting view of the controversy which for three quarters of a century has been going on between the advocates and opponents of the old theory, the Old School and the New School. The younger Edwards, Emmons, Smalley, Griffin, Fiske, Cox, Beman, Burge, Albert Barnes, Professor Park are seen arrayed on the side of the new theory, backed up in their opposition to the old doctrine, though not in support of the substitute by distinguished Unitarian and Universalist writers.

"How plain it is," says Dr. Channing, "that, according to this doctrine, God never forgives, for it seems absurd to speak of men as forgiven, when their whole punishment, or an equivalent to it, is borne by a substitute."

THE NEW ENGLAND THEORY.

This is founded on such texts as Romans iii, 23–26: "For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God; being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God; to declare, I say, at this time his righteousness: that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus."

The atonement is not to appease the vengeance of the Father, or to satisfy his justice and procure his favor for sinners by the substitution of Christ to endure the penalty of the law, or an equivalent to it, in the stead of sinners, but to give scope for the safe exercise of mercy and pardon by displaying God's regard for justice and righteousness in the sufferings of his Son, whereby, while the penalty of law is remitted to the penitent, it is done so as not to disparage the justice of the law or detract from its authority.

"The cross was set up," says our author, interpreting this

theory, "to convince the intelligent universe of the spotless righteousness of God in the final issues of punishment and of pardon. Hence, contrasting the two—the Scholastic and the New England views—we may say concisely, In the one the cross was a punishment, in the other it is an argument." But he prefers to employ in exposition of the new theory the very words of its leading advocates. "That is done," says the younger Edwards, "by the death of Christ, which supports the authority of the law, and renders it consistent with the glory of God and the good of the whole system to pardon the sinner." "That the forgiveness of sinners may not bring," says Smalley, "the eternal law of righteousness into disregard and contempt. . . . The letter of law may be deviated from, and yet the spirit of it be supported and the design of it fully obtained." He then illustrates by the familiar example of Zeleucus, king of the Locrians, who gave up one of his own eyes to save his guilty son from the penalty of total blindness by the loss of both eyes. "Thus," says Dr. Emmons, "God made it manifest that he feels the same hatred of sin and disposition to punish it when he forgives as when he punishes sinners." "The atonement," says Dr. Griffin, "was plainly an expedient of a moral government to support the moral law, . . . an operation upon public law for the benefit of the universe. Nothing could have the least influence to satisfy him but that operation upon public law." Mr. Barnes remarks that "the sufferings endured by the Redeemer in the place of the sinner are fitted to make a deeper impression in the universe at large than would be produced by the punishment of the sinner himself."

This theory is shown by our author to be very different from the Socinian theory, though agreeing with it in the assumption that forgiveness of sins is the absolute prerogative of God. "When the Socinian says that forgiveness is right, and needs not to be made right, New England divines are not afraid to agree with him. Truth must be acknowledged by whomsoever spoken. But when the Socinian says that forgiveness was also safe and consistent, so that no incarnation and death of the Eternal Word was necessary, then we draw the line and stand in irreconcilable opposition."

The objections to the New England theory are very fairly

stated by our author, and refuted also, so far as they are unsound; but he urges his own objections to the theory as a whole, not to that part which makes the object of the death of Christ to display God's righteousness, which he indorses, but to that part which makes the death of Christ to be an infliction of pain and death instead of the sinner's endurance of the whole penalty of the law. The ordinary objections are, 1, that this theory denies that sin deserves punishment for its own sake, as well as for the prevention of crime. 2. Some say that the will of God makes right, and therefore to will the free forgiveness of sins displays his righteousness as much as the gift of his Son to die for sinners. 3. Some say that they do not see how the death of Christ exhibits the justice of God, or the sanctity and authority of the law, if the death of a proxy be not a requisition of justice, nor an exact equivalent to the penalty of the law.

"This objection was urged by Dr. Hodge in a review of a little treatise on the Atonement by Dr. Beman twenty or twenty-five years ago; but in vain have I searched the writings of the other side for a reply. Hence it behooves us to weigh the matter well. As candid men we must allow to every argument all its real weight. Let us then ask, Does the infliction of sufferings on Christ, which is yet not punishment nor the penalty of the law, show God's determination to punish? Does it show respect for the law, or does it, as Dr. Baird affirms, "constitute a signal proclamation of the dethroning of the law, and the prostration of its honor in the dust?"

The answer is, The divine Being submitting to any suffering out of respect to his law, must honor it infinitely. But then, he says, why do you assert, some of you, that God cannot suffer, but is absolutely impassible. But as Mr. Beecher, in a chapter full of eloquence and pathos, admits that God can suffer, he here adds: "Would it show respect for law unless that very evil were necessary by the law?" Yes, in the same way in which Zeleucus, giving up one of his eyes, which the law did not require, gave great honor to the law. But Zeleucus, he thinks, did not honor his law, he degraded it, and for personal and selfish considerations. What a contrast was his fatherly weakness to the noble justice of Louis XVth, who refused on any terms to pardon his son for the crime of murder in

the streets of Paris. "I will not spare my son for a crime for which I would condemn my meanest subject."

In this style Mr. Beecher disposes of the New England theory. Retaining that part of it which makes the death of Christ a display of God's righteousness, he combines it with an element of the Patristic theory respecting the overthrow of Satan, and lays it at the foundation of his own theory. Christ lives and dies to resist and to expose the malice of Satan, and to make manifest the justice of God in casting him down from his heavenly throne and delivering those whom he had seduced and devoted to destruction.

Reviewing this discussion, it seems to us that although Mr. Beecher has aimed to do justice to all parties in controversy in stating their opinions and making quotations from their writings, he will scarcely obtain their approbation of his digest of their principles and arguments. It is certain that we could not indorse either the Scholastic or the Nova-Anglian theory as he has presented them. The latter, however, is nearest the true definition of atonement, but it is not a complete view without taking something from the other side. We should prefer the following view of the atonement:

That it is the satisfaction made by the death of Christ to divine justice, whereby the divine Lawgiver is disposed to forgive sinners on suitable application to him on their part; because this transaction so manifests his righteousness, and the sacredness and importance of his law, that it is, in effect, a full equivalent in the preservation of moral order to the execution of the penalty of the law upon the guilty.

This definition shows in what sense the vicarious death of Christ is a satisfaction to the justice of God: it is not a legal or a commercial satisfaction, but a judicial satisfaction; not the endurance of the same penalty as sinners deserved, or an equal penalty, but what in him as their mediator is fitted to have as good influence in the divine administration. It is grace which accepts this instead of the punishment of the sinner or legal satisfaction. The objections which have been urged by the parties in the discussion against each other's theory do not lie against this, and it harmonizes with all the texts which have been quoted on either side. As to those passages respecting the devil which Mr. Beecher and the medieval theologians make

so much of, they are important as showing the occasion of the exercise of divine mercy toward man instead of toward fallen angels; for man was seduced from his allegiance to God by the malicious arts of Satan, who is still seeking their destruction, whereas the angels fell without a tempter and of their own accord; and this also gives the Divine reason for undertaking the redemption of mankind in the only way possible, by the subjection of his only-begotten Son to death in their stead; thus counteracting the vile malignity of the apostate angel toward beings who had not injured him, by the self-sacrificing compassion of God's adorable Son.

PUNISHMENT.

It remains to consider the nature of the penalty which is attached to sin in the law. Theologians seem not to be conscious that it is here the real difficulty lies in the vindication of the Divine government. We can reconcile with our ideas of the justice and goodness of God the origin of sin, the depravity of our fallen race, and the atonement, on the supposition that accountable beings are not, in the trial of their virtue, put to the risk of too great consequences in case of failure. The plea that they are free, and if they know their doom, whatever it may be, they are to blame for incurring it, is not satisfactory. They should not be allowed to take such responsibility. Besides, the guilty are not the only ones affected by their doom; their friends, the angels of God, all sympathetic creatures, and God himself, are concerned in their sufferings. Yet on this superficial plea theologians have, to alarm the wicked, piled up horror upon horror, lasting unrespited through eternal ages, not considering in what an odious light it places the character of the Creator, nor whether such exaggerations are not likely to stagger all faith in revelation. Indeed, most of the infidelity of Christendom can be traced to the revulsion which kind and considerate minds have experienced on this subject. It is time for the Christian world to wake up to the effect of such dogmas if they would not have evangelical religion completely wrecked upon these sand-bars. It is not our purpose to define the scriptural doctrine of future punishment; perhaps in its nature, if not in its duration, it is left in obscurity and mystery. Our point is, that it behooves us not to accept any doc-

trine which reflects upon the Divine justice and goodness. This is indeed the very first principle of correct interpretation. The following schemes for eternal punishment are now pressed upon our attention:

1. Mr. Beecher's view of the doom of sinners is, that it depends for its continuance upon the continued impenitence of the condemned. At any moment when they will submit to God and ask for mercy they will receive it; but then he believes that they never will submit. This is the view taken by the author of Ecce Deus, (and by Bledsoe in his Theodicy,) who displays equal ability with our author in treating of this perplexing topic, subject, however, to one drawback in respect to his absurd and almost blasphemous remarks upon the impossibility of the Almighty's annihilating moral beings.

2. There is the doctrine of Dr. Bushnell, that sinners receive a certain measure of sorrow at their doom; but their being may grow less and less without ever reaching a complete extinction, as the asymptote of a circle is a line so projected as to be always approaching the circle without ever touching it.

3. The doctrine that the penalty-state is exile from heaven forever, in a depraved character and under eternal despair of any improvement, but not increasing in sin or in misery by any proclivity derived from a state of probation, but subject to such alternations as may arise from keeping or breaking the rules of prison discipline.

4. The opinion that by the law of habit sinners will grow more and more wicked, and consequently more and more miserable forever.

5. The doctrine that in addition to the pangs of a guilty conscience and disappointment of heaven the wicked will be positively and ceaselessly tormented by burning unconsumed in actual fire, or its equivalent in the power to torture.

6. The doctrine that fire is but the symbol of swift and painful destruction, and that the eternal doom of the wicked is literal death at the day of judgment; that is, the extinction of consciousness and all capacity of thinking, or feeling, or acting. This ends, of course, the terrible scene of sin and suffering by the destruction of the subject.

7. The human soul is material or inseparable from the body —and perishes with the body at death; a destiny which will be reversed only in the case of the righteous by resurrection at the final coming of Christ.

8. The resurrection of the wicked at the last day to receive a public judgment and the doom of utter annihilation.

9. Transformation, or moral death, by the elimination of the moral attributes of wicked men and the oblivion of memory; the abuse of man's moral capacity ending in its destruction, and degrading him, like Nebuchadnezzar, to the level of the beasts of the field.

All these theories agree as to the eternal loss of heaven as being the main element in the doom of the lost. To the inquiring mind, reconsidering the question *de novo*, the problem would be to determine which theory is most agreeable to the Scriptures and to rational considerations, and especially the justice and wisdom of God and the moral order and peace of the universe. With some of them a rational vindication of the divine government is easy; but with others no theodicy is possible, whatever views may be taken of the origin of sin, of depravity, and probation.*

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

GREAT BRITAIN.

Progress of the Ritualistic Controversy—Second Report of the Ritualistic Commission—Important Decision of the English Courts condemning several Ritualistic Practices—The Ritualists in Council—Prominent Ritualists in favor of Separation between Church and State.—During the last months of the year 1868, and in the first of the year 1869, the Ritualistic controversy has assumed in England greater dimensions than it has had at any former period of the history of the Anglican Church. The Royal Commission on Ritualism which was appointed in 1867, and counts among its members many of the most prominent members of the Church, issued its second report to the Queen. The committee have no intention to settle any principle, but to regulate some details in accordance with established law. The Report, in particular, refers to the use of candles and incense. In their opinion no sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove that at any time during the last three centuries have lighted candles been used in parish churches as accessories to the celebration of the Holy Communion until within the last twenty-five years. The use of incense, too, in the public services of the Church during the present century is very recent, and

* Our respected correspondent is of course competent to be solely responsible for his individual opinions.—Ed.

the instances of its introduction very rare; and, so far as the Commissioners have any evidence before them, it is at variance with the Church's usage for three hundred years. They are, therefore, of opinion that it is inexpedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usage in respect to lighted candles and incense.

The remedy which the Commissioners suggest should be provided for parishioners aggrieved by the introduction of incense and candles is as follows:

First, that whensoever it shall be found necessary that order be taken concerning the same, the usage of the Church of England and Ireland, as above stated to have prevailed for the last three hundred years, shall be deemed to be the rule of the Church in respect of vestments, lights, and incense; and, secondly, that parishioners may make formal application to the Bishop *in camera*, and the Bishop, on such application, shall be bound to inquire into the matter of the complaint; and if it shall thereby appear that there has been a variation from established usage, by the introduction of vestments, lights, or incense in the public services of the Church, he shall take order forthwith for the discontinuance of such variation, and be enabled to enforce the same summarily.

The Commissioners also think that the determination of the Bishop on such application should be subject to appeal to the Archbishop of the province *in camera*, whose decision thereon shall be final; provided always, that if it should appear to either party that the decision of the Bishop or Archbishop is open to question on any legal ground, a case may be stated by the party dissatisfied, to be certified by the Bishop or Archbishop as correct, and then submitted by the said party for the decision of the Court of the Archbishop without pleading or evidence, with a right of appeal to the Privy Council, and with power for the Court, if the statement of the case should appear to be in any way defective, to refer back such case to the Bishop or Archbishop for amendment.

The Commissioners intimated that their intention, in making these recommendations, was simply to provide a special facility for restraining variations from established usage without interfering with the general law of the Church as to ornaments, or the ordinary remedies now in force.

As this report only contained recommendations, it has no practical influence upon the controversy. Of much greater importance was a decision of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in the celebrated case of Martin *vs.* Mackonochie. The Rev. Mr. Mackonochie has been for years one of the boldest of the Ritualistic innovators, and he was therefore selected by the new Low Church Society, the *Church Association*, to test in his case before the highest court of the land the lawfulness of some of the most startling innovations. Mr. Mackonochie was originally charged: 1. With elevating the elements during the prayer of consecration. 2. With kneeling before them during the same prayer. 3. With using lighted candles on the communion-table during the celebration of the holy communion when they were not required for the purpose of giving light. 4. With using incense in the same service. 5. With mixing water with the wine.

The elevation Mr. Mackonochie discontinued before the suit commenced, and he was admonished not to resume it. A judgment of the Court of Arches had condemned the use of incense and of water. It admitted, however, the lawfulness of lighted candles, and considered the kneeling a minor point of order, which, if raised at all, should be referred to the discretion of the Bishop. This decision with regard to candles and to kneeling was reversed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, which ruled that kneeling during the prayer of consecration is contrary to the rubric, and that lighted candles are not admissible. While giving its decision on this particular case, the Court also gave its opinion on several important general principles. With respect to the kneeling, the Court observe that the posture of the officiating minister is prescribed by various directions throughout the communion service. He is directed when to stand and when to change this posture for that of kneeling. But it is expressly ordered that the prayer of consecration is to be said by the priest "standing before the table," and there is no indication that he is intended to change his posture during the prayer. To the objection made by the defense, that this was one of those minute details which the rubric could not be held to cover, the Court made the important answer that it is not for any minister of the Church, or even for themselves, to assume that any departure from or violation of

the rubric is trivial. The use of lighted candles raised a question of even greater significance and importance. The Ritualists claimed to be justified in adopting any practice which the Prayer Book does not especially condemn, and in retaining as lawful whatever is not expressly abolished. They appealed to certain injunctions in the first year of Edward VI, and their counsel even went back to the time before the Reformation, and quoted a constitution made by a Roman Catholic Council held under the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1322. The Court dismissed those references as irrelevant, and laid it down, in direct opposition to the principle of the Ritualists, that all ceremonies are abolished which are not expressly retained in the Prayer Book. This they regard as being placed beyond doubt by Elizabeth's Act of Uniformity, now applicable to the present Prayer Book, which prohibits any rite, ceremony, order, or form which is not mentioned in the Prayer Book, and declares void all prior usages and ordinances. The opening rubric, again, orders that "such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by authority of Parliament, in the second year of King Edward VI." The Ritualists have argued from this, that whatever was lawful in the designated year of Edward VI is lawful now. The Court, however, now distinctly explain that those things only possess the authority of Parliament which are expressly in the named Prayer Book referred to. It is nothing to the point, that the candles were lawful at the time when the Prayer Book was issued. They are not prescribed in it, and they are, therefore, abolished.

The judgment was delivered on the 23d of December. The formal order announcing the judgment was issued by the Queen in Council on the 14th of January, promulgated in the official *London Gazette* of January 15, and is now the law of the land, as fully binding upon the clergy as any act on the statute book.

All the parties in the Church of England were agreed that the judgment was a heavy blow to the Ritualists. The whole of the Ritualistic party denounced the judgment as an act of gross injustice. Dr. Pusey, in a letter to the London *Times*, complained that the Judicial Committee had not interpreted the rubric, as to kneeling at the holy communion, grammatically, and that there was good reason for accusing the highest court of appeal of "playing fast and loose:" "loose" whenever it is the question of allowing any matter of faith to be disbelieved; "fast" when it is the question of not allowing any thing to be believed which popular prejudice disbelieves.

The Ritualists were not agreed as to the course to be pursued in consequence of this judgment of the Privy Council. Some were in favor of obeying the law of the land, and found some consolation in the fact that the judgment did not directly assail articles of faith. A large meeting of clergy and laity belonging to the Ritualist party was held on January 12, in London, to agree upon a plan of action. Archdeacon Denison presided, and an elaborate report, drawn up by a Committee appointed at a preparatory meeting, was read, concluding with certain resolutions which appeared by the Committee to be required. On these a long discussion took place, the Hon. C. Lindley Wood, the Rev. T. W. Perry, and others, counseling submission to the law of the land under protest; while the Rev. W. J. Bennett of Frome, the Rev. C. J. Le Geyt of St. Matthias, Stoke Newington, and others, opposed this course, and supported an amendment which was worded as follows: "Therefore this meeting is unable to reconcile submission to the present decree with its paramount and primary duty of obedience to the Church, and can only wait in patience the providence of God." Ultimately a resolution was passed declaring that the meeting did not consider the existing Court of Final Appeal "qualified to declare the law of the Church of England upon either doctrine or ceremonial;" but with respect to the particular judgment of the Court in Mr. Mackonochie's case, the meeting, "feeling the great difficulty of the present case, thinks there are many reasons why those who have used the ceremonials or practices now condemned by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council may be anxious to wait rather than to give immediate effect to the decision so pronounced, and considers it is a matter best left to the individual judgment and circumstances of each priest who has been accustomed to use the ceremonials in question." A resolution was also adopted declaring the condemnation of Mr. Mackonochie in the costs of the case to be "a course of un-

usual and exceptional severity." On the 13th of January another meeting of Ritualists was held, composed almost exclusively of those who are in favor of continuing the altar lights and other practices condemned by the Judicial Committee of Privy Council. A long and very earnest conversation took place, in which Mr. Bennett, Mr. Orby Shipley, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Lowder, and other gentlemen joined. It was generally admitted that it would be very unwise to bind the clergy as a body to any particular course, inasmuch as circumstances differed in various parishes, and some might feel it to be their duty explicitly to obey the law of the Church on those points where it differed from the law of the land as recently expounded by the High Court of Appeals. Several clergymen had determined to continue the lights, at all events until they would receive a monition from a spiritual authority. The question of the prosecution of Mr. Bennett on doctrinal matters was alluded to, and it was generally admitted that, in the event of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council decreeing that the Real Presence in the Eucharist is antagonistic to the doctrines of the Church of England, *the High Church party must, as a body, secede.*

The future developments of the Ritualistic controversy cannot fail to be of great importance. The party is strong and numerous, and while many are willing to submit for the present to laws which prohibit the outward exhibition of their religious belief, they hope that their party will in the course of time succeed in changing those laws. Some, as has already been stated, even admit that they may soon be compelled to leave the Church of England and establish an independent Anglican Church. Much larger is the number of those who are favorable to a separation between Church and State, as they believe their prospects in a free Church to be much better than in a State Church. Dr. Pusey concludes his letter to the London *Times*, which has already been quoted, with the words: "If the union of Church and State involves this ultimate laxity and more than rigidness in the construction of our formularies, involving the denial of true doctrine and the prohibition of practice which represents doctrine, it certainly will be the earnest desire and prayer of Churchmen that the precedent now being set as to the Irish Establishment may be speedily followed as to the English." And Dr. Mackonochie, in his letter to the London *Times*, says: "Let the State send forth the Church roofless and penniless, but free, and I will say, 'Thank you.'"

In British America the Ritualists are in a decided minority. The Provincial Synod, which met at Montreal, adopted a resolution prohibiting the elevation of the elements, the use of incense, the mixing of water with wine, the use of the wafer-bread, of lights on the communion table, and the wearing of vestments while saying prayers.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

REVIEW OF THE MOHAMMEDAN WORLD—STATISTICS OF MOHAMMEDANISM IN EUROPE, ASIA, AND AFRICA—IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS MOVEMENTS—THE BABIS IN PERSIA—THE WAHABEES IN ARABIA AND INDIA.—While the Christian nations, viewed as a whole, have for many centuries made steady progress, and now rule the whole of America and Australia, nearly the whole of Europe, the larger portion of Asia, and a considerable portion of Africa, the Mohammedan world has been in a condition of progressing decay ever since the advance of the Turks in Europe was stopped at the close of the fifteenth century. A number of Mohammedan States have since been completely wrecked. No new State has arisen that in any way could be compared with the great empires which, during the Middle Ages, reduced the territory of Christendom. Among the few independent States that are left, there is none that can claim a rank among the great powers of the world. Of the internal condition of the Mohammedan countries but little is generally known among Christians. Of late, however, a number of events and movements have attracted greater attention, and a brief review of the present condition and recent history of Mohammedanism may, therefore, be of interest.

By far the largest and most prominent of Mohammedan countries is still the Turkish Empire. On the religious statistics of the empire, a work published by a high Turkish official in 1867, on occasion of the Paris Exhibition, (*La Turquie à l'Exposition Universelle de* 1867: par S. Exc. Salaheddin Bey,) gives the following figures:

Religion and Race.	Europe.	Asia.	Africa.	Total.	Per Cent. of Pop'n
MOHAMMEDANS:					
Osmani	4,492,000	10,700,000	.....	15,192,000	38·
Arabs, Moors, etc	.....	900,000	5,050,000	5,950,000	14·88
Syrians, Chaldeans, etc	.....	75,000	.....	75,000	·18
Druses	.....	30,000	.....	30,000	·07
Kurds	.....	1,000,000	.....	1,000,000	2·50
Tartars	16,000	20,000	.....	36,000	·09
Turcomanni	.....	85,000	.....	85,000	·21
Albanians	1,000,000	.....	.....	1,000,000	2·50
Circassians	595,000	413,000	.....	1,008,000	2·52
Total Mohammedans	6,103,000	13,223,000	5,050,000	24,376,000	60·95
CHRISTIANS:					
Syrians, Chaldees	.....	160,000	.....	160,000	·40
Albanians	500,000	.....	.....	500,000	1·25
Slavi	6,200,000	.....	.....	6,200,000	15·50
Roumanians	4,000,000	.....	.....	4,000,000	10·
Armenians	400,000	2,000,000	.....	2,400,000	6·
Greeks	1,000,000	1,000,000	.....	2,000,000	5·
Total Christians	12,100,000	3,160,000	.....	15,260,000	38·15
Israelites	70,000	80,000	.....	150,000	·37
Gipsies	214,000	.....	.....	214,000	·53
	18,487,000	16,463,000	5,050,000	40,000,000	100.

Other Turkish authorities claim only a population of about 21,000,000 as Mohammedans, and this is the number generally assumed by the best Christian statisticians. Embraced in the population set down as Mohammedans are several sects, as the Druses, the Ansarians, and the Ismaelians, which in many points differ from the large divisions of Mohammedans, and should rather be classed as entirely different religions. This is especially the case with the Druses. The Turks belong to that division of Mohammedans who are called Sunnites. The Sultan is regarded as the head of the religion, and at least as the chief protector of all the Sunnites who live outside of Turkey. Until recently Turkey was as much an ecclesiastical State as the Papal territory; the Koran constituted the code of law and charter of rights, as well as the religious guide of the followers of Mohammed, and there was the closest connection between the ministers of religion and the professors and interpreters of the law. Both together formed the class of "Ulema," governed by the "Sheik-ul-Islam," the former being called "Mollahs," and the latter "Muftis." But of late the Mohammedan character of the Turkish Empire has been considerably modified. Christians have, of late, been appointed to many of the highest offices. In 1868 a Christian, Daud Pasha, was appointed Minister of Commerce, and a Council of State was organized, consisting of fifty members, a large number of whom are Christians. As will be seen from the above table, the Mohammedans are largely in a minority in the European provinces of the Empire, some of which, Servia, Montenegro, and Roumania, together with a population of 6,000,000, are semi-independent, possessing their own independent administration, and only paying to the Sultan an annual tribute. They have no Mohammedan population whatever. The other Christian provinces are aspiring to the same degree of independence, and the central government finds it necessary to make them concessions and grant them provincial institutions.

The possessions in Africa comprise Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, all of which have independent governments which only pay an annual tribute to the Sultan. No important religious movements have of late taken place among the Mohammedans of Turkey. The intercourse with Christian nations begins to exercise a considerable influence upon both Church and school.

Next to Turkey, the most important Mohammedan country in the world is Persia. Its total population is estimated at from five to nine millions, that of the non-Mohammedans at from 75,000 to 330,000. The Mohammedans are mostly of the sect called Shiites or Sheahs, differing to some extent in religious doc-

trine and more in historical belief from the Sunnites of the Turkish Empire. The Sunnites of Persia, who live especially in Kurdistan, between the Persian Gulf and the Caspian Sea, number altogether about 1,500,000 souls.

The Persian priesthood consists of many orders, the chief of them at the present time being that of Mooshtehed, of whom there are but five in number in the whole country. Next in rank to the Mooshtehed is the Sheik-ul-Islam, or ruler of the faith, of whom there is one in every large town, nominated by and receiving his salary from the Government. Under these dignitaries there are three classes of ministers of religion, the Mooturelle, one for each mosque or place of pilgrimage; the Muezzin, or sayer of prayers; and the Mollah, or conductor of rites.

Persia is the seat of one of the few great movements which have shaken the Mohammedan world during the present century, the sect of the Babis. The first full account of this sect was given in a work by Count Gobineau, formerly French embassador in Persia, (*Les Religions et les Philosophies l'Asie Centrale.* Paris, 1866,) from which the full statement of their doctrines and history in M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia has been derived. The sect originated in 1843, and spread with great rapidity. It teaches the unity and immortality of the Godhead; declares that all things are emanations from God, and in the day judgment will be reabsorbed in him. Bab, the founder, interdicted polygamy and concubinage, forbade or greatly restricted divorce, and abolished the use of the vail. Cruelly persecuted by the Persian Government, they risked after the death of the Shah, in 1848, an armed resistance. They were conquered, and the Government endeavored to exterminate the sect. All members that were known to the Government, including the Bab himself, were put to death. But a new Bab was elected and established himself at Bagdad, in Asiatic Turkey, and was thus safe from interference, but at the same time in constant communication with the vast number of Persian pilgrims who pass through that city yearly, among whom he is continually winning converts, who in turn teach the new doctrine at home. In 1866 the Bab was urged by several Persian exiles to take advantage of the disorganized condition of the empire and attempt a revolution. He replied that the time had not yet come.

The other wholly Mohammedan countries of Asia are Arabia, with 4,000,000; Afghanistan, with 4,000,000; Beloochistan, with 2,000,000; Toorkistan, or Independent Tartary, with 7,870,000. Java has among its 14,500,000 inhabitants about 12,000,000 Mohammedans. In India there are about 18,000,000. In China Mohammedans are numerous in the northwestern provinces. Russia has 2,090,000 Mohammedan inhabitants in its European provinces, 2,000 in Poland, 1,970,000 in the Caucasus, 1,600,000 in Siberia: altogether, 5,662,000.

The total Mohammedan population in Europe may be estimated at 8,000,000; and in Asia at from 75 to 80,000,000. In Europe it is steadily losing ground, while in Asia, while its power and influence are on the decrease, its territory has for a long time neither increased nor decreased. In Africa, Mohammedanism is the established religion in the Turkish dependencies, Egypt, Tripoli, and Tunis, which have already been referred to. It also prevails in Marocco and in Algeria. From the north and east it has penetrated into the interior, where it is said to be still steadily gaining ground among the Pagan tribes.

Christianity as yet has made but little progress among the Mohammedans, and the number of converts, both to any of the Protestant Churches or to Roman Catholicism, are few. The only serious inroad upon the territory of Mohammedanism that has been made during the present century was made by the Bâbis referred to above. Of the recent movements within the borders of Mohammedanism, by far the most important is the progress made by the sect of the Wahabees. This sect is of recent origin; their founder, Wahab, having been born about the close of the seventeenth century. Their original seat was Arabia, where they tried to restore a primitive and vigorous Mohammedanism in the place of the decay which had spread throughout the country. Early in the present century they became dangerous to the holy cities of Mecca and Medina; for, regarding both the Turks and Persians as idolatrous, they prevented the caravans of these countries from reaching the two cities. The Mohammedans of Turkey and Persia became greatly excited at this, and the Sultan of Constantinople, as the natural protector of

Mohammedanism, deemed it his duty to crush the daring heretics. The Pasha of Egypt, Mehemet Ali, was charged with this duty in 1804; but nothing was done against the Wahabees until 1811, and the object of the expedition was not accomplished until 1818. The chief of the sect was sent to Constantinople and beheaded. For some time little was heard of the Wahabees; but soon their power was again felt, and when Palgrave, in 1863, and Colonel Pelly, in 1865, visited Central Arabia, they found a powerful Wahabee empire in existence, threatening to swallow up the whole peninsula. Still the isolation of Arabia from the Christian world is so great that but little was known about their movements. In the latter part of 1868 the important news was received that the Imanm, or spiritual ruler of Muscat, had been dethroned, and the chief of the Wahabees had succeeded him. Muscat is the most powerful of all the Arab States, extending to about 176,000 square miles, and containing some 2,500,000 inhabitants. The city of Muscat is the key to the Persian Gulf, and a most important center of trade, where the productions of Europe, Africa, and the East are exchanged. Its population is already 60,000, and is increasing with great rapidity. The possession of the city and the empire of Muscat gives to the Wahabees the whole of Central and Eastern Arabia, and as they are no less hostile to the Turkish and Persian Mohammedans than to the Christians, it cannot fail that before long they will come into collision with the neighboring countries.

The same sect has for many years been causing considerable trouble in British India. An outbreak which they attempted in 1868 was promptly put down; but at the close of the year the Government received information of a Mussulman conspiracy, "having its ramifications spread over Bengal north and east of the Ganges." According to the "Friend of India," all classes were taking an active interest in the attempt to bring about the re-establishment of a Mussulman empire. "For years they have been contributing their means for this purpose. A regular rate of taxation is laid down by the leaders, and cheerfully accepted by the people." The "Friend" enters into detailed statements of the method of taxation, and discloses circumstances which fill the English authorities in India with disquietude. It is promised by the preachers of the coming "Jehad," that the land-tax shall be lifted from the Mussulman and imposed only on the Hindoo. Consequently the peasantry sympathize with the plot to a man. At all events it seems to be certain that in the history of Mohammedanism during the nineteenth century the movements of the Wahabees will occupy a prominent place.

Art. VIII.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian Review, January, 1869. (New York.)—1. Dr. Asa Burton's Theological System. 2. The true Character of the Adopting Act. 3. The Union Question in Scotland. 4. The Scholar of To-day. 5. Dr. Baird's History of the New School. 6. The Canon Muratorianus. 7. The Interpretation of Bible Word-Pictures. 8. Our Currency and Specie Payments. 9. Christian Anthropology. 10. Assyria and her Monuments. 11. The Theosophy of Franz Baader. 12. Lay Eldership.

Baptist Quarterly, January, 1869. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Education that we Need. 2. Difficulties of Infant Baptism. 3. Deacons and the Diaconate. 4. Suggestions for Expository Preaching. 5. Ritualism in the Church of England. 6. The Bible Doctrine of the Weekly Sabbath.

Bibliotheca Sacra, January, 1869. (Andover.)—1. The Origin of the first three Gospels. 2. Christian Baptism, Considered in Reference to the Act and the Subjects. 3. Revelation and Inspiration. 4. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 5. What Wine shall we use at the Lord's Supper? 6. Notes on Egyptology.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, January, 1869. (Cincinnati.)—1. Modern Preachers and Preaching. 2. The Fellowship. 3. An Infallible Church, or an Infallible Book—Which? 4. Religion and Science. 5. Indifference to Things Indifferent. 6. The Secret of Roman Catholic Success. 7. The Union of Christians—How can it be accomplished? 8. The Union Movement—What will come of it? 9. Bishop—Overseers.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, January, 1869. (Gettysburg.)—1. Foreign Missions. 2. Life and Labors of Oberlin. 3. Experience and Practice as Necessary in Religion as in Science. 4. Melchizedek. 5. The Conflict in the Church. 6. Codex Sinaiticus. 7. How shall we order our Worship? 8. The Reformation: Its Occasions and Cause. 9. The Evangelical Lutheran Church in the United States of America. 10. The Lutheran Doctrine of the Sabbath and the Lord's Day.

MERCERSBURGH REVIEW, January, 1869. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Church and the School. 2. The Angels. 3. The Relation of the Old Testament to the New. 4. The Christian Conception of History. 5. The Historical Element in Theology. 6. Origin and Structure of the Apostles' Creed.

NEW ENGLANDER, January, 1869. (New Haven.)—1. The System of Instruction at West Point: Can it be Employed in our Colleges? 2. How to Build a Nation. 3. The Renaissance in China. 4. The American Colleges and the American Public. 5. Professor Porter's Work on the Human Intellect. 6. The Presbyterian Disruption of 1838—A Review of Rev. Dr. S. J. Baird's History of the "New School."

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, January, 1869. (Boston.)—1. Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz. 2. The Mental Faculties of Brutes. 3. The Tariff of the United States: Shall it be Augmented or Diminished at the coming Session of Congress? 4. Sir Richard Steele. 5. The New Catalogue of Harvard College Library. 6. Railroad Inflation. 7. Karl Otto von Bismarck-Schonhausen. 8. The Revolution in England. 9. A Look Before and After.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, January, 1869. (Boston.)—1. Religion, Science, Education. 2. De Groot's Basilides. 3. John Murray. 4. Religious Duty. 5. The Power and Duty of Congress in Respect to Suffrage. 6. The Crusades. 7. What Constitutes a Christian? 8. The Ancient and Modern Greek Testaments Compared.

The "Universalist Quarterly" is not to be ranked in that class of literature which claims the Christian name in order to invalidate the truth of Christianity. It is reverent in its spirit, seeks to establish its doctrines by a legitimate exegesis of the sacred text, and rejoices in the accession of new evidence for the authenticity of the Gospels. An instance of this is the article on De Groot's Basilides.

That even heretics may be good for something appears from the remarkable fact that the earliest and, in some respects, strongest proof of the authenticity of our Gospels comes not from the catholic but from the heretical side. This arises partly from the fact that the heretical post evangelic writers on record happen to be earliest, and partly from their hostile position, by which their testimony possesses something of the force of an unwilling concession to the truth of the catholic canon. The discovery of the writings of Hippolytus, according to De Groot, revolutionizes in a great degree the form of the historical argument, and gives it a

new force by placing at the head of historical vouchers the name of the heretic BASILIDES.

Basilides is shown from Hippolytus, confirmed by other testimonies, to have lived earlier than has hitherto been claimed, his flourishing life extending from 97 A. D. to 138. He claimed to have been the personal pupil of the living Apostle Matthias. He must have been twenty-five or thirty-five years contemporary with the Apostle John. Yet this Basilides, it is said, quotes unequivocally passages from the Gospels of John and Luke and from Paul's Epistles to the Romans, first and second Corinthians, and Ephesians. The formulæ with which he makes his quotations are considered decisive that not only he, but the general Christian body for whom he wrote, held these books as canonical Scripture on the same basis with the Old Testament.

These facts, combined with the researches of Tischendorf, constitute, it is claimed, a noticeable epoch in the history of Christian evidences. Christian scholars have felt that just the period which Basilides covers is, from absence of documents, the weakest place in the series of historical proofs. There is not, indeed, quite a "missing link." The striking testimony of Justin Martyr bridges over the period. We have conclusive reason for believing that the lines of Christian Bishops, as well as the successions of all the leading Christian Churches, were the unquestionable conductors of a concurrent and faithful guardianship of the Christian documents on this silent period. Yet the evidence might be greatly strengthened, and a new corroboration of a very important character, though making but a slight figure in Paley, is now claimed in the testimony of the heretic Basilides.

Will some one of our leisurely students of German theology give us a full analysis of De Groot and Basilides?

PRINCETON REVIEW, January, 1869. (New York.)—1. Agassiz on Provinces of Creation, and the Unity of the Race. 2. Manual of the Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church. 3. Christian Work in Egypt. 4. A Method of Teaching Religion in a College. 5. Romanism at Rome. 6. Baird's History of the New School.

The first article deals with Agassiz' theory that the human races have originated from various centers corresponding with the genetic centers of the lower orders of being. The writer denies the reality of any such centers for either plants, animals, or man. Agassiz confessedly fails in showing the confinement of men during the historical ages, and is therefore compelled to presume it as existing during the pre-historical period, which, it is claimed, removes his theory from the region of science to the region

of conjecture, and leaves the biblical account both historically and scientifically uncontradicted. The writer of the article is particularly successful in showing that the races of America and Polynesia cannot be considered as certainly indigenous.

In the great and wavering battle on the origin of the human race, the victory at the present hour seems very decisive in favor of the unity of origin within a period not far different from that assigned by sacred chronology. We must, nevertheless, wait for further developments.

English Reviews.

British Quarterly Review, January, 1869. (London.)—1. Literary Forgeries. 2. Davidson on the New Testament. 3. Gustave Doré. 4. Church Principles and Prospects. 5. Dr. Vaughan—In Memoriam. 6. The New Parliament and Mr. Gladstone.

Edinburgh Review, January, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Spain under Charles II. 2. Lord Kingsdown's Recollections of the Bar. 3. Cesarian Rome. 4. Trench's Realities of Irish Life. 5. The Legend of Tell and Rutli. 6. Government Telegraphs. 7. Dean Milman's Annals of St. Paul's. 8. Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal. 9. General Ulysses Simpson Grant. 10. Mr. Bright's Speeches.

London Quarterly Review, January, 1869. (London.)—1. Life of William Blake. 2. The Plymouth Brethren and the Christian Ministry. 3. Philosophy and Positivism. 4. Social and Religious Progress in India. 5. Algernon Charles Swinburne—Poet and Critic. 6. George Macdonald as a Teacher of Religion. 7. The Mythical and Heretical Gospels. 8. Tertullian.

Westminster Review, January, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Struggle for Empire with the Mahrattas. 2. Richardson's Clarissa. 3. Our Criminal Procedure, especially in cases of Murder. 4. Mr. Bright's Speeches. 5. Art and Morality. 6. The Adulteration of Food and Drugs. 7. Mr. Darwin's Theories.

Art. IX.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

The Controversy between True and Pretended Christianity: An Essay delivered before the Massachusetts Methodist Convention, held in Boston, October 15, 1868. By Rev. L. T. Townsend, Professor of Historical Theology in the Boston Theological Seminary. Published by vote of the Convention. 24mo., pp. 82. Boston: Lee & Shepard; James P. Magee. 1869.

Mr. Townsend's pamphlet is a timely exposure of what may be called the *double-entendre theology.* We suppose it requires no great wit or talent to write a parody on some fine piece of poetry. Very little more ability does it require, by means of special definitions and artful double meanings, to so furnish a homiletical parody

of evangelical phraseology, as to make a Rationalistic lecture sound very much like an orthodox Christian sermon. Two sets of hearers in the congregation may receive two trains of studiously maintained meanings. The discourse may have an evangelic and an infidel side to it, quite amusing to the hearer who understands both sides. To an unsophisticated hearer, the same sophisticated preacher may seem at one time a high-toned Methodist, at another time a scandalous skeptic. What Mr. Townsend does here, with great effect, is to select one of these *doppelgängers*, Mr. Freeman Clarke, and bring him face to face with himself. Mr. Clarke, alternately the ape of evangelicism and the real animal of Rationalism, is made to appear in his true *duplicity*. An extended series of extracts is given from Mr. Clarke's writings, in which the style of evangelical preaching is parodied, followed by another series which contains a full rejection of all evangelical religion, together with the key to the real nature of the parody. The exposure is complete. This was a work which needed to be done, and the Professor has performed the work trenchantly and conclusively.

His pamphlet treats: 1. The parties engaged, analyzing the various sections of Rationalism; 2. The points at issue, showing them to be the fundamentals; 3. The duty to be done; and 4. The spirit to be maintained. It is a timely tract, deserving a wide diffusion and a reflective reading.

The question of exchanging evangelical Christian pulpits with sectaries who not only refuse to worship the Son of God, but who themselves affiliate without repugnance with Pantheists and Atheists of the most outspoken type, as opened by Professor Townsend, is a very serious matter. First, there are no speakers, writers, or periodicals at the present day more sectarian, more exclusive or supercilious toward those with whom they differ, than the so-called Literalistic or Rationalistic. What publications of the day are more truly sectarian than the Atlantic Monthly, the North American, or the Nation? We have seen nothing so bitterly sectarian as silly Charles E. Norton's late article in the North American, maintaining that Atheism forfeited no title to respect, and denouncing the entire body of the ministry of the American Evangelic Church in the most disgraceful and mendacious style. Second. The question of the importance of Christian *dogmas* is now at stake. Men like Parker, who are just as dogmatical as the Christian theologians, deride the very term *dogma*, and maintain that doctrines are the transient form, and not the permanent reality, of Christianity. Mr. Buckle, on being asked the probable destiny of religion, replied that *theology is vanishing, but religion is increasing*. Mr. Froude tells us that *God gave us the Gospel, but that*

the devil gave us theology. This is the key-note of the whole anti-Christian song, the proper antistrophe to which, is the firm maintenance, by the evangelical Church, of her sacred truths. We know no mode more proper of emphasizing our determination to stand fast in our *faith*, properly so called, than to decline surrendering our pulpits to the deliverance of an occasional parody of our doctrinal phraseology by those who really deny at all times, in terms of abhorrence, the real essence of our doctrinal truth. Third. In all consistency they must hold us and the whole Christian Church, including Greek, Roman, and Protestant, to be *idolaters, the worshipers of a man*, or, at any rate, of a being less than God. The chasm, then, between us is broad and deep. They ought not to share in, much less to lead, or to consent to share or lead, a worship they must condemn. If we could unite with them in a worship which excludes the Son of God, how can they conscientiously unite with us in a worship which their creed pronounces to be idolatrous—thus making both us and themselves Pagans. Freeman Clarke, and his whole sect, is further divided, both in creed and worship, from the Christian Church than from the Mohammedan mosque or the Jewish synagogue. If their view be correct, Mohammed has done more to abolish idolatry in the world than Jesus. Mr. Clarke, then, might very consistently, like a good Mollah, join in the formula, "There is one God, and Mohammed is his prophet." In fine, as Alger and his set are justly convicted by the editor of *Zion's Herald* of Hindooism, so Mr. Clarke and his section seem involved in Islamism. If the former are clearly Buddhists, the latter are as clearly Moslems. Mr. Clarke in the last Atlantic declares that the Mohammedans are in fact but "a heretical Christian sect." Why "heretical," Mr. Clarke? Why are they not the most orthodox Church in the world, save the Unitarians of Boston? We think Mr. Clarke and a Mollah might readily exchange pulpits; but we see not how either could consistently enter an orthodox pulpit and lead in Trinitarian worship.

A Grammar of the Idioms of the New Testament, prepared as a solid basis for the Interpretation of the New Testament. By Dr. GEORGE BENEDICT WINER. Seventh Edition, Enlarged and Improved, by Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. Revised and Authorized Edition. 8vo., pp. 728. Andover: Warren F. Draper. London: Trübner & Co. Leipsic: F. C. W. Vogel. Philadelphia: Smith, Engle, & Co. 1869.

Winer's great work on the Grammar of the New Testament, first issued by him in 1822, was intended to curb the prevalent license of many leading commentators, who, assuming that the

New Testament authors wrote regardless of grammar, were pleased to disregard grammar in their modes of interpretation. Such a commentator would change the tense or the article of his original at will, and so, instead of construing the meaning of the author, would substitute a meaning of his own. Winer made it his life work to study the sacred Greek in comparison with the secular and with the Hebrew, and so to analyze thoroughly its modes of expression as to ascertain what were its laws of grammar, and thereby to bring these lawless exegetes to order. He availed himself of every aid in the successive editions to revise and perfect his work. After his sixth edition he closed his labors with his life, leaving a body of loose notes, which have been faithfully wrought into the last edition by his literary executor, Dr. Lünemann. This last edition, brought into English with great care by Prof. J. Henry Thayer, is now issued in the best style of the Andover press.

Part first of the work is a profound but concise treatment of the nature of the New Testament diction. The history of opinions is given, and the definite results attained touching the relations of its style in comparison with classic Greek, the ancient Hebrew, and later Aramaic. Part second, under the head of Grammatical Forms of Words, treats the New Testament orthography, inflections, and verbal formations. Part third is a very full analysis of the Syntax, illustrated by so immense a number of examples, quoted from the sacred text, that we may say that the entire New Testament, so far as it has any syntactical peculiarities, is brought under a scientific grammatical analysis. The volume concludes with two very valuable indexes: first, of all the Greek terms and phrases analyzed in the body of the work; the second, of all the passages in the order of their occurrence in the New Testament, beginning with Matthew and ending with Revelation. Thus, after a due study of the Grammar, the scholar may take his Greek Testament, and, by aid of the last index, go through a complete grammatical commentary on the sacred text. For the commentator and theologian the work is invaluable as an aid and umpire; not absolute and perfect, indeed, but suggestive and regulative.

The New Testament. Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf, by GEORGE R. NOYES, D. D., Professor in Harvard. 12mo., pp. 570. Boston: American Unitarian Association. 1869.

This eminent Unitarian biblical scholar rested about a year since from his earthly labors. He has left, we suppose, few successors in

his denomination sufficiently reverent of the sacred volume to emulate his labors—a sad comment on the tendency of the "higher criticism." Though issued from a denominational "association," Dr. Noyes interposes a caveat against the supposition of its claiming any other than an individual character. Though doubting the preferableness of some of Tischendorf's readings, he avoids all suspicion of ruling the text with doctrinal preferences by adhering strictly to Tischendorf's text. The few and brief notes are (unless the note on John i, 5, be an exception) equally free from doctrinal prepossessions. In the translation the two chief words rendered *hell* in the common version are very properly rendered by different terms, though we question whether hades is suitably represented by "underworld." The probable etymology of the Greek word indicates *invisibility*, not subterraneity; and it would have been better to have transferred the Greek word to the English text. There are many other minuter points which we should have rendered differently, but few or none involving dogmatic differences. On the whole, we cannot review this last work of the departed scholar without avowing a profound respect for his learning, candor, and freedom from the arrogance and irreverence which so often characterize the issues of rationalistic authorship.

Dr. Noyes very properly made the established version the basis of his work, varying only as sufficient reason seemed to require. His text is paragraphed, with the chapters and verses designated in the margin. With a handsome page and well-defined type, it presents a fair aspect to the eye. To those who wish occasionally to read a translation somewhat relieved from the embarrassments of the established version the volume has little that is objectionable.

On 1 Cor. ii, 9, Dr. Noyes says: "By this citation, which, at least according to the text of Tischendorf, forms an uncompleted sentence, the Apostle seems to declare that the knowledge of Divine wisdom comes to Christians not from the senses, but from inward experience; from the contact of the human spirit with the Spirit of God."

Origin, Articles, and General Rules of the Methodist Episcopal Church. 24mo., pp. 27, stiff muslin cover. New York; Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

In this neat copy of our General Rules, etc., is inclosed a handsome blank Certificate of Membership. It is a very convenient form in which both can be put together into the hands of our people.

Foreign Theological Publications.

Geschichte der Predigt in der Deutschen Evangelischen Kirche. [*History of Preaching in the German Evangelical Church*, from Mosheim until the last years of Schleiermacher.] Pp. viii, 384. By Dr. KARL SACK. Heidelberg: Carl Winter. 1866.

Properly, a history of preachers. The author has for many years been immediately connected with the German pulpit. He has heard many sermons in his own and other countries, has been sixteen years a pastor himself, has preached for longer time than many of his clerical associates, and for thirty-six years it has been his duty to pronounce opinions on the sermons of students, candidates, and pastors. In addition to this experience, he brings to his historical undertaking the further and greater advantage of a high appreciation of the rigid necessity of the earnest evangelical element in all preaching of the Gospel. He speaks of the preacher's call thus: "Christ, as Head of the Church, and Dispenser of the Holy Spirit's gifts, gives to certain members of his Church both the call and the power to preach his word aright." This recognition of the divine call of the ministry would furnish a satisfactory key to the general position of the author, even if his long and laborious life in behalf of an elevated Christian pulpit were less familiar to his many friends and large class of readers.

The history of preaching in the Evangelical German Church is divided into two periods. The first commences properly with the year 1730, when the Leibnitzian philosophy exerted a powerful influence upon the whole German Church. The upper classes were disinclined to any religious service, and the pulpit was at a very low ebb. Mosheim gave new influence to the preaching of the Gospel, for his great versatility of talents compelled the respect of even the most violent enemies of Christianity. The first period closes with Ewald and the celebrated Reinhard in 1810. This space of eighty years is subdivided into clearly defined theological tendencies, each of which has its group of sympathizing minds. The first tendency was that of the elder practical supernaturalism, (1730–1770,) when Jerusalem, Spalding, Teller, and Sturm were the principal preachers of their time. The second tendency is the biblical and historical, (1770–1790,) which is characterized by five celebrated names, Lavater, Herder, Ewald, Oetinger, and Hess. There was a decided tincture of mysticism in the preaching of this stadium, as may be imagined from the mere mention of Lavater and Oetinger. The last tendency of the first period was that of Christian morality, (1785–1810.) There were

many preachers in the group; but if we except Zollikofer, Häfeli, Reinhard, and Ewald, they have mostly disappeared from historical prominence. The second period commences with 1810, and concludes with the present time. Its beginning was characterized as the revival of the pulpit of Protestant Germany. The long-dominant Rationalism had failed to give satisfaction, and the Church had been so generally converted into a mere lecture room for moral discussion that devout minds called for a reform in preaching. Schleiermacher clothed the pulpit with new attractions, for, rare genius as he was, he was able to command the respect of the "despisers of religion." His preaching was of a high order, and we must judge it not by the present style of clerical oratory, but by the style in vogue when he preached to his delighted audiences in Berlin. All was dead around him; people despised the very mention of public services; the sermon was regarded sheer cant, the preacher a mere laborer for his bread. Schleiermacher may in short be regarded the reformer of the German pulpit in the nineteenth century. Harms, by his popular style and enthusiastic spirit, became one of the most noted preachers of this period. Dräseke and Theremin characterized the reciprocal influence of the literary culture and pious life. The renewal of Rationalism presents but one name of note, Röhr. The present influence of theological science on the German Evangelical pulpit is represented by C. J. Nitzsch and Professor Tholuck.

The difficulty of preaching in such a way as to meet the great requirements of the present day must not be ignored. The division of German Protestantism into so many Churches, the great controversies which have enlisted the attention and participation of so many minds, and the new attacks made on the citadel of Christian faith, unite to impose a heavy burden on the preacher of the Gospel. But, contends Dr. Sack with the glow of hope, the most recent period of the history of preaching in Germany is very encouraging. From 1830 to 1850 the pulpit has put on new strength, and in many places God's work has been revived. There is a strong tendency to go down into the depths of scriptural truth and bring up new and old things for the needy congregation. The life of Christ is portrayed before the illiterate as it never has been. In the present crisis there is nothing whatever to fear. Still, much reformation is needed in the delivery of the great truths of God. The young preacher's studies must not be enervating but strengthening; he must be ever looking at his great work; his aim must be the building up of God's kingdom on

earth, and not gaining the applause of the cultivated among the audience. The sermon, to do good, must be full of thought, earnest, powerful. The thoughts must be simply arranged, and with a careful eye to divine truth. The Holy Spirit will give success to the word if faith and love pervade the heart. The great truths of revelation, clustering around the person and work of Christ, must be fed to the people as Christ fed the hungry multitude. We would be glad to see this historical sketch of Dr. Sack, which, we regret, touches far too lightly upon the vagaries of the German pulpit during the last century and a quarter, in the hands of each of the hundreds of theological students in the universities of Germany and Switzerland.

Die Mosaische Stiftshütte. (The Mosaic Tabernacle.) By Dr. CH. JOHN RIGGENBACH. Mit drei lithographierten Tafeln. Zweite mit einer Anhangvermehrte Ausgabe. 4to. Pp. 62. Basel: C. Detloff. 1867.

Still another work in the department of apologetics. The many thrusts made by later skeptics—to say nothing of their predecessors—at the typical and historical character of the Mosaic tabernacle have made necessary a new work on that subject from the orthodox stand-point. The able manner in which Dr. Riggenbach has accomplished his task proves him to be eminently a master of Old Testament as well as of New Testament criticism. He has spent years of labor on this work, and the call for the present enlarged edition is testimony that his toil has found an appreciative circle. The first part of the volume contains a description of the Mosaic tabernacle, while the second treats of the authenticity of the scriptural account and the real meaning of the tabernacle. The minute and matter-of-fact description of the tabernacle furnished by Moses is claimed to be a strong proof of the historical fact; legendary poetry does not deal in such particulars. This, however, is only one of the many proofs of the orthodox view of the tabernacle; but the ingenious and well-guarded way in which the Doctor makes it occupy a place in his mass of cumulative argument is really admirable. "It has been a long time the custom," says he, "to speak contemptuously of the tabernacle as an unhistorical fancy . . . but I can say with confidence that *this is not the way adopted by poetry.* A description so devoid of excitement, so minute, and so matter-of-fact, must be that of something which had a real existence. Then when we come to compare the results of our calculation of the measurement of the tabernacle with the real purpose served by it, the conclusion is incontestable, that every

part of the Mosaic account is perfectly historical. The structure was also so completely commensurate with the great purpose of its institution that it bears every trace of the wisdom of the divine Architect. *It is a unit in the history of art.*" Dr. Riggenbach will not allow the strictly typical application of each part of the tabernacle, for in this way, he says, the validity of the whole is compromised. His comparison of the external purity of the tabernacle and the value of its gold, to the purity, divinity, and majesty of Christ is a gem of learned, practical, attractive, and devout criticism. The lithographic tables representing the different parts of the tabernacle form a welcome addition to the work.

Die Ethik Luther's in ihren Grundsätzen. [The Ethics of Luther in their Grounding.] By CHR. ERNST LUTHARDT, Consistorialrath und Professor der Theologie. Pp. 116. Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke. 1867.

The last half century has been very fruitful in German works on Ethics. For the past thirty years in particular there has been great attention bestowed on this branch of theological science. Daub, Harless, Schleiermacher, Rothe, Marheinecke, Böhmer, Schmid, Wuttke, Palmer, and Culmann, with a large number of less important authors, have followed each other in quick succession. The path of interpreting Luther's Ethical System has been less frequently trodden, though Fabricius (*Loci Communes D. M. Lutheri*, 1594) and Schramm (*de Meritis Lutheri in Theologiam Moralem*, 1711) have even here had a good number of followers. The excellence of Dr. Luthardt's work consists in its concise, pointed style, and in its being the result of a careful investigation of the whole mass of Luther's works. In the preface the present position of Ethical Science is stated in full, and opinions are passed upon all who have attempted to state Luther's system from Schramm down to Köstlin. We then have the Introduction, in which the difference between Theological and Philosophical Ethics is given. I. The Person of the Christian. The new man is one who has been justified by faith—which faith is a very different thing from the scholastic definition of faith. Christianity is something internal as well as external. The Christian is free from the law of works. II. The Christian's Feeling. Love prevails over all and rules in all. Still there is a bitter hatred of sin in all its forms. III. The Christian's Works. First of all comes prayer, in which the believer must always abound. Then come all the works which a sincere love of God and man can prompt. Dr. Luthardt does not disguise the fact that Luther approved of dancing and drink-

ing, (see page 112,) but explains it on the ground of his animosity to all sanctimoniousness. Whether a man must adopt these two fashionable vices—no doubt fashionable in Luther's day—in order to avoid Pharisaism is a question very easily answered. The Doctor appends to every one of his statements of Luther's ethical opinions the corresponding places in the Reformer's works.

Philosophy, Metaphysics, and General Science.

Moral Uses of Dark Things. By HORACE BUSHNELL. 12mo., pp. 360. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

The existence of a creating Mind, Mr. Bushnell, with his usual force and brilliancy of language, claims the right to assume in his very commencing paragraph. "What we all see with our eyes I think I have some right to assume, namely, that this whole frame of being is bedded in Mind. Matter itself is not more evident than the Mind that shapes it, fills it, and holds it in training for its uses. Philosophy itself, call it Positive or by any other name, is possible only in the fact that the world is cognate with mind and cast in the molds of intelligence. And then, as it belongs inherently to mind that it must have its ends, the all-present Mind must have reference to ends, and the whole system of causes must at bottom be, exactly as we see it to be, a system of final causes." This is at once a comprehensive statement and a conclusive argument.

But after this great positive assumption there follows a great problem to be solved. There are in our system things whimsical, things not beautiful, things that seem expressly contrived for harm, and things accomplished in a bad way that might easily have been accomplished in a good way. Herbert Spencer boldly and skillfully adduces them as clear refutations of "the theory of the late Dr. Paley," that there is an intelligent and benevolent God. To the whole argument a very brief and conclusive reply is given by Mr. Abbot in the North American Review, quoted in our last Quarterly, that since so overwhelming a display of Reason exists in the Universe we have ample reason for a firm assurance that there is a reason for these subordinate facts. And there ever remains an undisturbed validity in the reply of our old Theology, that it cannot be shown that the very best system is not a system with defects; that the allowance of the defects may secure a higher excellence on the whole than the disallowance. Just so a man by incurring and retaining indebtednesses becomes the millionaire who must otherwise have been a pauper.

We have here, be it noted, not a theorem to be demonstrated, but a problem to be solved. Our solutions may not be one but many. Some of them, individually, may be satisfactory, even without being the true ones; nay, subsequent scientific developments may partially disprove their validity. But that fact does not prove the illegitimacy of our attempt at furnishing solutions, just as error in reasoning does not prove the illegitimacy of all attempts at reason. The weekly Nation, a year or two since, flagellated Agassiz for finding proofs of divine wisdom in certain natural arrangements, and charged him with low catering to popular opinion for finding God in his works. The charge was based upon the fact that proofs of this kind are sometimes found illusory; and, ergo, no such proofs should ever hereafter be adduced; a logic which would put an end to all probable reasoning.

Mr. Bushnell addresses those who believe in God. He furnishes views of the "dark things" in nature, reconciling their existence with the absolutely perfect Divine Nature. He rejects many of Paley's solutions as ineffectively accounting for evils by showing their resultance in physical good. In place of such solutions Mr. Bushnell, assuming that man's higher nature is justly the main object of Divine care, that the education of the soul is the true purpose of the present system, substitutes a resultance in moral good. He purposely gives his work no precise systematic form; but furnishes a series of essays, possessing much of the freedom without the superficiality of the so-called "Essays" in English literature. His work serves the double purpose of elucidating our faith in God and giving us cheerful views of life. It abounds in unique paragraphs, opening fresh views of the world and far-extending vistas. His thoughts are clothed in his usual quaint, antique, darkly-brilliant style; and this volume will be found, perhaps, his most truly readable and not least useful work.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska, formerly Russian America, and in various other parts of the North Pacific. By FREDERIC WHYMPER. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 353. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Once upon a time the Bear sold to the Eagle an extensive lot of icebergs, walruses, and earthquakes, and thereupon a great debate arose as to whether Bear had cheated Eagle or Eagle had cheated Bear. In the midst of the discussion neighbor Bull happened to occur, and as he entertained about an equal liking, or rather dis-

liking, for both parties, he seemed an impartial referee. An inkling of his verdict appears in the book before us.

Mr. Whymper left England in 1863 in a ship bound for the Pacific, and careering around Cape Horn, touched at San Francisco, and debarked on Vancouver's Island. Thence he made various incursions into the blessed Alaska, and into Kamschatka and Siberia in Asia. He terminates his narrative in California, of which he gives a very favorable and interesting account.

As to the value of Alaska Mr. Whymper reports:

That Russian America is likely to prove a bad bargain to the United States Government I cannot believe. The extreme northern division of the country may, indeed, be nearly valueless, but the foregoing pages will have shown that, in the more central portions of the territory furs are abundant, and that the trade in them, which may probably be further developed, must fall into American hands. The southern parts of the country are identical in character with the neighboring British territory, and will probably be found to be as rich in mineral wealth; while the timber, though of an inferior growth, owing to the higher latitude, will yet prove by no means worthless.

The fisheries may become of great value. There are extensive cod-banks off the Aleutian Isles, and on many other parts of the coast. Salmon is *the* commonest of common fish in all the rivers of the North Pacific, and is rated accordingly as food only fit for those who cannot get better. In Alaska, as in British Columbia, the fish can be obtained in vast quantities simply at the expense of native labor. To this add the value of salt (or vinegar) barrels, and freight, and one sees the slight total cost which would be incurred in exporting to benighted Europe that which there would be considered a luxury. In Petropaulovski, a merchant told me that he had made in this way $6,000 in one season, at no more trouble to himself than that incurred in a little superintendence of the natives employed. The enterprising American is the last man to neglect this source of profit.

There is a further reason why the United States have done well to purchase this territory. It is an act of justice to the Russian government. For the past twenty years the whalers in Behring Sea and the Arctic—who are mainly Americans—had traded at certain parts of the coast, and had thereby considerably reduced the profits of the Russian American Fur Company. Although nominally whalers, they were nearly all traders also. The Russians, albeit always hospitable were naturally very averse to these vessels putting into their ports, and may be, trading under their very noses. A large part of the whaling captains had consequently never visited many of the larger Russian settlements, such as Sitka, Ounalaska, St. Paul's, or St. Michael's. Now all these, and many other ports, are perfectly open to them, while the cargoes of furs, walrus' tusks, oil, etc., will enter San Francisco, or any other port in the United States, duty free—an important consideration to them.

The chain of the Aleutian Isles, comprising four groups, (the Fox, Andreanofl, Rat, and Blignie islands,) is a valuable part of the new purchase.

The acquisition of Alaska has certainly awakened no enthusiasm, and the idea of the annexation of Canada awakens just as little. Save in the columns of that knave's oracle, the *New York Herald*, we have seen in no American paper so decided an anticipation of such a result as follows:

There are many, both in England and America, who look on this purchase as the first move toward an American occupation of the whole continent, and who foresee that Canada, and British America generally, will sooner or later become part of the United States. Looking at the matter without prejudice, I believe that

it will be better for those countries and ourselves when such shall be the case. We shall be released from an encumbrance, a source of expense and possible weakness; *they*, freed from the trammels of periodical alarms of invasion, and feeling the strength of independence, will develop and grow; and—speaking very plainly and to the point—our commercial relations with them will double and quadruple themselves in value. No one now supposes that had the United States remained naught but "our American colonies," they would have progressed as they *have* done; and it is equally obvious that our commerce with them must have been restricted in equal ratio. That it is the destiny of the United States to possess the whole northern continent I fully believe.

On the ethnology of the Northern tribes Mr. Whymper gives cold comfort to the Agassizian doctrine of the plurality of the human race:

Scientific men are now agreed on the Asiatic origin of the Esquimaux, even of those who have migrated as far as Greenland.* Of the Mongolian origin of the Tchuktchis themselves, no one who has seen individuals of that people would for a moment doubt. A Tchuktchi boy taken by Col. Bulkley (our engineer-in-chief) from Plover Bay to San Francisco, and there educated and cared for in the family of a kind-hearted lady, was, when dressed up in European clothes, constantly taken for a civilized Chinaman, and two of our Aleutian sailors were often similarly mistaken. This happened, it must be observed, in a city which is full of Chinese and Japanese. That the Aleuts, also, are of an Eastern stock, is to my mind undoubted.

The intertribal trade carried on so regularly every year *via* Behring Straits (which is likely now to receive a decided check from the American traders, who will crowd into the country) proved with how little difficulty a colony of "Wandering Tchuktchis" might cross from Asia and populate the northern coasts of America. Open skin canoes, capable of containing twenty or more persons with their effects, and hoisting several masts and sails, are now frequently to be observed among both the sea-coast Tchuktchis and the inhabitants of Northern Alaska. I have seen others that might be called "full-rigged canoes," carrying main, gaff, and sprit-sails, but these were probably recent and foreign innovations.

I may be excused if I here allude to two well-authenticated and oft-quoted facts. In the years 1832–3, two remarkable and unintentional ocean voyages—one of them terminating in shipwreck—were made from Japan to the north-west coast of America and to the Sandwich Islands by *junks*. The last mentioned is known to have been ten or eleven months at sea, and had nine Japanese on board, who nevertheless arrived safely, anchoring in the harbor of Waialea, Oahu. The Sandwich Islanders, (Hawaiians, or, as they are called in California, etc., "Kanakas,) when they saw these strangers, much resembling themselves in many respects, said, "It is plain, now, we come from Asia." How easily, then, could we account for the population of almost any island or coast in the Pacific.

Such facts as these—the passage of comparatively frail vessels, blown away from their native coasts by typhoons or other usually violent gales, buffeted about for lengthened periods, yet eventually reaching foreign coasts thousands of miles from their own—should, I think, make us very cautious in our ideas on the limitation of native migrations.

The identity of the Greenlanders with these Asiatic tribes Mr. Whymper demonstrates by the identity of their language. The mystery of the origin of our Aborigines may be considered as solved. They are man starting eastward from the Asiatic race-center, and meeting here the same man starting westward from the same center. At the collision here the Westerner has the decided advantage. Tempted by the smiling clime of the East,

* See Markham on the "Greenland Esquimaux." Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, 1866.

the Asiatic has been alternately enervated by the heats or crisped by the cold out of the best of his manhood. Driven by warlike invasion, the poor Greenlander passed by the polar land route, where the continents are one, and came out a chilled and dwarfed specimen of humanity. On the other hand the Westerner, ranging around the temperate and well-diversified latitudes of Europe, presents the highest development the race has hitherto attained.

China and the Chinese. A General Description of the Country and its Inhabitants, its Civilization and Form of Government, its Religious and Social Institutions, its Intercourse with other Nations, and its Present Condition and Prospects. By Rev. JOHN S. NEVIUS, ten years a Missionary in China. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 456. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

China, by a singular revolution in mundane affairs within a few years past, from being our most distant neighbor toward the East has become our nearest neighbor on the West. A corresponding improved acquaintance has largely transformed our mutual contempt and amusement into increased respect. We have indulged large fun at their "pig-tails, shaven pates, thick-soled shoes, assumption of dignity and superiority, and great ignorance of many subjects with which we are familiar. They also enjoy a great deal of pleasantry at our short-cropped hair, tight-fitting, ungraceful, and uncomfortable-looking clothes, and gentlemen's thin-soled leather boots, tall stiff hats, gloves in summer-time, the 'wasp-like' appearance of Western ladies, with their small waists and large hoops, our ungraceful manners, our remarkable ignorance of the general rules of propriety, and the strange custom of a man and his wife walking together in public *arm in arm.*" Mr. Nevius exhibits none of the tendency sometimes attributed to missionaries, to make the worst possible case against heathendom. He finds not only the noble basis that belongs to all humanity, but a culture and a morality entitled to a degree of respect. This no more forbids our giving the Gospel to China than Hellenic refinement forbade Paul's mission to Athens. In fact, the entire view given of China by Mr. Nevius is calculated to inspire an earnest missionary zeal in every Christian heart.

Within the coming generation the whole stupendous mass of superstition now covering this four hundred millions of the human race is, with all the surety of a mathematical demonstration, to disappear. The reason of this surety is, that the whole system is scientifically false. A university teaching the sciences of Europe is already established. The truly powerful intellect of thoughtful

China is already awakened, and, with a rapidity known only to our modern times, it must reject the complicated mass of error which cannot coexist with scientific truth. Then comes a stupendous as well as a fearful vacuum. Whether emptiness and skepticism shall succeed—whether a complete atheistic blank shall remain—future history will disclose. To our view every thing depends upon the promptness and energy of our Christianity. To this departing superstition, as of every other, our Christianity is the rightful heir. If during the next twenty years we can pour whole phalanxes of missionaries and whole floods of Christian light over the vacated field, the victory will be complete. Hence, interesting grounds as India and Africa are, no call is so intensely imperative as reaches us from this one third of the human race.

Like the work of Dr. Maclay, issued from our Book Rooms, this volume is replete with varied interest. That interest is greatly enhanced by important events since Dr. Maclay wrote. The immense, increasing, and almost alarming amount of Chinese population on our Pacific coast—the mission of Mr. Burlingame bringing China into diplomatic intercourse with our Government—the rapid approach of a great epoch of commerce through the Pacific Railroad, are events proclaiming in the ears of the American Church that *her very first duty is China.* We need at this very hour a thousand Methodist missionaries for "the land of the Sinim."

The thanks of the Evangelical Church of all denominations are due to Mr. Nevius for his clear, enlightened, and instructive work.

Her Majesty's Tower. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON. 12mo., pp. 263. New York: Harper and Brothers. 1869.

The Tower of London, the prison for England's great accused, as Westminster is the tomb of her illustrious dead, is, according to Mr. Dixon, "the most ancient and most poetic pile in Europe." Perhaps he should have said, the most tragic. It is the pivot upon which has turned the bloody part of England's political history. The narrative, traced in chronological order, with much research and vivid coloring, by Mr. Dixon, is full of fearful and fascinating interest. Of all the tragic characters in the solemn succession, Mr. Dixon's favorite is evidently Sir Walter Raleigh; ours, in the full light of the most modern history, is that wonderful girl of seventeen, Lady Jane Grey. Her talent, magnanimity, piety, beauty, and above all her lofty firmness when the turbulent chiefs whose ambition led her to ruin had abandoned their Protestant

faith for even a few hours of protracted life, are a beautiful marvel. Without the slightest aim at display, nothing could be more heroic than her entire demeanor through the greatest of all trials. A very illustrative engraving of the Tower is frontispiece to the volume.

Jesus of Nazareth, his Life and Teachings. Founded on the Four Gospels, and illustrated by reference to the Manners, Customs, Religious Beliefs, and Political Institutions of his times. By LYMAN ABBOTT. With designs by Doré, De La Roche, Fenn, and others. Red and gilt, 12mo., pp. 522. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Mr. Abbott has succeeded admirably in supplying the popular want of a Life of Jesus, illustrated with ample erudition, clothed in modern style of language, and addressed to the modern modes of thought. The work of Renan had shown how powerful was an eloquent diction in giving place to the great Subject in the popular thought even when divested of His divine attributes. The work of Pressensé, though written in a vivid and elegant style, is too loftily theological for the general mind. That by Ellicott is too scholastic to be popular. What Henry Ward Beecher will accomplish, while much may be anticipated, is yet to be realized. But at the present state of progress, Mr. Abbott's work may be recommended as the first successful popular effort of placing the Saviour's life in a clear and attractive light for general readers.

The Life, Times, and Travels of St. Paul. By the Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M. A., late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and the Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M. A., Principal of the Collegiate Institute, Liverpool. With an Introduction by MATTHEW SIMPSON, D. D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Two volumes in one, unabridged. Sold by subscription. 8vo., pp. 556. New York: E. B. Treat & Co. Chicago: C. W. Lilley. Philadelphia: A. H. Hubbard. 1869.

Our ministry and well-read laity will be gratified to learn that a new edition of Conybeare and Howson has been published, and is afforded at the very low price of three dollars. It is to be specially noted that it is not abridged, as is another issue of the same work called "The People's Edition." Not a line nor an engraving in the original work is omitted from this. The interest of the work will be enhanced by the commendatory, but not too commendatory introduction by Bishop Simpson. It would be supererogation for us to give a favorable opinion of a work which has for years been a standard, unique in its kind. It is one of the books which should be both in the library and in the hands of every minister and every thoughtful Christian layman.

General Literature.

The Poetical Works of Charles G. Halpine, (Miles O'Reilly,) with a Biographical Sketch and Explanatory Notes. Edited by ROBERT E. ROOSEVELT. Red and gilt, 12mo., pp. 352. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

General Halpine was born in Ireland in 1829, emigrated to this country in early manhood, and became in time associate Editor of the *New York Times.* He was the author of that celebrated apostrophe to the American Flag, prompted by the capture in Boston of the fugitive Anthony Burns, beginning with

"Tear down that flaunting lie."

When the civil war commenced he offered his services to the country and won high honors. When the Citizens' Association was formed to stem the torrent of political and civic corruption in our metropolis he became editor of their organ, THE CITIZEN, and assailed the enemies of public purity and order with a brilliancy and vigor seldom surpassed in American journalism. He was a man of heroic impulses, fascinating manners, and exhibited a genius not equal, yet akin to that of an Emmett, a Curran, or a Moore.

The poems, though they do not place him among "the few, the immortal names," are not merely routine versification, but the fresh jets of a true poetic nature provoked by special occasions and contemporary characters. They are full of irregular but brilliant flashes of poetic fire. Political banter or invective, amatory effusions, military odes, and one sacred poem, constitute the body of the volume. We should have supposed, from his indignant flout at the Boston outrage, that he would have stood forth in the forefront of the champions of freedom. Yet with a heart that seemed to thirst for liberty and purity, he was inextricably connected with the party of slavery and corruption through his whole career. Many of his poetical shafts are aimed at men truer to freedom and humanity than himself; yet so vigorous and effective were his onslaughts upon the corruptionists of his own vile faction that his accidental death, in the bloom of heroic life, was no ordinary public loss.

The Poetical Works of Alexander Pope. Edited by Rev. H. F. CARY, M. A. A new edition, carefully revised. Green and gold, 12mo., pp. 485. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

The Jerusalem Delivered of Torquato Tasso. Translated into English Spenserian Verse, with a Life of the Author, by J. H. WIFFEN. 12mo., pp. 62, paper cover. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1867.

These two volumes are specimens of a series of standard poets in two styles, and at two very reasonable rates of price. The series

embraces among others Scott, Burns, Cowper, Campbell, Chaucer, Spenser, and Hemans.

Pope forever stands as one of the greatest names in English poetry, whose genius created an era in English versification. After Shakspeare, perhaps there is no poet so many of whose lines have attained the position of proverbs in public thought.

Tasso, the immortal bard of medieval Christianity and chivalry, finds a worthy expositor in Wiffen. This translation is, as it stands, in English a grand heroic song, possessing all the freedom, melody, freshness, and boldness of a true original.

Periodicals.

The Galaxy, Vol. VII, No. III. Art. III. *Is Being Done.* By RICHARD GRANT WHITE.

The antiquarian investigator of a living language is engaged in a fascinating pursuit, and may perform a valuable office. He wisely and usefully interposes a check, justified by his learning and authority, upon the incorporation of anomalous, ambiguous, inadequate, or degrading linguistic forms into a living language. But he may also pervert his office to the most injurious results. His very enthusiasm for the old, honorable and refined as it may be, may be the very inspirer of this perversion. A living language ought to be the most perfect practicable instrument for expressing thought. Even after its written literature is formed, difficult as the task must be, it rightly aspires to increased exactness, force, and beauty. Now it is the very tendency of the enthusiastic student of the old to sacrifice the natural self-improvement of the language, as a perfect instrument of thought, to its historical connection with outgrown, defective, and even instinctively rejected forms. When a language is spontaneously yet slowly regenerating itself in any particular—when it is sloughing off some antiquated, clumsy, ambiguous, inadequate form of expression—and assuming a new, more adequate and exact one, the philologist, who stands by and attempts to repress the process, is a pervert and a nuisance.

With all respect for the linguistic enthusiasm and real erudition of Mr. Richard Grant White, we think that in the article in *The Galaxy* quoted at the head of this notice he has very unequivocally committed the error we reprobate. Such phrases as *the house is building*, *the dinner is eating*, *the sermon is preaching*, ought, in spite of all his reasoning, to be expelled the lan-

guage, as being the uncouth result of a historical connection with older uncouth forms long since rejected by the public instinct. To re-establish that obsolete connection, to retain the anomalous forms, and to reject the later and exacter forms, is to insist on the degradation and not the ennoblement of the language.

Among the rights which the speaking public of a living language should firmly maintain against the pedantry of philological specialists is, that of filling the blank places in the language with adequate terms and formulæ. The school pedants of the last generation (like Campbell in his Philosophy of Rhetoric) gave us formal rules to control the adoption of new words into the language; assigning, if we rightly recollect, three generations as the noviciate of the verbal candidate. The common sense of the present day laughs at such effeminacy. A good new word, like any other good thing, is worthy of an instantaneous adoption if we need or desire to adopt it; a bad new word, or a bad word twenty centuries old, should be as promptly rejected. The question of the age of the word is very unimportant. The main query is as to its adequacy to fill a blank spot, or its life and power in expressing a new shade of thought or a fresh-born idea. We used in our young days to smile at our old professor, who told us that if Addison were alive he would not understand our neologism. We say now, as in effect we said then, we "supposed that Addison was dead." If any body is writing for Addison's understanding or approval, let him go to Hades and write for Addison's eye; not plague the light of day with his puerile ultra-conservatism. What would Addison understand of the discussions of a modern scientific, or political, or even metaphysical discussion? Open the pages of a scientific annual, and see what entire vocabularies, nay, we may say, what entire new languages have arisen within the boundaries of our English. Neither the living age nor the living language consents to be swathed in the winding-sheets of the past generation.

In defending his rejection of the new formulæ in question, Mr. White shows that there was an old form of verbs, such as *a-making*, *a-going*, *a-building*, in which the *a* was a contraction of *in* or *on*, and the word ending in *ing* was truly a gerund or verbal noun. To say *The house is a-building*, therefore, was equivalent to saying that *the house is in process of building*. But by a subsequent dropping of the customary *a* the phrase *The house is building* was left; and in this phrase, too, he infers that *building* is a verbal noun expressing the process, and so the phrase is the legitimate one. We reply,

The old forms *a-building*, *a-going*, and the like, like thousands of other forms, became obsolete, and were sloughed off because they were ambiguous, and inadequately expressed the intended idea. They could be active or passive; could mean that the builder was building a house or that the house was being built; and, by natural instinct, impatient of a form which had lost the power of making clear the thought, the remnant of the old formula was rejected and sunk into vulgarism. When the prefix *a* was lost the popular intention gave to the form in *ing* the meaning of an active participle, and that *meaning* made it an active participle. But thereby a blank was left and a want was felt. There was now no way in the entire English language of concisely and conveniently expressing the process of receiving an action. By the same wise linguistic instinct more than fifty years ago the precise formula by which that process could be expressed arose: *The house is being built; The thing is being done.* By all who prefer that *the form of expression should accurately represent the form of thought*, it has been adopted. By conservative lovers of even clumsy obsoletisms it has been rejected, merely because it is new, and so is still challenged. Had there been no philologers or written language, and had the public mind been left to its own healthy unconscious spontaneities, this formula would have long ago become a component part of our language among intelligent speakers, and the old forms would have been relegated to the "Cape Cod fisherman."

Mr. White's attempt at showing that the forms *the house is being built*, or *is being done*, are philosophically incorrect, is a signal failure:

> *To be* and *to exist* are perfect synonymes, or more nearly perfect, perhaps, than any two verbs in the language. In some of their meanings there is a shade of difference, but in others there is none whatever; and the latter are those which serve our present purpose. When we say, He being forewarned of danger fled, we say, He existing forewarned of danger fled. When we say that a thing is done, we say that it exists done. When we say, That being done I shall be satisfied, we say, That existing done I shall be satisfied. *Is being done*, is simply *exists existing done.*

The verb *is*, as a *copula* between a *subject and predicate*, we reply, is no synonym with the verb *exist*. It does not affirm the *existence* of either subject or predicate. It is simply the sign of connection; the coupler; directing the reader to think subject and predicate in unity. When we say *The griffin is an imaginary animal*, we do not affirm that the griffin *exists*. Saying *the dodo is extinct*, is not saying that *the dodo exists extinct;* for that would be a contradiction. Saying *The souls of brutes are being*

annihilated, is not saying, *The souls of brutes exist existing annihilated;* for the former is sense and truth, and the latter is contradiction and nonsense. The verb, *is* and *exists* have here little similarity of meaning. The true analysis of such expressions we will now give.

The anvil is being struck. Here *struck* denotes the simple recipience or undergoing of the blow. It does this timelessly; that is, irrespective of time; for in the passive we can say equally, *I am struck*, *I was struck*, *I will be struck.* *Struck* is the note, therefore, of the timeless undergoing of the blow. The word *being* is very nearly synonymous with *continuing.* It denotes just that sort of continuity that the Greek imperfect does in contrast with the aorist. The aorist is *struck*, the imperfect is *being struck.* *Being struck* implies a process, a continuity of some sort beyond a simple instant. *Is* affirms the *being struck* of *the anvil.* It is the copula which connects the predicate with the subject; with the superadded idea of time or tense. *The anvil is being struck*, therefore, expresses the idea of the passive process of the anvil's undergoing the blow with the most perfect grammatical and philosophical precision. And so of the various phrases, *The house is being built*, *The criminal is being tried*, etc., we may affirm that they are as exact a use of the verb to express the intended idea as any formula in language can be.

Again, of the active participle *striking* (which includes the same idea of continuity as the Greek imperfect) the parallel passive is not *struck*, which is aoristic, but *being struck.* The parallel passive, therefore, of the phrase *John is striking* is (not John is struck, but) *John is being struck.* These parallel phrases express the active and passive idea with equal and perfect grammatical and philosophical accuracy.

Mr. White again says that our supposed blunder arises from not seeing that *is* and *being* are the same verb; that if the verb *to be* were regular in form we would never have fallen into the phrases *bes being built*, or *is ising built.* We answer that the copula *is* and the participle *being* in the formulæ we defend are, as we have above shown, different in sense. We nevertheless affirm that if the verb were regular, and the proper copula were *bes*, then the phrase *bes being built* would be perfectly philosophical and should be adopted. *Being built* would then express the passive process, and *bes* would connect the process with its subject. The verbal identity of *bes* and *being* would make not the slightest difference.

Mr. White, however, heroically affirms that he would use all

the phrases, *the dinner is eating*, the *sermon is preaching*, the *boy is whipping*, etc., and asks "Why not?" Because, we reply, the phrases in the case are false: the dinner is not eating. Eating is an active and not a passive participle. It is fastening a shameful poverty on the English language to compel it thus clumsily to use the same term for both the active and passive sense. Because, also, the phrases are often ludicrously ambiguous. Should Mr. White be sitting at a dinner of roast-pig, and commence a sentence with *While the roast-pig is eating*, (as if the roast pig were one of the guests,) the young ladies near him would indulge in a very reasonable titter at his expense. Should he say *While the roast-pig is being eaten*, they might think him a little bookish, but they would not, as in the other case, think him a fool. So by this phraseology the guests are eating, and the dinner is eating; both the preacher and the sermon are preaching, the pedagogue is whipping the boy and the boy is whipping too. So the man rides the horse and the horse rides the man; the hammer strikes the anvil and the anvil strikes the hammer. The New York landlady may say (correctly, according to White) "I not only sleep my boarders, but *I eat 'em*."

While thus treating the subject of supplying deficit spots in a living language, we may note that there is in the English language, if we rightly understand, one most singular and central blank. *We have no one word to express the regular coming into existence of an event.* The words *to happen*, *to occur*, include the element of *accident*. This hiatus we awkwardly patch over with phrases at which the mind is disgusted, as, *to come to pass*, *to take place*. Now there is a word which is fresh and clear, which is not very irrevocably appropriated to any other idea, and which by popular healthy instinct is aspiring to occupy the blank spot. The word is *transpire*. O no! exclaim the effeminates, that word must not designate the *taking place* of an event; it signifies *to become known*. It is of no use to tell these imbeciles that the latter meaning is itself little known, little used, and little needed, while the want it is called to supply is a startling defect in the entire language. You may supply reasons, but you cannot supply brains. Your only method is to use the needed word in the needing place, and leave the shrieking pedant to his spasms.*

* The following sentence is from a leading London newspaper, discussing the American temper toward England: "They will not declare war on us because an old gentleman of Maryland, who has just seen brothers cutting each other's throats, chooses to keep on saying that cousinhood is an indissoluble bond of amity." Here, 1. The word *cousinhood* is a fresh coinage, so perfectly fitted into

The word *stand-point* was, we believe, first appropriated from the German by Professor Moses Stuart, and has generally been adopted in America and England by all who regard the fitness of a term rather than its age. Purists in England, embarrassed by its adaptation for the purpose, yet unwilling to accept it, sometimes use the phrase "standing point," which properly, however, signifies a point that stands, in contrast with a moving point. The word *stand* in the compound is a noun, signifying *position* or the act of standing, and the compound word itself is as truly legitimate as the term *inkstand.*

The word *reliable* is liable to no other valid objection than its novelty. It has been, indeed, objected that as we say *rely upon*, so the preposition needs to be incorporated with the verb thus, *reli-upon-able.* But though we say a man must *account for* an act, we nevertheless say *accountable* without the preposition; and though we say *attained to* a thing, we use the adjective *attainable.* We have *laughable*, from *laugh at;* and that the adjective is not, as some think, derived from the noun *laugh*, but from the verb, is clear from the fact that *laughable* is synonymous with *laugh-at-able*, as if a proper contraction. It is said, however, that the word *trustworthy*, possessing the same meaning, renders the new word unnecessary. But *trustworthy* is a very homely word; and Mr. White to the contrary notwithstanding, the English language is so utterly homely that cultivated homeliness is a great supererogation. So homely, indeed, is our native Saxon, that, so far as language is concerned, both the Roman occupancy and the Norman conquest were crowning mercies. *Untrustworthiness* is a very ugly word; and all the inflexions of *trustworthy* are ugly in comparison with its Latin rival. Besides, the adjective *worthy* belongs to a living character rather than to a thing or fact. Thus, we think General Grant a *trustworthy* man, and shall continue so to think until we receive *reliable* proofs to the contrary.

the sentence as to be absolutely necessary to its force and point. 2. The writer would justly have treated the womanish remonstrances of any literary purist with contemptuous disregard. 3. The word, nevertheless, however fitted for the writer's use, is scarcely needed in the language, and he himself would hardly expect it ever to be used again. Besides that loose temporary slang which degrades our contemporaneous newspaper and conversational style, and which every elevated thinker repudiates, there are temporary verbal formations, dignified and analogical in their character, which a free and vigorous writer may justifiably use without expecting or wishing that they should become permanent parts of the language.

Miscellaneous.

Glen Elder Books.—The Orphans of Glen Elder, Frances Leslie, The Lyceum Boys, The Harleys of Chelsea Place, Rosa Lindesay. Twenty beautiful Illustrations. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

A nice paper box of five fresh Sunday-school volumes, republications from abroad, beautifully written, and printed and bound in most attractive style.

The Ring and the Book. By ROBERT BROWNING, M.A. Volume II. 12mo., pp 332. Boston: Field & Osgood. 1869.

How to Read Character. A new Illustrated Handbook of Phrenology and Physiognomy for Students and Examiners; with a Descriptive Chart. Red and gilt. 12mo., pp. 192. New York: Samuel R. Wells. 1869.

A very neat and skillful manual for the purpose of making every man his own phrenologist.

Seeds and Sheaves; or, Words of Scripture; their History and Fruits. By A. C. THOMSON, D.D. 12mo., pp. 323. Boston: Gould and Lincoln. New York: Sheldon & Co. Cincinnati: George S. Blanchard & Co. 1869.

A series of Scripture topics and texts, with striking anecdotal illustrations.

Before the Throne; or, Daily Devotions for a Child. 24mo., pp. 123. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1869.

The Poacher. By Captain MARRYATT. 12mo., pp. 346. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

The Chaplet of Pearls; or, The White and Black Ribaumont. By the Author of "The Heir of Redclyffe." With Illustrations. 12mo., pp. 331. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

Christ and Him Crucified. A Discourse preached in the Methodist Episcopal Church, Ypsilanti, Michigan, Sunday Morning, September 6, 1868, on the occasion of inaugurating his public ministration. By REV. T. C. GARDNER, A.M. 12mo., pp. 16. O. R. Chase, Ann Arbor, Mich.

A Believer's Hand-Book for Christians of Every Name. By Rev. E. DAVIES, of East Maine Conference. 12mo., pp. 72. Published by the Author.

He Knew he was Right. By ATHONY TROLLOPE. With Illustrations by Marcus Stone. 12mo., Paper Cover, pp. 172. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

The Law of Love and Love as a Law; or, Moral Science, Theoretical and Practical. 12mo. Scribner & Co.

Dr. Bellows's Travels in Europe. Volume II. 12mo. Harper & Brothers.

Notice of the following postponed to next number:

Dr. Peirce's *Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents.* Appleton & Co.

Missionary Report for 1869. Carlton & Lanahan.

Pre-historic Nations. Harper & Brothers.

Carlton & Lanahan will soon issue a new edition of Dr. FOSTER'S work on "Christian Purity," revised by the author.

Also a volume of Sermons, Addresses, etc., by Dr. GILBERT HAVEN.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

JULY, 1869.

ART. I.—TESTS OF A VALID MINISTRY AND A TRUE CHURCH.

IT is one of the advantages and beauties of the Methodist Episcopal Church that there is nothing in her religious faith, or education, or polity, that embarrasses our fellowship with all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity. We can commune with them, work with them, and rejoice with them just as far as *their* catholicity will permit. General delight in the Church of our Lord Jesus Christ is not incompatible with special delight in a particular branch of that Church. We may love a large circle of friends very sincerely and earnestly, and yet one of them may be the object of our special regard and joy. We do not love other Churches less because we love the Methodist Episcopal Church more. Nor in asserting the validity of her ministry and the genuineness of her Churchdom are we obliged to invalidate other ministries, or unchurch other denominations. It is in perfect charity toward others, therefore, that we assert our claim to be a true Ministry and Church on the New Testament basis. We select the Church of Corinth as a precedent for our argument.

I. The Corinthian Church possessed a valid ministry because of its divine appointment. They claimed this in words like these: "Paul, called to be an Apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God." 1 Cor. i, 1. "Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God." 2 Cor. i, 1. "For though I

preach the Gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea, woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel! For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will, a dispensation of the Gospel is committed unto me." 1 Cor. ix, 16, 17. "Who also hath made us able ministers of the New Testament; not of the letter, but of the spirit." "And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation. Now then we are embassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God." 2 Cor. v, 18–20. "For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest Apostles." 2 Cor. xi, 5.

This claim to divine appointment was recognized by the Church. "Therefore, seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy, we faint not; but have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully; but, by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." 2 Cor. iv, 1, 2. "Knowing therefore the terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God; and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences." 2 Cor. v, 11. "Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds." 2 Cor. xii, 12. "We have been thoroughly made manifest among you in all things." 2 Cor. xi, 6.

The Methodist Church has ever held that no man taketh this honor to himself; that no man can enter the Christian ministry merely as a chosen profession, "but he that is called of God, as was Aaron." And further, that when a man is moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon him the office of the ministry in the Church of Christ, this will of God concerning him is made manifest to the Church. In the exercise of his gifts in the social meetings of the Church, in his conversation and life, there will be seen by the Church such gifts and grace and usefulness as carry to the conscience of the Church the conviction that he is a chosen vessel of God to bear his name before mankind.

Therefore in our Church this question is always submitted to the laity. No man can be licensed to preach among us who is not recommended by the Society or Leaders' Meeting where he belongs. Then the Quarterly Conference, (composed mostly of laymen,) after due examination, may license him to preach. And if he seeks to be a Pastor he must be further recommended by the Quarterly Conference to the Annual Conference as a suitable person for that office and work. So that in the case of each one of the more than eight thousand Pastors in the Methodist Episcopal Church the laity have three times formally and officially expressed the judgment that they were called of God to this function and ministry. Then after years of trial and repeated examinations they have been ordained by the authority of their ministerial brethren.

We do not deny that a brother may be mistaken as to a call to the ministry. We do not claim that the judgment of the Church is infallible in this matter. But we do believe that when a man professes to be called of God to this holy ministry whose Christian character is a guarantee of his sincerity, and the Church finds in him the gifts, grace, and fruit which a true minister must have, they can decide the question more certainly and safely than any other persons or authorities. So that the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church do not hail from John the Baptist, or from Peter, or from John Wesley. We seek no investiture from prelate or primate. We have succeeded to no dead men's places; we derive authority from no dead men's credentials; there is no smell of the sepulcher about us; *our call is direct from our risen and living Lord, recognized and authenticated by a living Church, made valid and vital by the living God. We are the living ministers of to-day by divine appointment.*

II. Another cause of this Church's rejoicing in the validity of her ministry was their endowments. "But God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For what man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us of God. Which things also we speak,

not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual." 1 Cor. ii, 10–13. These Scriptures state their spiritual perception and heavenly wisdom; their knowledge of divine things.

"For God, who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ. But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us." 2 Cor. iv, 6, 7. As earthen vessels merely they were intrusted with the treasure of Christianity. "But though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge." 2 Cor. xi, 6. "And my speech and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power." 1 Cor. ii, 4. "Not that we are sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves; but our sufficiency is of God." 2 Cor. iii, 5. These passages prove that God, having called these Apostles, so illumined their minds, so endued them with the wisdom that is from above, and so assisted them with the demonstration of the Spirit, as to make them sufficient for their office and work. In licensing and recommending her ministers the Methodist Church has expressed the judgment that by similar endowments from God they possessed the same ministerial sufficiency.

III. A third cause of rejoicing in their ministers was their devotedness in the office. "For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." 1 Cor. ii, 2. "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord; and ourselves your servants [or slaves] for Jesus' sake." 2 Cor. iv, 5. "And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you; though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be loved." 2 Cor. xii, 15. Not to secure their love or their blessings, but to save their precious souls, he would sacrifice himself.

This devotedness cost much suffering. "For I think that God hath set forth us the Apostles last, as it were appointed to death: for we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men. . . . Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place; and labor, working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it."

1 Cor. iv, 9, 11, 12. "Are they ministers of Christ? (I speak as a fool,) I am more; in labors more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep; in journeyings often, in perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrymen, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness. Besides those things that are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the Churches." 2 Cor. xi, 23–28.

We submit whether these quotations are not historically descriptive of the ministry of the Methodist Church? Have they not generally been absorbed in the work of their ministry? Have not their lives been those of sacrifice and suffering? Is it not literally true that they have no certain dwelling-place? Have they not often been compelled to labor, working with their own hands to obtain bread for themselves and families? Certainly they have been in journeyings often, and in perils in all the forms here spoken of, and have endured all the sufferings here described. Even in recent times in fulfilling this ministry, *some have suffered actual martyrdom.* Certainly more heroic devotion, more patient endurance, and more earnest labor have not been displayed by any ministry since the example of inspired Apostles. Well may the Church which has such a ministry rejoice in it.

IV. A fourth cause of rejoicing was found in their manner of executing their ministry. "For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead." 2 Cor. v, 14. "I speak not this to condemn you: for I have said before, that ye are in our hearts to die and live with you." 2 Cor. vii, 3. "For out of much affliction and anguish of heart I wrote unto you with many tears; not that ye should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you." 2 Cor. ii, 4. "For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin

to Christ." 2 Cor. xi, 2. What an affectionate, careful pastorate is described in these passages! Indeed, the tone of both these epistles is sympathetic, loving, and paternal. They show the most prayerful solicitude, the most watchful care on the part of these Pastors. "Fed you with milk!" Our care for you in the sight of God! Daily care of all the Churches! "Blessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort; who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we ourselves are comforted of God." 2 Cor. i, 3, 4. I feel assured that the sentiment of the Church will approve the statement that the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church has very generally, in this respect, been like that of the Apostles. Human infirmity has doubtless made exceptions among them, but the spirit of Christ has usually possessed and controlled his servants in an eminent degree; even in apostolic measure.

V. A fifth cause of rejoicing was, the doctrines they preached. "But we preach Christ crucified, unto the Jews a stumbling-block, and unto the Greeks foolishness; but unto them which are called, both Jews and Greeks, Christ the power of God, and the wisdom of God." 1 Cor. i, 23, 24. "For I delivered unto you first of all that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures: and that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the Scriptures." 1 Cor. xv, 3, 4. "For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." 1 Cor. iii, 11. Certainly these were glad tidings of great joy.

They also preached a present, full, and conscious salvation: "Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are passed away; behold, all things are become new." 2 Cor. v, 17. "Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?" 1 Cor. iii, 16. "Having therefore these promises, dearly beloved, let us cleanse ourselves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God." 2 Cor. vii, 1. "For we know that, if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens." 2 Cor. v, 1. "Knowing that he which raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise up us also by Jesus, and

shall present us with you." 2 Cor. iv, 14. How rich, full, and positive is this experience! A new creature! The Spirit of God dwelling in us! Perfecting holiness in the fear of God! Knowing that we have an inheritance in heaven, and that Jesus is our resurrection and life!

They also set forth the conditions of this great salvation: "For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of." 2 Cor. vii, 10. "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." 1 Cor. i, 21. No attendant upon the ministry of the Methodist Church will deny that these are the fundamental doctrines of her pulpits. Christ crucified; Christ the Redeemer, Mediator, and Saviour. Made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption—all in all. Joy-inspiring doctrines!

VI. Another cause of rejoicing was found in the success of their ministry. The planting of the Corinthian Church was a proof of their great success. We make one quotation on this point as all-sufficient for our purpose: "Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the savor of his knowledge by us in every place." 2 Cor. ii, 14. This has been as literally true with the Methodist ministry as it was with the Apostles. When and where have they failed of success? Not in England, Ireland, Scotland, or Wales; not in the United States or Territories; not in our cities, or villages, or older rural districts. Certainly Christ has made manifest the savor of his knowledge by us in the newer portions of our country. What class of people have we failed to benefit? Not the slaves or freedmen of the South; not the red men of the wilderness; not the immigrant population of the country; not the poor; not the rich; not the ignorant; not the learned. Among them all God has made known by us the savor of his resurrection. We have triumphed in Christ in Africa, in China, in India, in Germany, in Scandinavia. Methodism is becoming as polyglottic as the race.

Such were the Apostles; such are we. A divinely called, a spiritually endowed, a devoted, living ministry, preaching the glorious doctrines of the Gospel with success all the while and in every place.

The ministry of the Church had equal cause for rejoicing in their people as a true Church of Jesus Christ.

I. First. As the fruit and proof of apostleship: "For though ye have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the Gospel." 1 Cor. iv, 15. "Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed." 1 Cor. xv, 11. "Who then is Paul, and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?" 1 Cor. iii, 5. "If I be not an Apostle unto others, yet doubtless I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." 1 Cor. ix, 2. "Do we begin again to commend ourselves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you? Ye are our epistle, written in our hearts, known and read of all men. Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart." 2 Cor. iii, 1–3.

It was a devout joy to the Apostle that as he planted and Apollos watered God gave the increase. That working together with God they had been successful Pastors. Their labor had not been in vain in the Lord. Souls had been led to repentance; to faith in Christ; made new creatures in Christ; saved. No success gives greater joy than ministerial success. On this principle no ministry has more cause for joy than Methodist ministers.

Second. Again the Apostle claims this success as the proof of his apostleship, "The seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord." He admits that some others needed, as there are certainly some who do at this day, epistles or letters of commendation, but they needed none. "Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God." How richly is this the experience of nearly every Methodist minister! How joyously can we point to those we have led to Christ and say, Ye are our epistle; ye are the seal of our apostleship! And surely we need give no other proof of Christ speaking in us. Ministers who can every-where furnish credentials written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God, need no others. Men who will not accept God's authentication are not entitled to any other evidence.

Third. This principle is laid down by a still higher authority. When John sent two of his disciples to Jesus to inquire, "Art thou he that should come, or look we for another?" Jesus said unto them, "Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see. The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the Gospel preached to them." Here Jesus rests the proof of his Messiahship on his works. These being such as belong to that office, prove that he who performs them is that person. If our Divine Master could rest the question of his Messiahship on the demonstration of appropriate works, then certainly the Apostles could rest the question of their embassadorship upon that test. If the Apostles could rest the question of their apostleship upon the legitimate results of that office attaching to their ministrations, then we can rest the validity of our embassadorship with equal confidence upon the same results. Indeed, reason and Scripture and the divine example do not permit us to ask or offer any other proof of our divine mission and work.

II. They rejoiced in the fellowship of their spiritual experience: "For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit." 1 Cor. xii, 13. "Now he which establisheth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also sealed us, and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts." 2 Cor. i, 21, 22. "But we all, with open face beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord, are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord." 2 Cor. iii, 18. If there be "kindred spirits" in this world, they are those who have been made to drink into one Spirit, and that the Spirit of Christ. Oneness in Christ Jesus is the most perfect unity that is found in any of the associations of earth. One nature, a renewed one; one experience, one worship and service, one destiny. The minister can have no sweeter fellowship than spiritual communion with his people; no richer joy than to share with them their pleasures of devotion, their spiritual banquets at the table of the Lord; their foretaste of glory at the gate of heaven. No ministers have ever shared this bliss more fully than those of the Methodist Church. Saved ourselves, conscious of God's

pardoning mercy and adopting love; that the blood of Christ cleanseth us from all sin; dwelling in God and God dwelling in us, we have instructed and exhorted our people to seek the witness of the Spirit, and to go on to perfection. In our social meetings we have encouraged all our members, even babes in Christ, to declare what the Lord has done for them. In our class meetings and love-feasts we statedly hear them speak of the dealings of the Lord, and frequently go with them as far as the land of Beulah, and hear their last and sweetest utterances of the things of God. Our periodicals are weekly recording death scenes as blessed and as sublime as were those of Stephen or Paul. Blessed be God for brethren and sisters who live happy and die happy in the Lord!

III. They rejoiced in their Christian integrity and fidelity: "I thank my God always on your behalf, for the grace of God which is given you by Jesus Christ; that in every thing ye are enriched by him, in all utterance, and in all knowledge." 1 Cor. i, 4, 5. "Now I praise you, brethren, that ye remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you." 1 Cor. xi, 2. And I wrote this same unto you, lest, when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice; having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all." 2 Cor. ii, 3. "Great is my boldness of speech toward you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation. I rejoice therefore that I have confidence in you in all things." 2 Cor. vii, 4, 16. Herein the Apostle rejoices greatly; he is filled with comfort. He glories in their character, the grace they had received, their spiritual knowledge, their observance of the ordinances, and their reciprocal joy.

We can say quite as much of the members of our Church. Speaking for the ministry, we say to the laity, We rejoice that we have "confidence in you in *all things;*" in your profession, its sincerity, its correctness; in your Christian principles, in their soundness and strength; in your devotion to God, its ardor and entirety; in your love to the Church, your earnest attachment to the institutions and interests of the branch to which you belong; we have confidence in you in all things. The most important modification in our polity ever proposed has been referred to your will by the General Conference.

No question of *confidence* or *honor* can be agitated between the laity and ministry of the Church. On such a question the laity would hear the ministry saying with one voice: "For we are glad, when we are weak, and ye are strong: and this also we wish, even your perfection." 2 Cor. xiii, 9. All the questions under discussion among us are questions of *expediency* and *usefulness.* Here differences of judgment may arise, and even questions of conscience and earnest debate may arise; but the wisdom, love, and prayer of the Church will settle them wisely and to the glory of God.

IV. The Apostles rejoiced in the co-operation of the Church in their spiritual enterprises. 1. *By supporting the Pastors.* "If we have sown unto you spiritual things, *is it* a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?" 1 Cor. ix, 11.

2. *By prayers.* "Ye also helping together by prayer for us, that for the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons thanks may be given by many on our behalf." 2 Cor. i, 11.

3. *By ministering to the saints.* "For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you: for I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia." 2 Cor. ix, 1, 2.

4. *In their missionary work.* "Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labors; but having hope, when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you according to our rule abundantly, to preach the Gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand." 2 Cor. x, 15, 16.

5. *In general usefulness.* "And God is able to make all grace abound toward you; that ye, always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work." 2 Cor. ix, 8. "Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord." 1 Cor. xv, 58.

We are under equal obligation to our people for their intelligent, generous, prayerful co-operation. They sustain their Pastors and their Missionaries at an annual expense of several millions of dollars. Though, owing to circumstances which as yet are found uncontrollable, some of the Pastors suffer severely, yet as a whole the support is liberal. They

also have provided four thousand parsonages, at a cost of some six millions of dollars; some twelve thousand churches, at an expense of about forty millions of dollars; paid for property of our literary institutions more than ten millions of dollars. These are noble contributions. But the *time* which has been given to the Church by these princely laymen is, perhaps, worth still more. This property has not been accumulated and taken care of without much time and attention. The direction of our benevolent institutions is also largely under the supervision and direction of our laymen, and not only taxes their purses, but also their time. The spiritual work they perform is even more important. The one hundred and seventy-five thousand officers and teachers in our Sunday-schools, the ten thousand Local Preachers, the tens of thousands of Class Leaders, the Stewards, the Trustees, a grand co-operative force, working voluntarily, yet officially, with the Pastors. The religious activities of the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church have never been exceeded by those of any Church since the day of Pentecost. Never were Christian efforts to spread the knowledge of God and to advance the kingdom of Christ more wisely directed, or zealously prosecuted, or attended with greater success. The Church has been a royal priesthood. Her members have been steadfast, immovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord. Heaven and earth bear witness that their labors have not been in vain in the Lord.

Now is all this history a delusion? Are all these services vain? Are we heathen? Are we outside of the true Church? Are all these proceedings irregular or antiscriptural? Are we at best sharing only uncovenanted mercies? The comparison we have instituted between the Corinthian Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church answers all these inquiries.

If the Corinthian Church was a Christian Church, then is the Methodist Church a Christian Church. If the ministry by whose planting and watering the Corinthian Church was raised up and edified was a Christian ministry, then is the Methodist ministry a Christian ministry. We know this from the concurrent consciousness of the ministers and the Church. We know it from the sameness of their spiritual endowments and divine qualifications. We know it from the similarity of the spirit and manner of executing their ministry. We know

it from the equal devotedness of the ministry. We know it from the oneness of the doctrines taught. We know it from the same legitimate results, the same soul-saving issues. We know it because we see every-where our letters of commendation in the handwriting of God. We see every-where the seals of our apostleship on the hearts of the people. No ministry ever knew it more certainly, or rejoiced in it more divinely, or labored in it more scripturally. "Doubtless thou art our Father, though Abraham be ignorant of us, and Israel acknowledge us not. Thou, O Lord, art our Father, our Redeemer; thy name is from everlasting."

As the ministers and laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church constitute as certainly and fully as did the Corinthian Church a true Church of the Lord Jesus Christ, so are the temples they build and consecrate to God Christian temples, as holy and sacred as any God dwells in on earth. Most despicable are the meanness and arrogance that seek to degrade them by calling them "Meeting-houses" in contradistinction from other places of worship called "Churches," assumed to be more sacred. If the glory of the Lord filling these houses—if God's recording his name in them, and coming unto the people who assemble in them and blessing them—if this and that man's being born in them sanctifies them, then are they none other than houses of God, sanctuaries of the Most High, heavenly places in Christ Jesus, as holy and sacred and useful as any houses built for God.

Then, too, are the sacraments administered by us as valid and efficacious and scriptural as those enjoyed by any other branch of the Christian Church. All this we steadfastly believe. We also believe in the "holy catholic" or general Church, and in communion with all saints. We are companions of all them that fear God and keep his precepts. Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity! Now unto Him that is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us, unto Him be glory in the Church, by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen.

Art. II.—LITERALITY OF THE ACCOUNT OF THE GARDEN OF EDEN.

In the second and third chapters of Genesis is found an account of the garden of Eden as the first abode of man. The account given of that garden, and of the transactions said to have been enacted in connection therewith, have been made the subject of much investigation and criticism by good and learned men, and yet it cannot be affirmed that they have removed all difficulty and obscurity from the subject. So have the same topics been made the subject of much skeptical criticism, and even vulgar ridicule, by impious unbelievers, and yet they have failed to prove the history false or unreasonable. It never can be proved to be false, for the reason that there is no higher proof which can reach the case than the history itself. There is no prior or contemporary document which can contradict the Bible record, and there is nothing contradictory or impossible in the account itself. The Bible story of the origin and first condition and acts of man has a decided advantage over all modern speculative theories; it claims to be a record of the facts, it can never be disproved, and it is the only document which claims to be such a record.

It is not intended to join issue with Deism, or with any other form of open infidelity in this article; but there have been some disguised attacks upon the integrity of this portion of sacred history which demands attention. It has been insisted by some that the account of the garden of Eden, and of the sin of Adam and Eve and their expulsion, is only a myth, or, at most, only an allegory. It is with this class that the issue is joined. The following is a statement of the position that will be maintained.

The Integrity of the Christian Record requires us to maintain the literality of the account of the Garden of Eden.

1. The account of the garden of Eden is a link in the chain of history so connected, that if this link be dissolved into a myth, or transformed into an allegory, it will not only sever the chain, but loosen it at the end from the first great starting point

of realities, leaving no land-fastening. It is a part of the account of creation. The history of the garden embraces the only account we have of the origin of our race, for the man whom God formed out of the dust of the ground was the same man which he put in the garden, and who also was the father of the race, so that if the garden is a myth the man is a myth also; and if the story of the garden is an allegory, the story of the man is also an allegory; and so far as the Scriptures are concerned we have no account of the origin of our race, and the Bible history of humanity ends in a myth or an allegory as you trace it upward.

The first sin committed by man, commonly characterized as the fall, constitutes the principal topic of the account of the garden, so that if this story is a myth the Scriptures give us no matter-of-fact account of the introduction of sin into this world. But that first sin, said to have been committed in the garden, constitutes the historic stand-point of the world's redemption by Christ. Make the account of the garden a myth, and you leave only a myth for the first great historic event in the story of redemption, which is the greatest wonder of all the wonders that ever astonished angels, men, or devils.

The story of the garden, and of the transactions said to have taken place therein, constitutes the beginning of the only history we have of our race, and if it is a myth the Bible gives us no truthful account of the commencement of the human family. The Bible history makes the same Adam and Eve who were in the garden, and were driven out of it on account of their disobedience, the father and mother of us all. The Adam and Eve of the garden were the father and mother of Cain and Abel. The same Adam and Eve were the father and mother of Seth, from whom Noah descended, who alone with his family crossed the flood to people the world on this side. From Noah Abraham descended, and Christ descended from Abraham, who was the promised Seed of the woman of the garden that was to bruise the serpent's head. Thus, if you make a myth of the story of the garden, the only history of humanity ends in a myth where it began, if you trace it backward. Make a myth of the story of the garden, and the genealogy of Christ ends in a myth.

2. The garden of Eden, with the events historically connected with it, are so referred to by later inspired writers as to impeach the whole Bible history, if that be only a myth or an allegory.

The recorded facts are referred to by various writers, not as to a myth or an allegory, but as to historical facts. "And Lot lifted up his eyes, and beheld all the plain of Jordan, that it was well watered every-where before the Lord destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah, even as the garden of the Lord." Gen. xiii, 10. "The Lord shall comfort Zion; he shall comfort all her waste places, and he will make her wilderness like Eden, and her desert like the garden of the Lord." Isa. li, 3. "Thou hast been in Eden, the garden of the Lord." Ezek. xxviii, 13. "I have made him fair by the multitude of his branches: so that all the trees of Eden that were in the garden of God envied him." Ezek. xxxi, 9. "The land is as the garden of Eden before them, behind them a desolate wilderness." Joel ii, 3. "If I covered my transgressions as Adam." Job xxxi, 33. The above texts all clearly refer to the account of the garden of Eden as a fact in history, known and believed.

The New Testament contains still more conclusive references to the history of the garden of Eden. Christ, in his reply to the Pharisees on the subject of divorce, quoted the very words of Adam, uttered in the garden of Eden over the woman whom, according to the account, God had formed out of one of his ribs. "For this cause shall a man leave his father and his mother and shall cleave to his wife: and they twain shall be one flesh." Matt. xix, 5; Gen. ii, 24. "But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ." 2 Cor. xi, 3. "Adam was first formed, then Eve. And Adam was not deceived, but the woman being deceived was in the transgression." 1 Tim. ii, 13, 14. These allusions to the garden of Eden are such as to prove the account to be real history, or to impeach the New Testament by supposing that it rests some of its fundamental principles upon a myth or an allegory.

3. Paul selects the transactions of the garden as his first grand stand-point from which he contemplates the world's redemption. The great Apostle grounds the necessity of redemption upon what took place in the garden, by which the whole race was involved in sin, and from this point he runs a parallel between the Adam of the garden, the first Adam, that sinned, and Christ, the second Adam, the redeemer and restorer of what was lost in the first Adam.

God said to the serpent in the garden, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her Seed; it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel." Gen. iii, 15. This has been understood as referring to Christ as the Seed of the woman; and though this interpretation of the text is not essential to the validity of Christianity, nor to the soundness of the present general argument, it is proper to show that the idea is interwoven into the entire history of redemption. The genealogy of Christ is carefully traced back to the Adam and Eve of the garden. Christ was promised to Abraham as his Seed, and Paul, referring to this fact, no doubt with reference to what was said in the garden, that the Seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, comments as follows: "Now to Abraham and his Seed were the promises made. He saith not, and to seeds, as of many; but as of one, and to thy Seed, which is Christ." Gal. iii, 16. And so literal were the words uttered in the garden concerning the Seed of the woman, that their fulfillment required that Christ should be the seed of the woman without a human father. He was the son of a virgin, and was thus the seed of the woman in a sense not true of any other human being. This makes the words uttered in the garden, which some call a myth or an allegory, not only literal history, but in this item a prophecy of the most profound importance. Paul gives this subject special notice when he says, "But when the fullness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law." Gal. iv, 4, 5. Also, no doubt with direct reference to what was said in the garden, that the Seed of the woman should bruise the serpent's head, Paul says, "The God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly." Rom. xvi, 20.

St. Paul, while discussing the great doctrine of the resurrection, gives us the following parallels between the Adam of the garden and Christ: "But now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive." 1 Cor. xv, 20–22. No one can doubt that the Adam here named, by whom death came and in whom all die, is the same Adam upon whom the sentence of death was

passed in the garden of Eden; and if so, Paul must have regarded that account as literal history, or he would not have thus reasoned from it in proof of the important doctrine of the resurrection of the dead.

But Paul gives his strongest argument in his Epistle to the Romans: "Wherefore, as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned: for until the law sin was in the world: but sin is not imputed where there is no law. Nevertheless death reigned from Adam to Moses, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of Adam's transgression, who is the figure of Him that was to come. But not as the offense, so also is the free gift: for if through the offense of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many. And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift; for the judgment was by one to condemnation, but the free gift is of many offenses unto justification. For if by one man's offense death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace and of the gift of righteousness shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ. Therefore, as by the offense of one judgment came upon all men to condemnation; even so by the righteousness of one the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life." Rom. v, 12–18.

The account of the garden of Eden narrates the only transactions in the history of humanity to which Paul can have referred in the above scripture; and if we rarefy that into a myth, or transform it into an allegory, we leave Paul nothing but a mythical or an allegorical foundation for his masterly argument, at the profoundness of which the deepest Christian theologians have been awed, and the most thinking infidels have wondered. It appears impossible that any one should doubt that Paul's one man that sinned, by whose sin death entered into the world, and passed upon all because it involved all in sin, is the man who sinned in the garden. There is no other one man named in the Bible by whom sin and death can have entered the world. It appears impossible to doubt that the Adam of Paul's argument, from whom death reigned until the time of Moses without any written law, is the same Adam upon whom the sentence of death was pronounced in

Eden. The argument of the Apostle is built upon two principal facts.

First, Adam, the one man that sinned, by whose offense many, that is, all, were made sinners, creating the necessity for the redemption of the race, was the first man of the race, the father of all men. Jews and Gentiles alike suffered by the sin of the one man, and alike needed redemption. Hence it is that this one man, Adam of the garden, was the father of Seth, from whom the race is traced down to Noah, from whom both the Jews and Gentiles have their descent.

The second fact upon which Paul's argument is built is, that Christ, the Redeemer, descended from the same one man, Adam, was the Seed of the one woman, Eve, the wife of the one man, Adam, so that the Gentiles, who could claim no relation to him through Abraham, could claim such relation through Noah, from whom Jews and Gentiles are traced in one genealogical line up to Adam. Corresponding to these facts, we have the genealogy of Christ, carefully traced up to Adam and Eve, who figured in the garden, and were turned out of it on account of their sin, connecting the Christ of the garden of Gethsemane and the cross, with the Adam, the sinner, in the garden of Eden. Thus are all men who need redemption, and Christ the Redeemer, equally connected with Adam, the first sinner. The argument then is, that as the whole human race has descended from Adam, the first sinner, and are sinners like him, so Christ, after the flesh, descended from the same Adam, and stands related, not only to the Jews through Abraham, but to the whole lost race through Noah and Adam. Break this chain, by which Christ the Redeemer, together with the whole redeemed race, stands connected with the Adam of the garden, or remove the literality of that garden by dissolving it into a myth or converting it into an allegory, and you will subvert Paul's argument, and overthrow his entire view of the plan of redemption.

4. The laxity of interpretation which is necessary to reach the conclusion that the account of the garden of Eden is a myth or an allegory, if allowed, will enable every person to explain away a large portion of the Scriptures so far as any settled and literal sense is concerned. The story of Cain and Abel can quite as easily be considered a myth; so can the ac-

count of the translation of Enoch. The story of the flood and Noah's ark may as easily be turned into a myth. The call of Abraham, and in particular his call to offer his son Isaac, has no stronger claim to be a literal history than the account of the garden of Eden. Moses in his ark of bulrushes would be a beautiful myth under this latitudinarian mode of interpretation. The book of Job is easily converted into a grand legend. The exit of Elijah becomes a splendid myth, and the whole book of Jonah is no more than a legend, and an extravagant one at that. The history of the miraculous conception has been declared to be a legend, which was written and added to St. Matthew's Gospel in after years. If we allow ourselves thus to tamper with the record, landmark after landmark will vanish, stand-point after stand-point will be changed, until we shall have no anchoring ground left into which to cast the moorings of our faith when we find ourselves drifting before the storm.

5. There is absolutely no necessity for such a latitudinarian construction of the account of the garden of Eden as will make it a myth or an allegory. There is no sufficient reason for it, and it can result from nothing short of a spirit of wild speculation, or an intention to impair the Christian record and weaken our faith in the same. This position is worthy of a brief examination.

It is not contended that the document has been mistranslated, and that a new and correct translation makes it read like a myth or an allegory. Such a position would challenge examination by affirming a sufficient reason, though the affirmation were false; but no such claim has been set up.

It is not pretended that the document has been changed by design or by the errors of copyists, and that to bring it back to its original state will show it to be a myth or an allegory. If it were claimed that some more ancient Hebrew copies had been found by which it would stand corrected, every true Christian scholar, and every firm believer in the Scriptures would say, Bring forward your ancient copies, prove their antiquity, and let us compare and make all required correction, that we may have the record as God gave it to man. But no such position is attempted to be maintained, and it would be only a pretense if such attempt was made.

It is not necessary to convert the story of the garden of Eden into a myth or an allegory as a means of conforming the record to the truth of science. No modern scientific discoveries contradict the literality of the account of the garden of Eden, and of Adam and Eve. The theology of the Church once taught that this earth was a stationary plain, and that the sun moved around it; but science has corrected that error, though the priests and doctors for a time fought manfully against it. But that error and its correction does not involve the truth of the record, but only our interpretation of it. Though men have often been proved mistaken in regard to science, and may be again, yet all real science is truth itself, and our opinions must stand corrected by its undoubted affirmations. So conclusive, however, are the proofs of the inspiration of the Scriptures, that if clearly-ascertained principles of science contradict their supposed teaching, we should at once suspect our understanding of them; for the conflict cannot be with what the Scriptures really teach, but only with our interpretation of them. But no scientific principles have been developed which conflict with the literality of the account of the garden of Eden. It is not a question which can be brought to the test of any of the sciences. Astronomy does not reach it, geology does not reach it, anatomy does not reach it, physiology does not reach it; in a word, no science reaches it. It is claimed that geology has demonstrated that the earth is more than six thousand years old. Be it so; but whether the account of the garden of Eden is an historic fact or a myth does not depend upon the age of the world. The Bible history of generations teaches that the present race of human beings, the children of Adam, have existed upon earth only about six thousand years, and geology furnishes no proof that our race has existed longer than the Bible history of Adam and his descendants allow. How long the earth existed before God created Adam and planted the garden is another question, which has nothing to do with the character of this part of the history as literal or mythical.

The conclusion reached, then, is, that to pronounce the account of the garden of Eden a myth or an allegory is to surrender a fundamental document before any legal demand has been made for it; it is to make a free-will offering to infidelity,

and one which will impair the foundation of our religion. It will leave us without the slightest history of our race, for the Bible history of humanity does not connect us with the man created and described in the first chapter of Genesis, but with the man Adam of the garden of Eden. It will leave us without any account of the introduction of sin into this world; for the only account we have is contained in the history of the garden of Eden as man's first abode. It will subvert many of the most sublime truths and richest promises, which are so connected with and based upon the literal existence of the garden of Eden, and the historic truth of what is said to have transpired therein, as to stand or fall with the literality of that account. Let no man, then, lay a sacrilegious hand upon that document.

Art. III.—WHEDON ON MATTHEW.

A Commentary on the Gospels of Matthew and Mark. Intended for Popular Use. By D. D. Whedon, D.D. Tenth Thousand. New York: Carlton & Porter.

"The Evangelists," says Bengel, "contain the rudiments of the New Testament;" and of the Evangelists Matthew is, in many regards, the chief. "There is not," according to Dr. A. Clarke, "one truth or doctrine in the whole oracles of God which is not taught in this Evangelist. The outlines of the whole spiritual system are here correctly laid down: even Paul himself has added nothing; he has amplified and illustrated the truths contained in this Gospel; but, even under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, neither he nor any of the other Apostles have brought to light one truth, the prototype of which has not been found in the words and acts of our blessed Lord as related by Matthew." This Gospel, according to another, is "the most singular in its composition, the most wonderful in its contents, and the most important in its object, that was ever exhibited to the notice of mankind." A good commentary, therefore, on the Gospel by Matthew ought to be an Institute of Theology. If the exegesis be clear and correct, if the doctrinal topics be properly presented and intelligently discussed, and if all the lights of learning, research, and modern science

be thrown upon the sacred page, a commentary on Matthew's Gospel will be, substantially, a complete system of salvation.

We have placed at the head of this article the "Commentary on the Gospels," by Dr. Whedon, not because we purpose to consider the observations made on any other of the Gospels than Matthew, nor because we intend to write an essay with this book for our text, or suggestive topic, but because we hope by an analysis of Dr. Whedon's exposition of the chiefest of the Evangelists, and by a liberal quotation from his comments, to show our readers how complete a theodicy is herein presented, and how eminently worthy of a wide circulation in the Church is the book itself. Let no one be misled by the declaration that this commentary is "intended for popular use." That it is adapted to every order of mind, that it is written in a pithy, pungent, popular style, that every truth is made plain to the commonest understanding, and that the charms of a faultless rhetoric linger on every page, are statements which might be abundantly verified. But, at the same time, there is no lack of logic, no dearth of learning, and no scarcity of philosophy and metaphysics. The work which the author undertook is thoroughly and exhaustively done. He attempted "the clear presentation of the meaning and spirit of the text itself;" and this endeavor has been crowned with a rare and glorious success. The logic is not dry, the learning is not pedantic, the philosophy is not false, and the metaphysics are not muddy. In a style clear as the light glows the luminous truth. Every page sparkles with brief, pertinent sayings, which gleam out suddenly, like the stars in heaven. The incisive, analytic mind of the author cuts through every false gloss, exegesis, or doctrine, and displays, in the beautiful harmony of revelation, the manifold wisdom of God. The garnishings of rhetoric and erudition do not hide or obscure the precious truth of the inspired word; they are the pictures of silver for the apples of gold. That it is the constant purpose of Dr. Whedon to bring out and make plain *the mind of the Spirit*, as expressed in the text, is a fact to which every page of this commentary bears testimony.

This commentary should be studied with constant reference to the "Historical Synopsis of the Gospels," which is presented, in a tabulated form, as a sort of preface both to the text and

the notes. The manifestation and ministry of our Lord is embraced in the following periods:

1. The Infancy and Childhood.
2. The Qualification.
3. The Preparatory Ministry.
4. The Platform and Extending Ministry.
5. Apostolic Commission, and Ministry at Zenith.
6. Transfiguration, and Ministry of Sorrow and Struggle.
7. The Final Journey to Jerusalem, and Contest there.
8. The Suffering.
9. Resurrection and Ascension.

The incidents of these several periods are arranged in sections, and designated by paragraphs, so that the historical synopsis is complete; and being complete, it is also invaluable.

Bengel's and Wesley's notes are remarkable for the clearness and accuracy of their definitions; to these Whedon's must be added. And a definition often amounts to a demonstration. It clears away the mists of error, as it elucidates and sets forth the truth. We append a few examples from our author:

The Gospel.—The term Gospel is compounded of the two Saxon words *god*, good, and *spel*, news. It is the good news of a Saviour's birth, life, and death, sent from God to man. The Greek word *εὐαγγέλιον*, *evangelium*, (whence comes our word *evangelist*,) has precisely parallel etymology. The word *gospel*, from being the name for the *subject* of the four histories of our Lord, became, almost immediately after their publication, the title of the *books* themselves. Hence this book is called the Gospel *according to Matthew*, as being its author.

A type is *a person or object divinely designed to prefigure a future character or object to which it bears designed resemblance.* The future object so prefigured is called the *antitype*. *Type* is therefore visible prediction, as *prophecy* is spoken prediction. Thus the sacrifices were divinely-appointed *types* of the great atoning sacrifice of Christ. An entire *set* or combination of objects may be *typical* of an entire *set* of *antitypical* objects.

Jesus Christ.—The word *Jesus* is, in Greek form, the same as *Joshua* in Hebrew, and implies Saviour. Our Lord was so named (verse 21) by express command of the angel: first, to indicate that he was the Saviour from sin; and second, to show that he was the antitype of Joshua, his type; for as Joshua was leader of Israel, bringing them into the earthly Canaan, Jesus is a Saviour, bringing his people into a heavenly Canaan. So, often in the Bible, names are significant and typical, being divinely and prophetically given for that very purpose. The word *Christ* is not

primarily a proper name, but is a word of royal office. It is derived from the Greek χρίω, *chrio*, *to anoint;* and is exactly parallel with the Hebrew word Messiah, both signifying *anointed.* For as the Hebrews anointed kings and priests to their dignity, so kings and priests were called *anointed;* and so the prophets foretold him who was to come under the royal and priestly title of Anointed, Messiah, or CHRISTOS. Under this title he was earnestly waited for by the Jews, and even by the Samaritans, as the Samaritan woman testifies: *I know that Messias cometh, which is called Christ.* John iv, 25. Hence our Saviour's *name* was Jesus; and his *office* was to be the Christ, or royal Messiah.

Holy Ghost.—The word *ghost* is derived from the Saxon word *gast*, and signifies *spirit. Ghostly*, in older English, (of which *ghastly* is a cognate,) signifies *spiritual. Holy Ghost* is, therefore, synonymous with *Holy Spirit.* Inasmuch as the word *ghost* is almost exclusively applied in the English of the present day to the apparition of a departed human *spirit*, it would be better, perhaps, in case of a new translation, to disuse the word ghost in this connection.

In the comment on the verse, "Except ye be converted and become as little children," we have the following series of definitions:

Conversion generally implies our being *turned*, by the influence of truth and the Divine Spirit, with the consenting act of our own will, from our course as sinners to the ways of religion. But here, perhaps, it more specially signifies the being brought to renounce the disposition to seek pre-eminence or power over our fellows, especially in the Church. This was now the besetting sin of the disciples, of which it was their momentous duty to repent, and, by the aid of divine grace, be *turned* or *converted.* In this work God does the *converting;* man does the repenting and the *turning* to the new course. *Justification* is simply the pardon of our sins through the merit of Christ. Thereby we are treated by God as if we were *just*, or innocent of sin past. *Regeneration*, or the *being born again*, is the bestowment of those new feelings of love to God and his cause by which we become in heart and soul children of God; and we are thence adopted into his family. *Sanctification* is the power and disposition, more or less complete, to live free from sin, to overcome temptation, and to dwell in the uninterrupted enjoyment of God's smile.

The subject of *the Temptation of Jesus* is thus introduced, and the comments correspond with the indications here given:

For great missions the preparation is great trials. It was befitting that the newly inaugurated Prince of Light should come into a trial-contest with the prince of darkness. Our views of this transaction we present with sincere diffidence, giving often what

appears to us as on the whole the best solutions, rather than dogmatic certainties.

We can view this transaction neither as a mere *train of thought*, as a *vision*, as a *parable*, nor a *myth;* but as a great verity, occupying a most significant place in the system of sacred realities. The first Adam truly was tempted, and fell; the second Adam was as truly tempted, and won the victory. Hence he became the great head of triumphant humanity. Tempted in all points as we, he shows how to overcome. We remark:

1. The history implies in the abstract human nature of Jesus the *power* to sin. This is necessary in order to a responsible, free agency. If he had no power to choose sin, it is difficult to see how he could be tempted to a choice, not only impossible, but consciously impossible. If he could not comply with temptation, there could be no danger, and truly no temptation at all. If he was unable to comply with the temptation, there was no virtue in the non-compliance. He was that much no free agent; his non-compliance was necessary and mechanical, and so non-meritorious. The supposition that Christ could not sin raises him above all fitness to be an example for us as one "tempted in all points like as we are, yet without sin." Propose such a pattern to a fallible sinner, and he can answer conclusively, "Make it *impossible* for me to sin and I will be as holy as he." None but a free agent can be an example for a free agent. Nor is any but a free agent capable of responsible probation. This free agency implies not, indeed, *a preferential state of soul for evil*, as exists in depraved man, but a susceptibility, as in the perfect first Adam, to impressions which, voluntarily followed out to excess or misdirection, would become sin. This view implies no uncertainty of his accomplishing our redemption. For, in full view of all possibilities, the infinite wisdom and foreknowledge of God had selected, for Messiah, that being, of all others, who, he foresaw, would, with perfect free will, prefer God to Satan, and in spite of all temptation, prove true to his redemptional office. Hence, while there was an intrinsic *possibility* in the thing, there was a full and perfect *certainty* upon which the divine mind could rest, that that possible catastrophe of his fall *would not* take place.

2. In the whole transaction we are to view the Saviour in pure humanity. As he is led by the Spirit to the scene, so the blessed human one stood sole and singular in the universe—a pure lone man, as the first Adam himself, leaning, indeed, as every Christian may, on the divine arm, yet as truly able to fall by his own will from all union with God as our first progenitor, and truly able, by freely standing, to maintain an *identification* with God, impossible to the man of Eden.

Special commendation has been bestowed, and we think justly, on Dr. Whedon's exposition of our Lord's Sermon on the Mount. We quote only the plan or "skeleton" of the

discourse, which is the result of the commentator's own analysis. The topical arrangement adopted is especially admirable.

PLAN.

I. CHRISTIAN PIETY, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM IRRELIGION. Chap. v, 3–16.

1. Nine benedictions upon humility, penitence, meekness, aspirations after goodness, mercy, purity, peace-making, and holy suffering for righteousness' sake. 3–12.

2. Woes pronounced upon contrary traits. Luke vi, 24–26.

3. Active duties enjoined upon the *blessed* ones. 13–16.

II. CHRISTIAN PIETY, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM JUDAISM. Chap. v, 17; vi, 19.

1. Is the completion of *pure* Judaism. 17–20.

2. Distinguished from degenerate Judaism, in regard to (1.) angry passions, (2.) sexual purity, (3.) oaths, (4.) conciliation, (5.) moral love, (6.) sincerity in alms, prayer, and fasting. v, 20–vi, 18.

III. CHRISTIANITY, AS DISTINGUISHED FROM GENTILISM. Chap. vi, 19–vii, 27.

1. Supreme trust in God our provident Father. vi, 19–34.

(1.) The earth-treasures must not come into competition with the heavenly treasures. 19–23.

(2.) The world-god must not stand in competition with our heavenly Father. 24–34.

2. Supreme reverence for God as our adjudging Father. vii, 1–27.

(1.) Usurp not his place as Judge. vii, 1–6.

(2.) Confide in his more than earthly paternity. 7–12.

(3.) Enter the narrow way to him, avoiding all false guides. 13–20.

(4.) Profession no assurance before his judgment-bar. 21–23.

(5.) We stand or fall in judgment only by obedience to Christ's words. 24–27.

The "Plan" we believe to be as correct as it is simple, having a genuine basis in the discourse itself. We add nothing here of the comment proper, except the note on the eighth verse of the fifth chapter.

Blessed are the pure in heart—Here is a trait of character which God's Spirit can alone produce. This is sanctification. It may exist in different degrees. It may be partial; it may be complete. Even when complete, it may, in this world, coexist with many an error of judgment, and many a defect of temperament. Yet it enables us to live without offending God, so as to maintain for us the permanent undiminished fullness of the divine approbation. And when the heart is clean, the eye is clear. When purity makes us like God, then can we realize and see his countenance. The eye of the pure spirit beholds the pure Spirit. Through the

beams he shed down upon us, we can look up and see the face that shines. In the light of his smile we behold his smile. So the pure in heart shall see God.

It is, perhaps, the best service which we can render our readers, as well as the clearest exhibition of the soundness, ability, and excellence of Dr. Whedon's annotations, to present, under appropriate heads, some of the DOCTRINAL VIEWS which he has set forth.

1. *Of man's fallen and depraved nature.*

As the corruption of the tree lies back of the evil fruit, so the corruption of the man's nature lies back of his evil doings. Corruption, depravity, then, lies not, as some teach, merely in the *actions*, but in the *nature back of the actions.* Bad actions usually grow out of a bad nature.

More full, specific, and conclusive is the commentary on the thirty-third, thirty-fourth, and thirty-fifth verses of the twelfth chapter.

There is a sort of religious doctrine which teaches that men are not depraved in their *natures*, but only in their *actions.* Their nature back of their actions, it is claimed, is either innocent or it is neutral—neither good nor bad; and all of human depravity consists in the fact that *men do freely act bad, and always will do so.* Now, in opposition to this doctrine, our Lord teaches that there is in men a moral *nature* back of moral *action;* just as the tree is back of the fruit, just as the fountain is back of the stream, and just as the treasury full of good or evil is drawn from by the owner. It follows from this fact of man's fallen moral *nature*, that in order to be pure *in life* he must become *pure in heart.* There must be a change in *heart* in order that there should be a complete change in moral *action.* This does not indeed deny that in individual acts (as in the fall of the angels or of man) their free will may choose wrong from a right nature. But in their permanent history the actions and the character will conform to each other.

Now *no nature can change itself.* If the nature is bad, the resulting action is bad; and if the action is bad, that bad action cannot react and make the nature good. So that no mere natural man can regenerate himself; that is, make his own nature good and pure. No filthy stream can make its fountain clean. No corrupt fruit can send back a stream of pure sap and regenerate the tree.

There must then be a divine aid. A gracious power must be able to enter our nature, and there, by power, make all right, or must communicate to the fallen nature the power to perform those conditions by which it may come right. Fatalism teaches that

God by arbitrary power seizes some part of the human race, and absolutely makes them right. Our own Church teaches that God gives the power to all men by his Holy Spirit to do works meet for repentance; that grace used obtains further grace and power; so that by a gracious ability, and not by a natural ability, man may attain reformation, regeneration, and salvation. Yet that grace is not irresistible, nor necessarily unresisted, but accepted and used in action, with a full power of willing and acting otherwise instead.

Tree corrupt—Moral corruption of nature lies to a great degree in the state of the dispositions. It consists in a permanent temper and purpose to indulge the appetites, passions, and desires, with little or no regard to the divine law or the obligations of absolute right. Hence sin is either a state or an action which is *a transgression of the law.*

O generation of vipers—Our Lord in the last verse had used these doctrines to show that he was pure and good, because his actions were so. He now turns upon his opponents to convince them that *they* were the reverse in nature, and must be the reverse in action. The term *generation of vipers* indicates that depravity is inborn. As the viper's nature is derived by propagation from its original parents, so man's moral nature is derived from his progenitors. Divine grace is therefore necessary as that which by nature we cannot have; and a man must as a free agent *use* that grace which worketh within him both to will and to do. He must not receive the grace of God in vain. *How can ye*—They could not by mere nature, any more than an Ethiop can make himself white. Experience, Scripture, and reason teach this. God's grace, over and above nature, must give the power of change, and man must *use* it. *Abundance of the heart*—Abundance of the dispositions back of the will.

Good treasure of the heart—A most beautiful expression. The heart of *a good man* is a *treasure* of *good things.* Divine truths, blessed expressions, spiritual susceptibilities, holy emotions, dwell there richly, and abound. Like a wealthy banker, he has only to draw the precious *treasure* forth whenever occasion demands. *Evil treasure*—But the depraved man also has his treasury of *evil.* Hostile feelings against truth and goodness, skeptical arguments, malign emotions, purpose to prefer self-interest to right, hatred of God and religion, are all heaped together, and ready to furnish of their store whenever the occasion demands.

2. *Of God, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*

That God is a Spirit is plentifully revealed in Scripture. Yet this Spirit speaks of his Spirit. Gen. vi, 3; lix, 21. God sends forth this his Spirit. Prov. i, 23; Isa. xlii, 1. This Spirit thus sent forth is an agent, Acts viii, 29; x, 19; and a person, being designated by a personal pronoun. John xv, 26. This Spirit is associated with Father and Son in the baptismal command, and, like the other two, has his *name* or personal appellation. Matt.

xxviii, 19. So the same three appear in the apostolical benediction. 2 Cor. xiii, 13. Here the Father is the personal source of love, the Son of grace, and the Holy Spirit of communion. Yet God's Spirit must be divine, omnipotent, and eternal. God is universally in Scripture declared to be one. Here, therefore, we find that in some one mysterious respect God is trine, and in some other unfathomable respect he is one. Here, then, we have a Three-One, a Triune, a Trinity. This view of the sacred word has been faithfully held by the faithful Christian Church in all ages. Wherever it is denied, rationalism and skepticism are sure gradually to gain the ascendant, and the Gospel life is lost.

The doctrine of the Christian Church in all ages, as derived from the word of God, is thus expressed in our first Article of Faith: "There is but one living and true God, everlasting, without body or parts, of infinite power, wisdom, and goodness: the maker and preserver of all things, visible and invisible. And in unity of this Godhead there are three persons, of one substance, power, and eternity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost."

3. *Of the atonement made by our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Sickness, mortality, temporal death, are as truly a part of the great penalty of sin as the very pains of hell itself. All these were borne by the Saviour in the form of atoning sufferings on the cross. It was by this substitutional suffering in our stead, that the man Christ Jesus was entitled to redeem us from hell, and relieve us from even the earthly part of our woes. He healed sicknesses, therefore, by bearing even *them* in his own body on the tree.

Give his life—Even as the Son of man showed himself greatest of all by the greatest sufferings and sacrifices of all. *Give his life a ransom*—An atonement—an atonement by death, an atonement by substitution—is here briefly but powerfully expressed. The Saviour will give his life as a *ransom* for the souls of many. Now a ransom is always a substitute. The price paid is put in the place of the bondage of the ransomed person. If a sum be paid to ransom a slave, the money goes to the master, in the place of the slave's servitude. If the ransom goes to redeem a captive, the ransom is placed to the conqueror, in the room of the captive. If a Damon gives his life to ransom Pythias from the scaffold, Damon's death is the substitute for Pythias's death. And so if Christ's death be given to ransom sinners from death, his death must be a substitute for their death. He dies in their stead. His death is temporal, and theirs is eternal. So that if they by faith accept his death in place of their own, they may be saved from that impending doom.

When our Lord proclaimed the atonement finished, the stroke of his power smote *three realms:* the realm of *grace*, of *nature*, and of *death*. In the *first*, the temple's vail was rent, indicatively of the departure of the old dispensation and its nullity at the approach of the new. In the *second*, the earth was rent, indicating that the same power would destroy and renew again the face of

nature. In the *third*, the dead rose from their open *graves*, indicating that the dominion of the destroyer should be destroyed, and the human race be raised from his power to a complete resurrection.

Passover—This was the great feast of the Jews in commemoration of their departure from Egypt, when the destroying angel who cut off the first-born of the Egyptians was made to *pass over* the residences of the Jews harmless. A victim was upon that occasion slain by divine command, and his blood stricken on the two door-posts and upon the *lintel*, or top cross-piece, as a sign that the house was the abode of an Israelite. See Exod. xii, 1–30. In annual commemoration of this the following passover rites were appointed: On the tenth day of the month Nisan, (corresponding nearly to our April,) a male lamb without blemish, of either sheep or goats, was selected. It was to be kept until the fourteenth day of Nisan, when it was to be slain by the priest between the two evenings of three and six o'clock, and the blood was to be poured at the foot of the great altar. At evening each family, including not less than ten persons, was to eat the lamb. They were originally commanded to do this with all the tokens of rapid departure. Their feet were to be shod, their loins girt, their staff in hand, and they were to eat, not reclining, but standing, and their bread was to be unleavened, and the whole was to be done "with haste." "Bitter herbs" were to be eaten, as a symbol of their bitter sufferings in Egypt. Seven days were set apart (Exod. xii, 15) as *a feast of unleavened bread.* The first and last were to be days of holy convocation. The first day commenced with the eve on which the paschal lamb was eaten. In the Passion Week it was Friday. See note on verse 5.

We here remark that the victim was a true vicarious sacrifice. Egypt for his sins was punished by the selection of a human representative, namely, his first-born. Israel too was a sinner; but he suffered by substitution of the "lamb without spot." The paschal lamb was slain, and was to be, not boiled like other sacrifices, but *roasted*, to indicate by fire the terrible agonies of the atoning victim; and being roasted upon the cross-spit, he was literally *crucified.* The blood of the first victim sprinkled upon Israel's lintel is a most remarkable symbol of that blood sprinkled upon our souls, whereby God knows us for his own, and spares us when he makes inquisition for blood.

The passover lamb is indeed a wondrous type of "the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world;" by whose sprinkled blood we are saved from death and redeemed from spiritual bondage. It was on the passover night that our Lord instituted the sacrament as a bloodless continuation of the same commemoration, divested of its special Jewish significance. And our Lord himself was slain at this very feast, which was appointed by Moses to predict beforehand his death. On this occasion the Jews slew not only the typical victim, but the *real victim* typified by their feasts and sacrifices.

Sorrowful even unto death—Not sorrowful in anticipation of death; but a sorrow, not his own, pressed so heavily and so damply upon him, that it would drown and quench the spark of life but for the divine aid impregnating and strengthening his human person. What sorrow was this? Doubtless the Prophet Isaiah (liii, 4) furnishes the true answer: "Surely he hath borne our griefs and carried our sorrows." We do not here find any warrant for the supposition that God, the Father Almighty, poured the thunderbolts of personal anger on his suffering Son. But as Christ suffered as a substitute for a sinful world, so he did voluntarily, by his own sad consent, encounter all the woe that could be inflicted by hell and earth, (the natural executioners of absolute justice under the government of God,) and thus with his infinite dignity do honor to the law of eternal justice. And in view of this, having done homage to justice in his own person, he is entitled to bestow paradise, and confer righteousness on all who obediently accept him as their substitute and Redeemer.

And they crucified him—The victim was nailed to the wooden post, with his arms extended upon the cross beam, his four limbs being pierced by the spikes. The post sunk into the ground with a sudden shock, producing an agonizing torture. By pain, by loss of blood, and by mental suffering, death slowly and wearily would come. The cross was a Roman mode of execution, reserved for slaves and the vilest of the race, and therefore selected by the Jews, although not a Jewish punishment, as a proof of their contempt. The halter among us is scarce so ignominious a term of shameful suffering. Thence the cross became in the apostolic writings a symbol, not only of the atonement, but of the offense and contempt with which the Jews and Pagans viewed Christianity. At the same time it was the symbol of the suffering fidelity with which Christians adhered to their religion. It is now the ensign of Christian nations, and is a badge of Christian honor. It floats upon commercial banners, and hangs upon the neck of beauty. The Romanists have carried their reverence for the material and formal cross too far; but as a visible symbol of Christianity it is worthy of Christian use, nor should there be a superstitious extreme in the very act of rejecting the superstitious use of the symbol.

4. *Of the initiatory rite of the Gospel dispensation.*

On the words, (chapter iii, verse 11,) "He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with fire," we have this sharp analysis, and eminently suggestive comment:

This text is the *fundamental passage* for showing, from the very nature of the rite, what is the true mode of performing baptism. This I have shown at fuller length than is here possible, in my two sermons on The Double Baptism, in the Methodist Episcopal Pulpit. We may here remark: 1. The baptism of the Holy Spirit was not by immersion but affusion. At the Pentecost, where the Spirit bap-

tism was made visible, the tongues of fire descended and *sat upon them.* When our Lord was baptized the Holy Spirit *descended* and *lighted* upon him. On Cornelius and his company it was *poured out.* So Titus iii, 5, 6. The washing of regeneration is *shed* on us. Baptism by the Holy Ghost is always by affusion.

2. If so, then the word *baptizo*, as a religious rite, does not necessarily or properly signify immersion. It is the *descent* of the *element* upon the *person*, not of the person into the element. For if baptism by the element *spirit* is *affusion*, then baptism by the element *water* is *affusion.* The meaning of the *word* is the same whatever be the element.

3. We have here a principle of interpretation. The symbol ought always to conform to and picture its original. Now, spirit baptism is the original of which water baptism is the symbol. If spirit baptism be by *affusion*, certainly water baptism must also be by *affusion.* Spiritual *affusion* cannot be symbolized by *immersion* in water. Hence immersion fundamentally fails to be a picture of the original. It is symbol without a reality, a shadow without a substance.

4. The baptism by fire is a case equally clear. Its process was made visible at the Pentecost, when the fiery tongues sat upon the Apostles. Baptismal fire is by affusion; the fire of hell is by immersion. So, verse 10, the fruitless tree is *cast into the fire.* So, Rev. xx, 15, cast into the lake of fire.

5. *Of retribution in the eternal world.*

On the words, "He will burn up the chaff with unquenchable fire," our author says:

This epithet *unquenchable* is decisive against Restorationism and against Destructionism.

Restorationism teaches that the wicked will be delivered from hell; but this supposes the word *unquenchable* to be an empty terror devoid of meaning. For to what amounts it that the fire is unquenchable if the sinner may be snatched from it at any moment? what cares he for the phantasm of a hell *forever empty* though forever burning? Moreover, what sense in supposing a hell forever preserved flaming, yet forever void. But, in fact, hell is the penal condition of the condemned sinner, and the fire the penal essence itself; hell has no existence save as a penalty for guilt. Terminate the penalty and the fire has gone out.

Destructionism is the doctrine that the sinner ceases, by the penalty, to exist. So that God still keeps an empty hell eternally burning! In other words, this term *unquenchable* is unmeaning, and so essentially false.

Of the "furnace of fire" we read as follows:

Fire is the most usual form under which penal retribution is described in the New Testament. The fires of the valley of Hin-

nom were to the Jews the emblem of future penalty. Hence the burning flame is the ordinary symbol of hell. And if there be not in the world of retribution a real material fire, yet what fire is to the body that the element of hell will doubtless be to the soul and to the immortal resurrection body.

This is the comment on chapter x, verse 28:

Fear not them which kill the body—Neither miraculous power nor divine promise insures the Apostles against bodily harm or bodily death. But they are enjoined to possess a superiority to fear of these corporeal injuries. And in these words is the primal source of the martyr spirit. It is courage founded on faith. *Body . . . soul*—We have here the two parts of man's compound nature placed in contrast. They are two separate things. The body is not the soul. The soul is not the body. This is demonstrably the doctrine of the text. *Them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul*—From these words, it follows that the body may be dead, and the soul alive. Men can murder the body, they can extinguish its corporeal life. They may burn it to ashes, and scatter its particles to the four winds. Yet still the soul is alive. No blows can murder it, no fire can burn it, no water drown or quench it. Nothing less than this can be the meaning of the text, and against the text no materialism can stand. *But rather fear him*—Namely, God. Fear, then, and fear as the dread of punishment, is a right and suitable feeling. And those who say that such a feeling is too base to be indulged, are contradicted by this text. And those who deny any punishment from God after the death of the body, contradict these words of Christ. *To destroy both soul and body*—The Lord does not say *kill* both soul and body. To destroy is not to kill, still less to annihilate, but to *ruin*. Our Lord's words teach, not the dismissal of the soul *from existence*, but its catastrophe and ruin *in existence*. And this is an evil, a destruction, which we are bound to *fear*, as a possible reality beyond our bodily death. *In hell*—In Gehenna. This word Gehenna, or valley of Hinnom, in its primitive and literal sense, designated a gorge south of Jerusalem, otherwise called Tophet, where the offals of the city were ordinarily burned. As a place of defilement and perpetual fire, it became to the Jewish mind the emblem, and the word became the name, of the perpetual fire of retribution in a world to come. Hence, loose reasoners have endeavored to maintain that this valley was the only hell. And upon this sophism the heresy of Universalism is mainly founded. But the present text demonstrates that beyond the death of the body, and therefore in a future state, there is a hell or Gehenna, which the soul may suffer, more terrible than bodily death, and more to be feared than any evil that man can inflict. God is the author of that evil; it lies beyond death, it is executed upon the soul as well as the body. No plausible interpretation can expel these meanings from this text.

Equally significant is the note on the 46th verse, chap. xxv:

And these shall go away—Millenarians, who hold that the righteous are raised from the dead at a first resurrection one thousand years before the resurrection of the wicked at a second resurrection, are unable to explain this entire scene of judgment. Here at our Lord's next advent, at an unknown distance, stand the righteous and the wicked at once before his bar, listen in common to each other's trial and sentence before either pass to their final doom. The ordinary subterfuge is to say that this judgment day is a thousand years long. For this there is no support in the passage. Besides, by their view the righteous ought to be acquitted and glorified for a millennial kingdom before the wicked are tried, or even raised from the dead. Whereas, by this whole description the wicked are raised, adjudged, and condemned before the righteous enter at all upon their reward.

Everlasting punishment . . . life eternal.—The words *everlasting* and *eternal* are here in the original precisely the same word, and should have been so translated. Hence the duration of the penalty of the wicked is defined by the same measurement as the duration of the reward of the righteous. One is just as long as the other. The pillars of heaven are no firmer than the foundations of hell. The celestial nature of saint and angels is no more immutable than the infernal nature of devils and sinners. And since the word used is the most expressive of perpetuity that the Greek affords, so we have the strongest assurance here that language can afford. And since the term is used as a measurement of divine duration, we may well infer that the foundations both of the divine rewards and the divine penalties are as perpetual as the foundation of the divine government. Clouds and darkness are indeed round about him; righteousness and justice are the basis of his throne.

The word *αἰών* (we may suggest to scholars) is not derived, as Dr. Clarke (quoting Aristotle) asserts, from *αει*, *always*, and *ὤν*, *existing*; for *ων* is but the noun termination added to *ἀεί*. This noun termination is equivalent to the Latin termination *um*; so that the Latin *œvum* is (with a digamma inserted) the same word as *ἀιών*. The Latin word *œvum* is the same as our word *ever*, so that the Greek *εἰς αιωνα* is precisely *forever*. By adding the adjective termination *ernus* to *αεί* we have (inserting a strengthening *t*) *æternus*, eternal. So that *ἀιών*, *ever*, and *eternal*, are etymological equivalents.

6. *Of faith in our Lord Jesus Christ as the instrument of our salvation.*

On the words, "And Jesus said unto them, Because of your unbelief: for verily I say unto you, If ye have faith as a grain of mustard seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove," Dr. Whedon observes:

This faith, be it remembered, supposes a concurrence between God and man. On the part of God a mission or duty assigned to the man, for which the power of faith is granted; and without this, the true faith is impossible. On the part of man there must be *exercised* all the granted faith-power, by which he puts forth the act, or pursues the course which is opened in the way of duty before him. When these two things combine, it is literally true that *any thing is possible.* If the man's mission be to remove the Andes into the Pacific it can be done. If there be no duty to it, there can be no true faith for it; and the attempt to do it would not be *faith* but rash *self-will.* God gives no man faith wherewith to play miraculous pranks. On the other hand, if there be the duty and the God-given power of faith, and yet it be not exercised with the full strength of heart and the firm trust in God which knows the impossibility will be done, no miracle shall follow. This the disciples *had not*, even to a mustard seed's amount; and a mustard seed's amount could have as easily accomplished its mission as my hand moves a pen. There doubtless lives many a Christian now with faith sufficient to remove real material mountains, if God had any such work for him to do. Yet it may be safely presumed that our Lord used the word *mountain* as well as the *mustard seed* by way of figure. He may have used it as Isaiah, xl, 4, prophesies that "every valley shall be exalted, and every mountain shall be brought low." Or as Zechariah, iv, 7, declares that the "great mountain shall disappear before Zerubbabel."

Those beautiful words, "And whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold *water* only in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward," are the occasion of the following exquisite note:

One of these little ones—A tender appellation for his Apostles. They were *sheep* in the midst of *wolves*, they were harmless like *doves*, they were tender like *little ones. A cup of cold water only in the name of a disciple.*—In the glowing climate of Palestine, the pursued and persecuted apostle might find a cup of cold water the preservation of his life. And whosoever, in recognition of his discipleship, that is, because he was a disciple of Jesus, and from love to his Master, shall furnish him this precious boon, *shall in no wise lose his reward.* His faith has worked by love, and has been justified by works.

Here, therefore, is no shadow of a denial of the doctrine of justification by faith; but an assertion that works *in faith* are graciously rewarded of God. And in such faith the slightest work, the simplest cup of cold water, is a noble investment for a great reward.

It is said that in India the Hindoos go often a great distance for water, boil it to render it healthful, and then, in honor of some

idol, stand by the road-side until night offering drink to travelers. Such an act of faith in Christ performed for his apostles cannot fail of its reward.

According to your faith—So that the measure of faith which you have shall be exactly justified, sustained, and rewarded. Thus faith is a readiness to receive of God. Though it has no merit to deserve a reward, yet it is the right state of soul to receive God's truth and mercy.

But we cannot proceed in this fashion. There is a limit to all things, and there must be to these quotations, choice and tempting as they are. We had purposed to give specimen comments on repentance, on prayer, on the doctrine of Providence, on the inspiration and truth of the Scriptures, on the ten specimen miracles, on Christian character, on the kingdom of Jesus, on the great commission, on the law of the Sabbath, on the interpretation of parables, on the transfiguration, on the family relation, on human ability, on the Church, on the resurrection, and on the events of passion week and the glorious fruits of our redemption in Jesus Christ; but we can do no more than make this enumeration of themes from which we reluctantly turn. The statement of these topics, however, may suffice to show how comprehensive is this commentary, and what a variety of interesting and important doctrines it presents for our consideration. We earnestly advise every reader to study, in the pages of Dr. Whedon, these enumerated topics for himself.

But there is one portion of this commentary which we cannot pass over in silence. The twenty-fourth chapter of Matthew has always been to us a profound enigma. We must say that we regard Dr. Whedon's treatment of it as eminently satisfactory. We have read much larger works on this part of Holy Writ with much less profit. While there may be, in the particular comments, erroneous views and statements, we are convinced that the general exposition and argument are substantially correct. Let any student of God's word go through the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth chapters of Matthew with this plan of interpretation in his hand, and see if many things which were in the mists and shadows do not come distinctly forth into the light as at the break of day.

We have spoken of Dr. Whedon's definitions as accurate and argumentative; and we ought, perhaps, in justice, to add

that many of his descriptions are word-paintings of exquisite beauty and purity. We quote two or three, selected almost at random, as illustrations of our statement.

Immediately his leprosy was cleansed—How sweet must have been the sensations of renewing health and wholeness. The crumbling limbs renew their shape, the blood flows quickly through the system, the eye recovers its brightness, and the voice its music. He stands up once more in his pure, vigorous manhood; and scarce can he wait the Lord's commands, before he must rush through the country, a living wonder, to tell the story of his salvation.

Outer darkness—The figure of a banquet is carried out. The splendor, the joy, the society, the feast within, are an emblem of God's kingdom below and above. The darkness of the streets without is an emblem of deep horror. The streets of Eastern cities are narrow and filthy; all the outdoor comfort being reserved for the court or square yard inclosed within the area of the building. At night they are totally dark, being unillumined even by rays from a window. Robbers and ferocious dogs render them dangerous. We have thence a strong image of that utter despair, darkness, and death of a soul excluded from God, and left to *weeping and gnashing of teeth.*

Come unto me—*Me*, the very *me*, to whom John has lately sent his message, Art thou He, or look we for another? Yet the very *me* who am the revealer (verse 27) of God to man. The very *me* who exists in ineffable unity with God the Father Almighty—this person now stands as in the center of a laboring, laden, oppressed world, and sends his piercing, mellow, tender voice to all the suffering sons of sorrow to escape all bondage by entering his bonds.

In the extremity of his physical pain the Son of man must endure the utmost that human contempt can think and say and do. The accidental spectator, the chance specimens of our race; the chief priests, the representatives of rank, sacred and secular, are present. The powerful exert the uttermost of their power, and the vilest do their best and vilest. They utter taunts founded on calumnious misrepresentations of his words; they ridicule his kingship, and even his piety. They trample on his pretenses, and exult over his weakness.

A painter with only the skill of a copyist, putting these on the canvass, would make pictures of such power that the ages would not suffer them to perish. Let us label them *The Cleansed Leper*, *The Outer Darkness*, *The Pitying Helper*, *The Dying Saviour.* What subjects for an artist! What themes for a preacher!

Another peculiarity of Dr. Whedon is pithy, pungent utterances which have the force of proverbs. They are strewn

through his commentary like sands of gold. If collected and fused, what precious ingots they would form. We append a few examples:

While no man can regenerate himself, every man may, at proper will, attain regeneration from God.

Better go to heaven maimed, than to hell whole.

Affections and lusts for forbidden objects must be sacrificed at whatever expense of feeling.

The *yoke* of Christ is freedom. The *service* of God is the highest and truest *liberty*. The laws of God are the laws of our highest nature; and he who comes under those laws does but do what is fittest, rightest, most happy, and most highly natural for him. When Christ gives his *law*, he gives a heart and a pleasure to keep that law, so that he who obeys it does as he pleases.

It is a poor piety that attempts to be a substitute for virtue.

"Thy will be done" limits not only all murmur, but all prayer.

The Scriptures teach self-denial, but they do not teach self-annihilation. They forbid selfishness, but they do not forbid self-love.

The true martyr never sought death; never made a display of heroism; and never failed when, reposing faith in Christ, he meekly suffered for his name.

The clearness of the light against which sin is committed aggravates the guilt.

If persecutions must be suffered, to suffer is reasonable, it is safe, it attains a reward.

A neglect of preparation for the pulpit is carelessness; an avoidance of it under the expectation of inspiration is fanaticism. No doubt a divine influence attends a faithful administration of the word, but not so as to supersede the best and fullest exertion of the human faculties.

A faithless Church restrains the convicting and converting Spirit. Unbelief defeats omnipotence.

There would be less skepticism if men's hearts were as *pure* as the evidences of religion are *clear*.

Your anxiety is just so much belief that wealth is safer than God, and Mammon a better master than Christ.

Mammon is the supreme dollar of the day.

If religion be worth any thing, it is worth every thing.

As Christ is a universal Saviour, so his Gospel is framed to be a universal Gospel, and his religion a universal religion. It knows no distinction of race, clime, or color. It belongs to man, and holds that humanity is a unit; and claiming to be a blessing for all, and to possess a right over all, it designs to spread that blessing and assert that right.

God gives men a chance to labor, not because he needs their work, but because they need his reward.

There cannot be a permanent contrariety between a moral agent's moral actions and his moral dispositions.

The great crucified leader is followed by an endless train of

crucified followers. They are crucified symbolically, in all their sufferings of mind or body, in behalf of Christ and of truth. Each follower who hath the spirit of his Master, is crucified in fact or in readiness of spirit. The Spirit of Christ is the spirit of martyrdom.

Few are so mean but they fancy there is somebody below them.

The being who is elevated enough to have a true immortal God to be *his* God, must himself be neither the creature of time nor annihilation.

Many retain a sort of ecclesiastical conscience while committing the grossest immoralities.

No man is so safe as the child of God. No man is bound to be so cheerful. If he rise into the true position of the man of faith, no one can be so fearless, so brave, so generous, so patient, so manly. Buoyancy is with him a duty, and despondency is a sin.

Adversities and prosperities may both be enemies to our soul. Some become soured by trouble, and their time is so engrossed that they have no heart, no room for the service of God. Others become wealthy and proud; too fine and too fashionable to be pious.

The general typographical execution is superior; but some errors have escaped the eye of the proof reader, and some blemishes and repetitions the keener eye of the author. For instance, the dying cry of Julian the Apostate, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!" which is quoted on page 222, appears again on page 357. This is doubtless an oversight. In the note on the twenty-eighth verse of the sixteenth chapter, Dr. Whedon says: "Our Lord's '*coming in his kingdom*' was when he came from Paradise to resume his body, now glorified," etc. Was his body then glorified? Was it in his *glorified* body that our Lord appeared to his disciples, eating with them, showing them his "flesh and bones," "his hands and his feet," and abiding with them forty days? In another place, page 346, Dr. Whedon says, "It is very probable that the splendor of a glorified body is always sufficient to overwhelm the senses and prostrate the strength of a living mortal." If "the body of Jesus rose, in possession of supernatural qualities belonging to a resurrection body," as our author elsewhere asserts, does that fact justify the appellation "*glorified?*" Every mortal production falls somewhat below the ideal perfection; but there is scarcely enough of deficiency or error in this commentary to shade the picture, or temper the light to our vision. Fortunately for us, it is the pure, ever grateful light of God's inspired truth.

We have in this article restricted our observations to the

Notes on Matthew, but we could speak in like commendatory strains of the whole commentary on the four Gospels. The "great Lukean section," embracing what is peculiar to that Evangelist, is unfolded with special clearness and power. And no one has entered more fully than Dr. Whedon into the tender and loving feelings of John, his intense spirituality, and his profound reverence and affection for the divine Son of God.

These volumes ought to be in every minister's library, and among the few well-chosen books in every intelligent Christian household.

We sincerely hope that the author may be spared life and health "to complete," according to his purpose, "an entire exposition of the New Testament in the same style and proportional extent." It will be a good service to our holy Christianity, to the cause of sound biblical criticism, and to our Saxon-English speech. Such a work, we may add, embracing the result of modern scholarship, yet popular in its style and compressed in form, will, beyond all question, be accepted by the Church and public as fulfilling, in large measure, the blessed mission of diffusing God's word and "spreading scriptural holiness."

Art. IV.—WHITE'S MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

The Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Preceded by a History of the Religious Wars in the Reign of Charles IX. By Henry White. American Edition. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

The study of the causes and effects of great national crimes is one of the most instructive that can engage the attention of a thoughtful man. However uncertain or incomprehensible the course of ordinary events may at times appear to our defective vision—whatever pauses, and even retrogressions, the majority of the orbs in our firmament may make—there is no such difficulty with regard to these. They are the flaming meteors that mark out their distinct and well-defined paths, leaving us in no doubt whence they came and whither they tend. If in the case of the less flagrant violations of the divine laws on the part of

great communities of men it is not always easy to point to the particular punishment meted out for each offense, the retribution that follows the commission of these atrocities is generally so prompt and unmistakable as to vindicate the justice of God even in the estimation of the skeptic and the scoffer. And, for this reason, the contemplation of the class of phenomena of which we speak is exempt from the demoralizing effects flowing from habitual familiarity with the annals of individual and personal crime. Vice does not attract, when its terrible consequences to the perpetrator can be seen written in characters of light; and the perpetrator himself stands as a beacon of warning to those who would copy his example of successful wrong-doing.

Nearly three hundred years ago Christendom was startled by the tidings of the commission of a stupendous crime which seemed to throw into the shade every similar, but less gigantic, deed of blood. A scheme of midnight assassination had been carried into execution, whose victims were not solitary men, but were to be counted by tens of thousands; which was not confined to a single neighborhood, nor even to a single city, but, commencing with one of the most populous capitals of Europe, extended to the utmost limits of the realm: a massacre for which its authors manifested no shame or compunction, which they exultingly avowed, which, with hands yet reeking with human blood, they magnified as an act of extraordinary justice and piety, upon which they invoked, and for which they obtained, the unhesitating approval and benediction of the head of their religion, and a self-styled vicegerent of God on earth. When we add, that the person under whose authority this carnival of blood was celebrated was the monarch himself, that he was instigated by a woman—his mother—that the sufferers were the most virtuous, and among the most exalted in rank of all his subjects, that not only was the deed consummated in a time of profound peace, but the occasion selected was that of the festivities attending the marriage of that king's sister, of that mother's daughter, to the recognized head of the party that was to be exterminated from the face of the earth, and that the revolting scenes of inhuman ferocity, so far from being confined to obscure neighborhoods or distant quarters of the city, were enacted in the courts and corridors of the palace,

by the side of the young bride, whose very bedchamber afforded an uncertain refuge to a single wretch escaping from the hands of his pursuers, we have before us a few of the circumstances that account for the undiminished interest which the recital of the events of the massacre that began on the morning of Sunday, August 24th, 1572, continues to elicit.

While the general incidents of this lamentable occurrence are well known and settled beyond the possibility of cavil, there is not a little uncertainty attaching to the current accounts in a number of particulars. But more important than any or all of these, is the question whether the massacre itself should be regarded as the result of a plot of long standing, perfected in all its essential features many months or years before, with whose existence the King of Spain and the Pope of Rome were acquainted, if they did not create it, and which, by a miracle of dissimulation, was kept secret by the large number of persons to whom it had been confided; or whether, on the contrary, the execution bears the unmistakable impress of having been the result of a sudden and almost frantic determination to extricate its authors from new and dangerous complications.

In the work, the title of which we have placed at the commencement of this article, Mr. Henry White has not merely undertaken to solve this important problem, but prepares the way for a clearer understanding of an eventful period by relating, with considerable detail, the transactions of the first three civil wars. Indeed, since he prefaces his work with a rapid sketch of the progress of the Reformation in France during the reigns of Francis I., Henry II., and Francis II., he has given a continued narrative of the history of the Huguenots, from their origin to the death of Charles IX. It is not too much to say that he has made a book which is far in advance of any thing which we previously possessed on this subject in the English language. The truth is, that we have until now had little or nothing deserving the name of a history of the brave Protestants of France. Mr. Browning's work,* indeed, met with remarkable success, and we believe was, at the time of its publication, forty years since, eulogized by the

* The History of the Huguenots during the Sixteenth Century, by W. S. Browning. Two volumes. London: 1829. History of the Huguenots, from 1598 to 1838, by the same. One volume. Paris: 1839.

Gentleman's Magazine as "one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to modern history." But, not to speak of the defects of style, it is not unfrequently superficial, and sometimes inaccurate. At best, it contains only a record of the civil wars of the Huguenots—by no means the most precious part of the legacy left us by that race of sturdy champions of the truth. Rejecting the idea of writing any thing that might seem to approach a martyrology, the author made little use of even that scanty fund of materials for the composition of a history of the origin of the French Reformation which was then accessible. Professor De Felice's "Protestants of France," although free from the last mentioned defect, and sufficiently full on that portion of Huguenot history on which recent investigation has thrown so much light, has the disadvantage of having been written originally as a purely popular work, and of having been subsequently enlarged in its scope. It is based on no exhaustive investigation. Besides, the translation of Dr. Lobdell, through which it is exclusively known in this country, is very imperfectly executed, and preserves so many French idioms as to be frequently obscure, and rarely forcible or elegant.

Mr. White's volume, on the contrary, is not only well written, but exhibits on every page the results of extensive reading, laborious research, and judicious weighing and comparison of authorities. He has evidently given a good share of his attention to the writers of the sixteenth century, upon whose memoirs and histories our information must, after all, chiefly be based. No study of later compilations—not even the examination of municipal records or contemporary letters—could supply the place of the invaluable guidance of La Place and La Planche, of Jean de Serres, of de Thou, and of that much abused soldier of fortune, Agrippa d'Aubigné, or of that long series of contributors to the national collections of memoirs, many of whom were prime actors in the scenes they describe, and knew as well how to handle the sword as to use the pen. Mr. White has also made excellent use of the masterly works of Professors Soldan and Baum, whose enthusiastic and lifelong labors in the field of the history of the Reformed Church have afforded a most pleasing proof of the true unity of evangelical Protestantism in all its forms, and have demonstrated

that a Lutheran, in spite of the hostility of High Churchmen, may be as much interested in the welfare of another branch of the great Christian brotherhood as he would be if no doctrinal differences separated them. Our author appears, moreover, to have visited many of the most important localities that figure in the narrative, and to have instituted some research for original documents in the archives of the departments. But of this we make little account. For in a country like France, where a thousand native investigators are busily ransacking every repository of materials for history—where the results of their industry are every year given to the public, either in special publications or in the proceedings of the great historical societies and of local associations—the historian can scarcely hope to do more than to attempt the task (itself almost a Herculean one) of mastering, digesting, and combining the multitudinous fruits of so much patient and protracted toil. He may, by personal investigations among the manuscripts of the imperial and other libraries, add a little to the *éclat* of his work; he will not be likely to enhance its real value.

We shall, in the present article, confine ourself to an examination of the earlier portion of Mr. White's history.

The reign of the first Francis, whose good fortune it has been to obtain credit, even with posterity, for far greater magnanimity than he really possessed, was full of alternate encouragement and rebuffs for the nascent Reformation. The purer faith, Mr. White shows us, enjoyed the favor of one sincere friend at court, and that was Margaret, the sister of the King. Yet even this solitary patron was scarcely assured in her own mind, and injured her influence by the adoption of quixotic theories. "She was not a Protestant," says Mr. White with justice, "and shrank from any rupture with Catholicism. She would have liked to see the old and the new Church united, each yielding something to the other. The age, however, was not one for compromises. Day by day the lines of demarkation became more strongly marked."* The knowledge that they possessed even so inconsistent a supporter as Margaret, fed the early reformers with hopes that were doomed to disappointment. She never could succeed in persuading her brother to give his hearty adhesion to the Gospel. True, he entertained

* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, p. 6.

a thorough hatred and disgust for the monastic orders, and had so little faith in the Papacy, that, in moments of extraordinary provocation, he would threaten to cast in his lot with the "new religion," as it was called. But political motives, especially that doctrine which the prelates were never tired of inculcating, that change of religion inevitably involved an overthrow of the State, were more than sufficient to counterbalance any inclinations which he may have had in that direction. "You would be the very first to rue the experiment," was the ready reply of the ecclesiastics to the royal menace.* And Francis believed them, and learned to make their words his own. "He used often to say, if we may credit Brantôme, that this novelty—the Reformation—'tended to the overthrow of all monarchy, human and divine.' Yet none of the kings who embraced the new creed," Mr. White well remarks, "lost their thrones; while the devotee Henry III., and the converted Henry IV., both fell by orthodox daggers." † "We need not stop to show," he says elsewhere, ‡ "that the kingdom which has always put itself forward as the champion of Popery, both in the East and in the West, "is that in which the Church and the State have suffered more from revolution than any Protestant country."

Yet the reformatory movement went on, if not with royal assistance, in spite of it. Its supporters were men, and therefore fallible. They made some mistakes. They were certainly ill-advised in drawing up so bitter an invective against the absurdities of the Mass, as the celebrated placard of 1534; and, if it was one of their number that posted it by night upon the very door of the bedroom of Francis in his barred castle, he undoubtedly manifested little common sense in supposing that the document would hasten the conversion of that trifling and superficial prince. It is, however, by no means clear that the reformers committed one tithe of the blunders that were perpetrated by crowned and anointed kings and by sapient bishops, when they undertook a work for which they considered themselves admirably adapted by native endowments and by the gifts of heaven. They taught the truth, for the most part,

* "Franchement, Sire," said a nuncio of Clement VII., "vous en seriez marri le premier, et vous en prendroit très mal, et y perdriez plus que le Pape; car une nouvelle religion, mise parmi un peuple, ne demande après que changement du prince."—*Brantôme*, vol. ix, p. 202.

† White, p. 20. ‡ Ibid., p. 5.

calmly, soberly, and persuasively. They gathered converts from the classes that were most open to conviction, succeeding particularly well with the intelligent middle classes, with the industrious artisans, with the young whose minds were unbiased. Even their adversaries were forced to acknowledge, that wherever a man was found more than ordinarily skillful, or industrious, or successful, there you would be almost certain to find a Huguenot. "In France," says Mr. White, "it was long before the Reformation reached the lower classes—the masses, as it is the fashion to call them; the rural gentry, the men of education, the well-to-do tradesmen, artists, and 'all who from their callings possessed any elevation of mind,' were the first converts. They were naturally opposed by the clergy and the lawyers, for corporate bodies are always great enemies to change."* And yet these remarks must be taken with some qualification; for, although it was never among the debased and brutalized rabble of the cities that the new faith flourished, it was successful from the very beginning pre-eminently with the *poor*. When Bishop Briçonnet, in his short-lived zeal for a Gospel which he was soon to betray, caused it to be preached in his diocese by evangelical men, among whom Lefevre and Farel were prominent, it was precisely the poor wool-carders of Meaux, and the day laborers that flocked to the neighborhood to aid in the harvest, who most readily embraced the doctrine of justification by faith. And it was they who, when others forsook the profession of the truth upon the approach of persecution, testified with constancy in the midst of the flames.

The ordeals through which French Protestantism was called to pass during the reign of Francis it does not comport with Mr. White's plan to exhibit in detail. He gives, however, a somewhat extended notice of the savage butchery exercised upon the unoffending Waldenses or Vaudois of Provence, an offshoot of the community established in the "Valleys" of Piedmont. Mérindol, Cabrières, and a score of less important places were, by order of the sanguinary Parliament of Aix razed to the ground, their inhabitants, without discrimination of age or sex, slaughtered or burned in their homes, or hunted to the mountains, only to be suffocated in the caverns in which

* White, pp. 6–7.

they had taken refuge. No contemporary writer was sufficiently bold even to palliate these enormities and others which the pen scarcely dares to record. That honor—if such it be—was reserved for one of that class of persons, too numerous, unfortunately, in France, who rewrite history to suit their preconceived ideas. On this point Mr. White's observations are excellent. "A Catholic historian of these days has ventured to apologize for cruelties which could find no defender in the sixteenth century. 'Certain names,' he says, 'are branded for what is the result of a popular force and movement by which they are carried away. In a religious and believing state of society there are necessities, as there have been cruel political necessities at another epoch. Exaltation of ideas drives men to crime as by a fatality.' (*Capefigue, Hist. de la Réforme*, ch. xvi.) Such reasoning will justify any crime, public or private. To admit the cowardly doctrine of 'necessity' is to destroy moral responsibility, to make intellect subservient to matter, and justice to brute force. It makes the usurper or the murderer accuser, judge, and executioner in his own cause. It is a vindication of *coups d'état*—a deification of successful villainy. If generally admitted it would induce a moral torpor fatal to all intelligence. There were men living in the Catholic communion in the sixteenth century who thought very differently from the paradoxical historian of the nineteenth. Sadolet, Bishop of Carpentras—a man so full of kindness and charity that a modern writer has called him the 'Fénélon of his age'—interfered to suspend the execution of the first decree against the Vaudois of Mérindol." *

The leader in the massacre of Mérindol and Cabrières was Jean d'Oppède, first President of the Parliament of Provence; the most prominent military officer of the force which executed his commands was Poulin or Polin, better known as Baron de la Garde. Respecting the latter, Mr. White says that he was "the famous sea-captain, the same who disputed the command of the Channel against Henry VIII., and occupied the Isle of Wight in 1533. In the religious wars *he sided with the Huguenots.*" † Unless, as we suspect, the types have played him false, Mr. White must have confounded Poulin with some one else; for if the Baron sided with any one it was assuredly not

* White, pp. 14, 15. † Ibid., p. 14.

with the Huguenots, but with their opponents. After the conspiracy of Amboise he fought against the Huguenots in Provence, where he attacked Mouvans after he had capitulated with the royal Lieutenant, the Comte de Tende, and drove him to Geneva.* In the third civil war, being in command of naval forces, he protected Bordeaux and threatened La Rochelle; † and after the St. Bartholomew Massacre, a letter of his intercepted by the Protestants of this city, in which he uttered menaces against it, contributed much to determine them to refuse admission to the Governor sent them by the King. ‡

With the accession of a new monarch, it was hoped that there might come some alleviation of the sufferings of the reformers. The reverse took place. Like too many of the other kings of France, Henry II. was not only frivolous, but dissolute. Like them, he was content to attempt to compensate for his vices by persecuting the luckless heretics with an orthodox severity which prelates were quite satisfied to accept as a full discharge of all liabilities incurred through violations of the moral code. Besides, if Henry ostensibly held the reins of state, the regal authority was in effect enjoyed by others—his mistress, Diana of Poitiers, and his favorites, the Chancellor Montmorency and the Guises—and these were all from interest, if not from conviction, the enemies of change. Accordingly new and more rigorous edicts were launched against the "Lutherans," as they were still styled. Nor were these enactments suffered to fall into neglect. "On Thursday, July 4, Henry quitted the Tournelles"—his favorite palace, but since forsaken and torn down by his widow, Catharine de Médici, after it had acquired so melancholy an association from his fatal tilt in the tournament held in front of it—"at seven in the morning, and rode in grand procession to the great cathedral, where he heard high mass, and then went to dine at the episcopal palace, after which the royal digestion was gently stimulated by the burning of some heretics. . . . Heretic-burning was one of the popular sports of the day, at which—if contemporary engravings are any authority in such matters—high-born dames attended in full dress." § But when will rulers learn the universal truth, that no persecution short of extermination ever

* Agrippa d'Aubigné, Hist. Univ., vol. i, p. 100.
‡ Ibid., vol. ii, p. 35.
† Ibid., p. 326.
§ White, p. 30.

accomplishes its design! The Protestant community, which had grown slowly during the father's reign, under the more severe rule of the son received large accessions, and began to strike its roots deep into the soil which alone could secure it permanence—the despised people:

Extending beyond the small circle of nobles, scholars, and Church dignitaries, by whom they (the reformed doctrines) were first taught and defended, and making their way into the lower strata of society, they had become more definite and radical. The uneducated shoemaker or plowman could not appreciate such nice distinctions as Margaret of Valois drew in her "Mass of Seven Points," and would not have cared for such subtleties if he had understood them. These simple men heard the Bible read and explained to them, and the doctrines of free grace and of the atonement sank straight into their hearts. There was very little but habit to keep the people faithful to the old Church. "They are more affected," says Matthieu, unconsciously imitating Horace, "by example than by instruction, and estimate the truth of a doctrine by the purity of a man's life." Such an example was rarely found in the Catholic clergy. . . . The cities along the course of the Rhone, and those lying at the foot of the Alps, were strongly Calvinistic, as was also Languedoc, where probably some relics of the old Albigensian spirit of revolt still lingered. In this province the Romish Church was especially hateful, as it had been enriched by the confiscated estates of the Albigensian nobles. . . . In Paris the mass of the population was Catholic, the dangerous classes being especially demonstrative in their orthodoxy. The progress of religious reform might have been more rapid but for certain peculiarities in the state of society, which made every innovation difficult. The guilds in the towns had their patron saints and annual festivals. If a man adopted the reformed faith he must renounce these, and become a sort of outcast among his comrades, and perhaps the severest persecution he had to undergo was that he endured at the hands of his fellow-workmen. *

Mr. White is undoubtedly correct in making the statement that "although the persecution never ceased in France during the reign of Henry II., there were intervals of reaction when the fires burned dim and the sword of the executioner hung idle on the wall." It is equally true that "these were usually connected with the foreign policy of the Government." But he is less fortunate in supposing that there was any such tendency to pardon, or even to reprieve, the Huguenots in connection with the atrocious episode of Henry's rule, known as the

* White, pp. 31, 32.

"*affaire de la Rue Saint Jacques.*" A few words are necessary to elucidate this historical point. A company of three or four hundred Protestants, in defiance of the edicts fulminated against them for an entire generation, and not ignorant of the fearful death by fire (not at the stake, but by means of the more cruel *estrapade*) awaiting them if discovered, met on the night of September 4th, 1557, in a private house in the Rue St. Jacques, immediately in the rear of the College of the Sorbonne, to worship God and to celebrate the holy communion. But the suspicions of the neighboring priests had been aroused, the house was beset, and although some of the worshipers made their way through the crowd of their assailants and escaped, the more defenseless portion of the Protestants—the women, and the aged especially—were captured, and to the number of about one hundred and twenty, after being treated with the utmost contumely, were thrust into loathsome dungeons. This was but a prelude to greater severities. Several of the men, and particularly a noble lady, were to seal their testimony in blood.

Here Mr. White has accidentally been misled into imagining that the execution of these martyrs for the faith was *unaccountably delayed;* whereas, on the contrary, *rarely had there been an instance of greater precipitation!* Mr. White says:

> The Reformed Church of Paris was in a pitiable state, so many of its members being in peril of their lives. Extraordinary prayers were offered up in every family for the delivery of the martyrs, and a remonstrance, drawn up by the Elders, was presented to the King, who put it aside unnoticed. *But, strange to say, there was no eager haste to punish the prisoners any further*, the example of their seizure having frightened many back to orthodoxy. . . . *When the excitement had abated, and the affair was almost forgotten, the prisoners of the Rue St. Jacques were brought to trial.* Their lives were forfeited by the mere fact of their presence at an unlawful assembly, and the alternate of recantation or death was presented to them; but they would not yield an inch. They found that man's weakness was God's strength. Among the captives was Philippa de Luuz, a woman of good family, a widow, and only twenty-two years old. She was interrogated several times, but her answers were such as to destroy all hope of pardon. *On the 27th of September*, 1558, *more than a year after her imprisonment*, she was led out to death.*

* White, pp. 41, 42.

It is not necessary to repeat the story of the more than heroic courage which this noble woman displayed, and by which she seemed to triumph over every refinement of cruelty which the perverted ingenuity of man could devise. Mr. White has very faithfully drawn the harrowing picture. The important point to which we call attention—important as showing that the French court, so far from being lukewarm in the work of persecution, as Mr. White supposes, was in reality (whether its motives were political or fanatical need not here be discussed) extremely zealous—is, that this martyr and her companions, instead of being imprisoned for the long term of a year, were tried, condemned, and executed *within the brief space of about three weeks.* Mr. White has given the *day* correctly, but has unfortunately overlooked the true *year*, which was 1557, *not* 1558.* The author of the history of the Reformed Churches, commonly attributed to Beza, instead of representing the case as dragging along slowly, informs us that the popular voice demanded a speedy trial; that the prosecuting officer was more than usually urgent, hoping by his zeal to divert attention from his own past crimes; that on the 17th of September, less than a fortnight after the meeting in the Rue St. Jacques, the King ordered Parliament to try the accused by commissioners, whom he at the same time named; and that he commanded the postponement of all other judicial proceedings that these might have dispatch.† The fruits of this pressure were seen before long. Three suffered martyrdom September 27, two more October 2. Objection being made to the judges because of their cruelty, and a demand offered for other judges, the King overruled the appeal October 7, and the remaining cases proceeded with still greater haste. So far was the court of Henry II. from being lukewarm in the prosecution of those accused of heresy.

The affair of the Rue St. Jacques occurred just after the disastrous rout of the French army near St. Quentin, which Prescott has so well described in the "History of Philip the Second." After a year and eight months more of warfare the contending monarchs and their allies made a settlement of their differences in the peace of Câteau Cambrésis. With the

* See the Histoire Ecclésiastique, (Beza,) ed. of Lille, vol. i, p. 80, etc.

† Histoire Ecclésiastique, *ubi supra.*

general terms of the treaty, so disgraceful to France, the historian of the Huguenots has nothing to do. There can be no doubt that both monarchs were influenced not only by the exhaustion of their pecuniary resources for carrying on the war, but by a desire to attend to the extermination of Protestantism at home. Mr. White goes further, and asserts that "by the treaty of Càteau Cambrésis Henry and Philip *had bound themselves to maintain* the Catholic worship inviolate, to assemble a general council, and *to extinguish heresy in their respective dominions.*" If this agreement, of which the younger Tavannes and others make mention, writing in accordance with the current reports rather than basing their statements on any authoritative documents, existed at all, it must have been contained in secret articles, for the public terms, as given by Du Mont and other collections of treaties, contain nothing of the kind. Professor Soldan has exhibited with great force his grounds for not believing the compact, and we do not see that Mr. White adduces any reasons for supposing that the conferences ever assumed so definite a shape. Certainly the Apology of William of Orange, while proving that Philip had already conceived in his mind, and communicated to Henry, the design of introducing the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands, is far from asserting that such international obligations had been entered into. However this may be, there is the utmost improbability in the supposition that there was a connection between the treaty and the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Yet this is what Mr. White seems to imply when he speaks of the "knowledge of this projected massacre, delayed for thirteen years," as converting the Silent Prince into the liberator of the Netherlands.* The idea is, however, so diametrically opposed to Mr. White's own theory of the origin of the horrible scheme of 1572 that we are at a loss to know how to understand his words. The manuscript relations, by Philip's own ministers, of the proceedings at the Conference of Bayonne in 1565, as we may see hereafter, have blown to the winds the stories that were so confidently believed, both by Roman Catholics and by Protestants, that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew was planned there by Alva and Catharine. It could not possibly have been sketched out six years earlier.

* White, p. 53.

Without doubt, however, Henry II. had determined on employing the most extreme measures to secure the utter destruction of the Protestants. His arbitrary arrest of members of the Parisian Parliament, for simply expressing themselves in favor of a tolerant policy, when deliberating in his presence in a judicial capacity, amply proves it. With good reason, therefore, the reformers saw in the extraordinary and opportune death of Henry an interposition of Heaven in their behalf, even more signal than had appeared in that of the first Francis. Mr. White has described the incidents of the fatal tournament in a picturesque manner, putting to good service the correspondence of Sir Nicholas Throkmorton, who tells us that he was the only one of the foreign embassadors that chanced to be present on the remarkable occasion.* The English envoy, writing the very evening of the disaster, and before its full peril was apprehended, could not but be struck with its providential character. "Thus your lordships may see," said he, "what God sumtymes dothe to shew what he is, and to be knowne; that amongst all these triumphes, and even in the verry middst and pride of the same, suffereth such mischaunce and heavines to happen."

The accession of Francis II., a puny boy of sixteen, brought into power the uncles of his blooming and much more intellectual queen, Mary Stuart. Never was power more boldly seized, or more recklessly wielded, than by the Guise brothers. For some months there was a reign of usurpation for which there are few parallels in the annals of modern Europe. The two older Guises absorbed the entire administration. The Duke Francis installed himself as generalissimo; his brother the Cardinal of Lorraine, assumed charge of the treasury, and in fact of the whole engine of civil government. All this by pretended appointment of a minor prince. The scheme would probably have failed, had the claim to the regency fallen to the portion of a less frivolous and untrustworthy person than Antoine of Bourbon Vendôme, by marriage King of Navarre. But this unworthy husband of the heroic Jeanne d'Albret, had too little resolution to keep the promises he lavishly made to the Protestants, with whom he had pretended to

* Forbes' Full View of the Public Transactions in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, (London, 1740,) vol. i, p. 151.

identify himself, and was too craven even to resent the studied indignities put upon him when he came sluggishly from Gascony and made his tardy appearance at court. As first prince of the blood, he was entitled to the foremost place in the board of regency; in fact, to be sole regent, although with a board of counselors to assist him in his functions. The only crumb of power which the ruling family deigned to throw him was the privilege of a seat in the royal council, where he had no influence whatever. Mr. White overstates the amount of this concession. Constable Montmorency and the Châtillons, and other leading Protestants, had not urged him "to assert his rights as prince of the blood to be one of the new council," but to demand the very first position until Francis II. should attain his majority. Hence Mr. White is mistaken when he seems to assert that Antoine of Navarre obtained for a time what he was entitled to demand. "At length Condé joined him, and instilling some of his own spirit into his brother, urged him to assert his claim. *It was granted after some little demur;* but he was too much in the way, and to get rid of him honorably he was commissioned to escort the Princess Elizabeth to Spain. He fell into the trap so cunningly laid for him, and the Guises were *once more* sole masters." * One need go no further than to the invaluable history of Francis the Second's reign, by Regnier de la Planche,† to see that the Guises never for a moment conceded to the King of Navarre the authority which, in defense of the usages of the kingdom and of his persecuted fellow-Protestants, he might justly have demanded at the point of the sword.

Under such a government persecution went on apace. The most distinguished victim was Du Bourg, one of the members of Parliament whom the late King had arrested. His speeches just before being led to execution, of which we could wish that Mr. White had given longer extracts,‡ are among the most pathetic on record, and breathe the very spirit of Christian manliness. During the course of his trial, Minard, one of his judges, was murdered by night in the streets of Paris. The

* White, p. 72.

† Histoire de l'Estat de France, etc. Edition Panthéon, pp. 214, 218.

‡ See La Place, Commentaries, etc., pp. 22, 23; Crespin, Galerie chrét, pp. 2, 3, 18, etc.; La Planche, pp. 227, 235; Histoire Ecclésiastique, pp. 1,153, etc.

crime was attributed by common fame to a Scot by the name of Stuart, a blood relation, apparently, of the Queen. Mr. White does not hesitate to adopt the popular belief as his own, and to incorporate it in his history; and, with equal certainty, he pronounced him guilty of having fatally shot Constable Montmorency in the battle of St. Denis, in the second civil war, November 10, 1567.* But neither statement is capable of being proved. When Henry of Navarre, at a later time Henry IV., wrote to the Duke of Anjou, soon after the battle of Jarnac, where Stuart, having surrendered on promise of having his life spared, was killed in cold blood, probably by the Duke's secret orders, the prince reproached him with the barbarous deed; and, as to the assassination of Minard, adduced the fact that Stuart had been examined by torture, but nothing had been extracted from him, and that he had lived six years subsequently at court without even being subjected to trial, as a proof of his innocence. Whether he slew the Constable or not, Henry professed entire ignorance, but maintained that if he did it was in honorable combat.†

The usurpation of the Guises at length became insufferable, but there was no legal redress. No constitution laid down methods of consulting the popular will, and of giving it the force of law. A revolt of some kind or other was inevitable. "In these humaner and more civilized days, obnoxious ministers and administrators are got rid of by dismissal, or by a vote in Parliament: in ruder times they were removed by revolt or assassination. *In the middle of the sixteenth century the government of France was a despotism moderated by the dagger.*" The Huguenots—for so they began about this time to be called—were of two kinds. The one class was composed of persons exasperated almost beyond endurance by the unconstitutional power assumed by the Guises, whom they still regarded as strangers in France. The other consisted of the Protestants, who, however patiently they might bear the persecution from which they had for nearly forty years been suffering, so long as it was inflicted by command of their legitimate monarch, would not suffer themselves to be hung or

* White, pp. 74, 81.

† Letter of July 12, 1569, *apud* "Lettres inédites de Henry IV., recueillies par le Prince Augustin Galitzin, pp. 4–11. Paris: 1860.

burned merely to gratify the whims or the ambition of the two brothers who really reigned in the name of their niece's husband. "Even within a month of the death of Henry II. a union of the malcontents was meditated, the Reformed only holding back until they should be assured of its lawfulness. They consulted Calvin, who declared that 'it would be better they should all perish a hundred times over rather than expose the name of Christianity and of the Gospel to the disgrace of rebellion and bloodshed.' They were more successful with some German divines, who thought 'they might lawfully oppose the usurpation of the Guises, even with arms, if the princes of the blood, their lawful magistrates by birth, or even one of them, should be at their head.'" *

And now the outbreak followed. The spirit of dissatisfaction came to a head in the unfortunate "Conspiracy of Amboise;" unfortunate, not that it was not perfectly justifiable in view of the enormities of the persons that had seized the reins of State, but because it afforded the enemy the excuse he wanted for accusing the adherents of the purer faith of insubordination to constituted authority, and for throwing upon them the blame of being the first to have recourse to civil war. Probably it was much the smaller part of the Huguenots that knew of the plot, or took part in it. Its bold plan, the reasons of its failure, the fear and confusion of the Guises at the first discovery, their considerable concessions, and the barbarous punishments they inflicted upon the conspirators that fell into their hands, are a fruitful theme of discussion for contemporary chroniclers, and are unfolded at considerable length by Mr. White. And he calls attention to the circumstance that the first pardon, hypocritical as it was, offered to the Huguenots that had taken part in the affair of Amboise met with uncompromising hostility on the part of Rome. "The Pope sent a special envoy to France complaining of the amnesty, and to point out that 'the true remedy for the disorders of the kingdom was to proceed judicially against the heretics, and if their number was too great, the King should employ the sword to bring his subjects back to their duty.' He offered to assist in so good a work to the extent of his ability, and to procure the support of the King of Spain and the Princes of Italy.†

* White, pp. 77. † Ibid., pp. 85, 86.

Happily the reign of Francis II. was brief—briefer, in fact, than any other in the tables of French kings. Its conclusion found the Protestants in great peril; Condé, their real head, a prisoner under sentence of death, and reserved for execution at the opening of the approaching States General; and Navarre exposed to almost equal danger should he attempt to show any manly resentment. Whereas, a few months before, any one that proposed the convocation of the States would have been punished as seditious, now the Guises had themselves adopted the proposition of Coligny at the Assembly of Notables, held at Fontainebleau, and consented to the summons of the three orders. Not that they had any intention of submitting an account of their administration to the representatives of the nobility, clergy, and commons; but they counted upon controlling a large majority of the elections of delegates, and expected to secure without difficulty so preponderating an influence as to insure the formal indorsement of their conduct and the destruction of their antagonists. After the heads of the Huguenots had been disposed of they imagined that it would be easy to compass the ruin of the masses.* The death of Francis II., almost as sudden as that of his father, although resulting from a natural cause, disarranged these well-matured plans.

One of the most readable chapters in Mr. White's book is that which treats of "France at the accession of Charles IX.," (1560.) Within the compass of thirty-two or three pages he has succeeded in giving us an attractive and intelligent account of the country and its inhabitants. France was a sparsely-peopled country containing about fifteen million souls—a large estimate in our opinion—and of this population nearly one third lived in towns. The roads were bad, and all means of communication so slow and costly as to paralyze commerce, and produce the most striking inequalities in prices in districts not very far distant from each other. Paris, the marvel of Europe, contained between four and five hundred thousand inhabitants. The people—the *tiers-état*—were ground down with oppressive taxes, far more burdensome in proportion than

* Even the Spanish embassador, favorable as he was to all measures of repression, expressed solicitude lest the Guises, in their reckless haste, should run too great risks by their indiscretion.—*Mignet, in Journal des Savants*, 1859, pp. 39.

those of modern France even under the second empire. The nobles were exempt on the plea of being subject to do military service, the clergy because of their sacerdotal office; although both classes, and particularly the latter, in return for the regal protection, were wont to make voluntary contributions. The government was harsh and tyrannical, the punishment of crime severe and often horribly barbarous, the populace cruel and superstitious. We shall not, however, undertake to give even a synopsis of the contents of this interesting disquisition.

The reign of Charles IX. opens with the Convocation of the States General ordered by his brother, and with brilliant anticipations on the part of the reformers respecting the rapid spread of the Gospel until it should become universal throughout the kingdom. It is hard to say what might have been had the King of Navarre proved courageous and true to his convictions. But he first basely surrendered to Catharine the position of influence he might easily have maintained, and then openly apostatized from the faith. Still the reformed doctrines, practically, if not legally, enjoying a measure of toleration, spread from town to town, from family to family, with the speed of contagion. Within a few months there were those who, misled by this rapid growth, were confident that half France was already Huguenot, and the Spanish and Pontifical envoys wrote home letters full of vaticinations of the approaching downfall of the State. The very court of the King and his mother appeared to share in the common movement. Marot's and Beza's versified Psalms of David, which, if sung in the streets a few months since, would have sufficed as ground for a capital accusation, were boldly sung in the halls and corridors of the palace. Soon Huguenot ministers, whom unrepealed edicts consigned to the flames, were to be seen preaching openly to listening crowds in the quarters of the Queen of Navarre or of Admiral Coligny. Catharine de Medici was deaf to the warnings and threats of the Pope, his nuncio, and his legates. She had conceived the idea that it was possible, by some partial reformation, to accommodate the differences between the Protestants and the Roman Catholics; and, accordingly, she assembled at Poissy, in September, 1561, a large number of divines of both persuasions, between whom she hoped that some accord might be framed. This

"Colloquy of Poissy," as it was called, in order to avoid the suspicions which the use of the term "Council" might give rise to, was a moment of the greatest interest and of critical importance to the future of France.* A reformation accomplished and harmony secured might have saved France the sufferings and the bloodshed of thirty years, not to speak of the vast difference in the moral history of the land. But the Romish clergy was in no temper for concession. There is in Montfauçon's Antiquities of France a copy of an ancient print of the period, representing the Colloquy in session. The disposition of the parties sufficiently reveals the attitude which the Roman Catholic Church meant to assume to the Reformers. Six chairs of state stand toward the upper end of the spacious conventual dining-room, one occupied by the King, having on his right the Duke of Anjou and the King of Navarre, and on the left his mother, his sister Margaret, and the Queen of Navarre. Behind them are seated other princes and princesses of the blood. The Chancellor, the Cardinals, the Prelates and Doctors of the Romish Church occupy benches on either side, corresponding to their dignities. But the Protestant Divines, twelve in number, are merely admitted to the lower end of the room, and stand leaning on the railing that bars their further advance. The chief spokesman of the Reformers, it is well known, was Theodore Beza. "Calvin, Beza, Peter Martyr, and other ministers were invited, under safe conduct, from Switzerland," says Mr. White.† The very natural inquiry, why the first mentioned, the acknowledged leader of the Genevese theologians, did not make his appearance and assume the position in the conference to which his eminent intellectual abilities, his dialectic skill, and his wide spread reputation entitled him, Mr. White does not undertake to answer. Mr. Bonnet, in his "Lettres Françaises de Jean Calvin," merely informs us that "the Protestant princes of France, eager to attract to the Colloquy of Poissy the most distinguished ministers, wrote to the Lords of Geneva, asking them to send Calvin or Theodore Beza. The Seigneurie refused the former, and consented to grant the latter." Informed of this favor-

* Mr. White has scarcely given sufficient space (pp. 167–172) to a transaction of such vital relation to the subsequent fortunes of the Huguenots.

† Page 167.

able disposition, the King of Navarre wrote to the Genevese magistrates to thank them and to hasten Beza's departure.* Fortunately, by the aid of a letter in the public library of Geneva that has recently come to light, we are able to explain the motives of a course which, at first sight, appears somewhat strange. It was no excess of caution, but a proper regard for the reformer's safety, that led the Syndics and Council of Geneva to exercise a right which, according to the theory almost universally held in the sixteenth century, they possessed, to decline to permit their pastors and theological professors to leave their territory. The letter is one written by M. de la Rivière, in the name of the entire body of Reformed ministers of Paris, or perhaps of France, to Calvin himself. The date is July 31st, 1561. The Colloquy, it is well known, opened on the 9th of September. After praising God that, even beyond their hopes, the venerable Peter Martyr was to be sent to support Beza in the discussion with the Romish Doctors, the writer adds:

As to yourself, sir, as we have not yet seen much prospect of being able to have you here, so we see no possibility of your being here without serious peril, in view of the rage which all the enemies of the Gospel have conceived against you, and the disturbances which your very name would excite in this country were your presence known. In fact, the Admiral (Coligny) is by no means in favor of your undertaking the journey, and we have learned with certainty that the Queen (Catharine de Medici) would not either be glad to see you, and that she frankly admits that she is unwilling to pledge herself for your safety in these parts, as for that of the rest. The enemies of the Gospel, on the other hand, say that they would willingly hear all the others speak, but that as to you they could not bring themselves to listen to you nor to see you. This, sir, is the estimation in which you are held by these venerable Prelates. I opine that you will not be very much troubled by it, and that you will not consider yourself dishonored for being in such repute with this sort of people. In respect to the others, we are constrained to beg you anew to entreat them to set out with the greatest diligence possible on receipt of the safe-conduct which we send you. In our judgment it will be easy to come hither without being much recognized. Moreover, on arriving here we can assure you that we shall be able to find three or four hundred gentlemen, if they are needed, to keep them company. And yet we have no thought that there will be any necessity for so large a force, seeing that there is no prospect that any of the princes or lords of this kingdom will undertake any thing in violation of the permission and

* Bonnet, Lettres Françaises, vol. ii, p. 424.

safe-conduct given by the King and decided upon in his Council.*

So Calvin remained at Geneva, and Theodore Beza went to the French court, to make the first defense of the Reformed doctrines and their professors which the ears of French monarchs had ever been open to hear. And so noble was his appearance, so courtly his bearing, so polished his manners, that he produced from the very first the most favorable impression. Even the Guises affected to greet him in a correspondingly polite manner. The Cardinal went further, and, in the course of a friendly discussion, made such professions of a desire for conciliation, and took such almost Protestant ground, that one who knew not that his affable exterior covered a treacherous heart might have supposed him on the point of conversion. Beza had traced his course too long to be deceived, and there were others who were equally astute. After Beza had explained his view of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the Cardinal, turning to the Queen mother, who was present, observed, "Such is my belief, madam, and I am satisfied." † Madame de Crussol, who had listened to the entire conversation, as she shook the Cardinal's hand at the close of the evening significantly said, in a tone loud enough to be heard by all, "Good man for to-night; but to-morrow what?" There was sober truth couched in the witty question. The next day Lorraine was already busy, circulating the story that Beza had been signally discomfited in the very first encounter. ‡ But there were happily plenty of witnesses to prove the contrary, and Catharine herself contradicted the vain rumor when she heard it from Constable Montmorency's lips. §

With so deceitful an opponent it was impossible to expect fair play, even had the Prelates been willing to listen patiently to an honorable discussion. ‖ The Cardinal's sole object, as it

* Original MS. in Library of Geneva, Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 16,603. (December, 1867.)

† White, p. 68.

‡ Letter of Beza, August 25th, 1561, *apud* Baum, Theodoro Beza, 2 App. 52. Mr. White does not mention the latter circumstances.

§ Hist. Eccles, vol. i, p. 312.

‖ "*Here come the Genevese curs*," exclaimed one of the Cardinals when the twelve Protestant divines made their first appearance in the refectory at Poissy. "*Certainly*," quietly retorted Beza, whose ear had caught the insulting expression,

developed itself shortly, was to involve the Protestants in disputes with each other. He went so far, at one time, as to demand of the Reformed pastors a subscription to the Confession of Augsburg. To which their orator pertinently replied, by asking whether the Cardinal was himself prepared to give that Confession his unqualified approval.

So the Colloquy came to an end without effecting any thing, perhaps, with the government, except proving pretty conclusively that it was hopeless to attempt to reconcile such divergent views as those of the hierarchy and those of the reformers. As a last trial of the virtue of theological discussion, Catharine assembled at St. Germain, a few months later, a more quiet gathering. But the results were equally unsatisfactory. One point, however, had been demonstrated conclusively in the minds of all prudent men, that the only mode of preventing the outbreak of civil war in France was to grant some measure of religious liberty to the reformers. And this measure was carried, in a body of representatives of the three orders, and formally promulgated in the celebrated royal edict of January 17th, 1562. Incomplete and unsatisfactory as it was, the "Edict of January," as it was henceforth known, became the charter of Protestant liberties, continually infringed upon by the kings, under the influence of their opponents, but continually demanded and vindicated by argument, and, when need be, by the sword.

The Guises, however, had no thought of submitting passively to the execution of so tolerant a law. They were resolved to destroy the edict with the sword. It matters little in the eye of the impartial judge of their conduct whether the massacre at Vassy, (March 1st, 1562,) within six weeks of the promulgation of that edict, was long premeditated, or an accidental occurrence, as they and their advocates maintained. The crusade against Protestantism in France was premeditated, whether the act with which it was to be commenced had been included in the plan or not. It is idle seriously to discuss the problem whether the conspirators who had laid the explosive train intended to fire it at one point or another.

turning to the quarter whence it came, "*faithful dogs are needed in the Lord's sheepfold to bark at ravening wolves.*"—*Fragmentary MS. in the Collection of the late Col. Henri Tronchin, Baum*, vol. ii, p. 238.

Their guilt is not affected by a mere prudential question. They thought it best, however, to prevent the German Protestants from lending assistance in the coming contest to their French brethren. And Cardinal Charles of Lorraine believed that he had discovered a capital method of accomplishing this. He would sow discord between the two by persuading the German princes that the Huguenots were in no sense their brethren in the faith, while he and his brothers were really perfectly in accord with the Lutherans on every essential point. And so early in the February that intervened between the promulgation of the edict and the affair of Vassy four Guise brothers began their pilgrimage to the borders of Germany—Duke Francis, Cardinal Charles of Lorraine, Cardinal John of Guise,* and the Grand Prior of the Knights of St. John. In the little town of Saverne, in Alsace, not far from Strasbourg, they met Duke Christopher of Wurtemberg, who came, as they had invited him to come, accompanied by two of his theologians, Brentius and Andrea. An interview of several days' duration ensued, in which the Guises surpassed every previous effort of their own in dissimulation. "The Cardinal of Lorraine," says Mr. White, "twice preached sermons so Lutheran in spirit that his open adoption of the Confession of Augsburg was eagerly looked for; and the language of the Duke of Guise and his brother Charles in their conferences with Duke Christopher and his chancellor, Brentz, is so extraordinary, and, as regards Duke Francis, so unlike what we read of him at other times, as almost to shake our faith in the genuineness of the report of the conference." †

We should not be surprised at Mr. White's partial skepticism were it not that there is, as we shall see, no doubt whatever that the transaction is faithfully related. The acting was certainly clumsy, and the disguises too flimsy to answer their ends. Soon after they met, the Duke of Guise held a long conversation with the Duke of Wurtemberg, in which he endeavored to persuade him that the unhappy situation of France

* There has arisen considerable confusion in the histories from the circumstance that two of the brothers were Cardinals. It was John, not Charles, who was present with the Duke at Vassy. He died in 1578, at the early age of forty-eight, yet the last of the six brothers. From his convivial habits, l'Estoile tells us, he had earned the cognomen of "le Cardinal des Bouteilles." Memoirs, p. 96.

† White, 186.

resulted in great part from the position of the Huguenot ministers, whose unconciliatory demeanor had rendered abortive the Colloquy of Poissy. Wurtemberg did not suffer the calumny to pass unchallenged, for he replied that the very accounts of the Colloquy sent him by Guise proved that the unsuccessful issue was due to the Prelates, who had come determined to prevent any accord. He ascribed the misfortunes of France rather to the persecutions which had been exercised on so many guiltless persons. "I cannot refrain from telling you," he added, "that you and your brother are strongly suspected in Germany of having contributed to cause the death, since the decease of Henry II., and even before, in his lifetime, of several thousands of persons, who have been miserably executed on account of their faith. As a friend, and as a Christian, I must warn you. Beware, beware of innocent blood! Otherwise the punishments of God will fall upon you in this life and in the next." "He answered me," writes Duke Christopher himself, "*with great sighs*, 'I know that my brother and I are accused of that, and of many other things too; but *we are wronged*, as we shall both of us explain to you before we leave.'" The Cardinal's profession of faith, especially on the matter of the presence in the sacrament, was equally politic. He acknowledged that his party went too far in calling the mass a sacrifice for the living and the dead. The mass was not a sacrifice, but a *commemoration of the sacrifice offered on the altar of the cross*, (non sacrificium, sed memoria sacrificii præstiti in ara crucis.) With a solemn appeal to God, he declared that he heartily approved of the Augsburg Confession. "But," said he, "*I am compelled still to dissemble for a time*, that I may gain some that are feeble in the faith." A little later he adverted to Wurtemberg's remarks to Guise, and said, "You informed my brother that in Germany we are both of us suspected of having contributed to the execution of a large number of innocent Christians during the reigns of Henry and of Francis II. Well, I swear to you, in the name of God, my Creator, and pledging the salvation of my soul, *that I am guilty of the death of no man condemned for religion's sake.* Those who were then privy to the deliberations of state can testify in my favor." Likewise protested the Duke of Guise, "with great oaths." After such

fair assurances respecting the past, it is not astonishing that when Wurtemberg repeated his warning in relation to the future both the Cardinal and the Duke gave him their right hands, and pledged their princely faith and the salvation of their souls that, neither openly nor secretly, would they persecute the partisans of the "new doctrines." Nor is it strange that when Christopher of Wurtemberg came to read over his memorandum of the conference with the Lorraine brothers, in the light of the events that transpired only about a fortnight later, he added to his manuscript this brief comment: "Alas! it can now be seen how they have kept these promises. *Deus sit ultor doli et perjurii, cujus namque res agitur!*"

Notwithstanding the remarkable character of the professions and assurances made by the Guises, there is, as we have already said, no reasonable ground for even that amount of uncertainty respecting the authenticity of the document containing them which Mr. White expresses. The manuscript account drawn up by the Duke of Wurtemberg himself was discovered by Sattler, and printed in his "Geschichte von Wurtemberg unter den Herzœgen." It has been translated into French, and published in the "Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme François," (1856, vol. iv, pp. 184–196.) If, in spite of Sattler's authority, the document be suspected of being a forgery, the following circumstances will, we presume, dissipate that suspicion. This was by no means the first time that the Cardinal of Lorraine, although notoriously the leader of the persecutions in France for many years, had the effrontery to pretend that he was an advocate of toleration; and this even with those who knew him better than did Christopher of Wurtemberg, and who saw at a glance through his paltry lying. As early as September 10, 1559, Sir Nicholas Throkmorton wrote to Queen Elizabeth from the French court, "I am informed that they here have begun to persecute again for religion more than ever they did; and that at Paris there are three or four executed for the same, and divers great personages threatened shortly to be called to answer for their religion. Wherein the Cardinal of Lorraine having bene spoken unto, within these two daies, hathe said, that it is *not his faulte; and that there is no man that more hateth extremités then* (than) *he dothe;* and yet it is knowne, *that it is*, notwith-

standing, *altogether by his occasion.*" * A few months later, in February 1560, the same prelate indulged in a strain of similar hypocrisy in conversation with the embassador himself, much to the good knight's disgust. He declared himself in favor of a general council, and spoke with satisfaction of an edict just dispatched by Francis and Mary to Scotland, "to surcease the punishment of men for religion." "And of this purpose," adds Throkmorton with pardonable sarcasm, "he made suche an oration as it were long to write, *evon as thoughe he had bene hired by the Protestants to defend their cause earnestly!*" † Not only, however, does the course of the Cardinal of Lorraine in previous years show that such immoderate dissimulation as he is said to have exhibited at Saverne was not foreign to his character, but fortunately there is a well-known letter, written by Christopher of Wurtemberg, which furnishes irrefragable proof of the authenticity and credibility of the report of the conference. After the massacre of Vassy the Duke of Wurtemberg wrote to the Duke of Guise a long letter which has come down to us. In this he reminds him of the advice he had given him, and of the asseverations he had received in return. A single sentence will suffice to put the matter beyond controversy. "You know also," he says, "with what assurance *you answered me that great injustice was done you*, in that the attempt was made *to represent you as the cause and author of the death of so many poor Christians* who have heretofore shed their blood," etc., (que l'on vous faisoit grand tort de ce que l'on vous vouloit imposer estre cause et autheur de la mort de tant de povres Chrestiens, etc.) ‡

In conclusion, we must say that Mr. White's book, although written principally with the design of elucidating the events immediately preceding the catastrophe of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and of exhibiting in their true relation the successive acts of that remarkable tragedy, furnishes a very readable, satisfactory, and trustworthy account of the early history of the Protestants of France. We may hereafter take occasion to examine the main portion of his interesting work, and the views it presents of the premeditation of the *conspiracy* of the "bloody nuptials."

* Forbes' Full View, vol. i, p. 226. † Forbes, vol. i, p. 337.

‡ Mémoires de Guise, (Michaud,) p. 494.

Art. V.—THE APPLICATION OF PHOTOGRAPHY TO ASTRONOMY.

About twenty-five years ago a leading English magazine, in speaking of the invention of Daguerre, paid it the poor compliment of saying that "though now of some half dozen years' growth it is still 'so little of its age' that it threatens to be a dwarf the longest day it lives." Though so unpromising at that period of its existence, the art of photography has since compelled a recognition of its services, not only as a means of gratifying our love for the beautiful, but as of much practical use in the arts and sciences. To the progress of astronomy it has begun to render very material aid. Its possible services in this science are very obvious. If fleeting phenomena and transitory phases which disappear too soon to admit of careful study with the eye can by photography be permanently delineated, they may then be examined and measured at leisure. If the appearance of a celestial object as revealed by the powerful telescopes of to-day can be made to impress itself distinctly upon the sensitive plate of a camera, we shall have a record more accurate than any skill of the eye and hand can produce, serving not only for present study, but for comparison with the aspect presented by the same object many years hence. If the sidereal heavens can by their own agency be made to map themselves for our use, correctly registering both position and magnitude, astronomers will be saved much tedious labor and many troublesome mistakes. We design to show briefly how far and with what success this application of photography to the science of astronomy has been made.

When Daguerre in 1839 exhibited his method of fixing on a metallic plate the image of objects by means of solar light, Arago was the first to predict the application of the discovery to the science of astronomy; and at his request Daguerre attempted to obtain a photographic representation of the moon, but did not succeed. Other attempts were also made by different parties; but though the plate was in some cases exposed to the brilliant image formed by a powerful reflecting telescope twenty times as long as would suffice for terrestrial objects, it failed to receive the slightest impression. The first to obtain

any thing like a distinct representation of the moon, was Dr. J. W. Draper, of New York,* who, as early as 1840, obtained a picture with a five inch lens by an exposure of twenty minutes. In 1850 Professor G. P. Bond, of Cambridge, by the aid of his large refractor, produced some fine impressions of the lunar surface, and subsequently of some of the double stars of the first and second magnitudes. It was one of Professor Bond's lunar photographs at the London Exhibition in 1851 which stimulated Sir Warren De La Rue, who has since become famous in celestial photography, to undertake similar experiments. But little progress, however, was made in astronomical photography until 1857, when, the chemistry of the art having been much improved and more sensitive processes devised, Mr. De La Rue, in England, renewed his experiments in this direction, and in the following year Messrs. Lewis M. Rutherfurd and Henry Draper, of New York, began to devote their attention to the subject, and have since prosecuted it with noted success. In 1857 the time of exposure for fixing the image of the moon was diminished from twenty minutes to less than half as many seconds. When the condition of the atmosphere is favorable, a distinct impression of the full moon can now be taken in less than a quarter of a second, and the planet Jupiter requires an exposure only twice as long.

In taking celestial photographs the telescope is used as the camera, the sensitive plate being usually placed in the focus of the object-glass or mirror, and receiving the image directly upon it. From the impression thus produced enlarged copies may be subsequently taken. Sometimes the image is enlarged by a secondary magnifier before it is received upon the plate. Either the telescope or plate-holder must, of course, have a uniform motion communicated to it during the exposure corresponding to the motion of the object. A negative, when obtained with a clear and tranquil atmosphere, and free from all imperfections—such as are caused by a floating atom of dust, or the slightest tremor of the instrument, or pinholes in the collodion film—may be enlarged to an extent limited only by the difficulties of manipulating enormous plates. And thus we have for deliberate examination and measurement by day-

* On the Construction and Use of a Silvered Glass Telescope, by Henry Draper, M.D., p. 33.

light a permanent and infallible record of the phases of a celestial body—a record written by itself. A high state of perfection is essential in the original negative; for as defects are magnified equally with the rest, a fault imperceptible in a small picture may become a serious flaw in an enlarged one. The enlargement may be carried so far as to make apparent the minute granules of deposited silver used in the photographic process; but here is an end to the advantage gained by increase of size, no more detail being furnished by any further enlargement. When, however, the original image is enlarged before it is impressed on the sensitive plate, this limit of magnified detail is removed.

The chemical rays, which alone are effective in producing photographic impressions, being more refrangible than the luminous rays, a lens adapted to converge the latter to a focus will not concentrate the former; and hence a glass constructed for optical purposes is defective for photography, the photographic image being too ill-defined to bear much enlargement. Though this objection does not lie against the reflecting telescope, which throws all the various rays to the same focus, yet the least tremor of the instrument being multiplied so many times by the double reflection constitutes an obstacle to its successful use not easily overcome. Mr. Rutherfurd, after experiencing these and other difficulties with both forms of the telescope, and trying in vain to obviate them, conceived the plan of constructing a new object-glass, corrected solely with reference to the photographic rays. Such a glass was completed in December 1864, and, though utterly worthless for vision, proved to be very superior for photographic purposes. With this lens the necessary time of exposure of the sensitive plate was diminished more than ten times by the complete concentration of the chemical rays. A photograph of the moon, twenty-one inches in diameter, taken with this new objective March 6, 1865, (three days after the moon's first quarter,) is remarkably clear, and shows great sharpness of detail almost to the very edge. Mr. De La Rue, who has been called the first of celestial photographers, and who in 1866 received from the French Academy the Lalande prize for the perfection to which he has carried the art, gracefully yields the scepter in lunar photography to Mr. Rutherfurd,

and acknowledges this picture to be superior to any produced by himself. Mr. Brothers, another English photographer, says in regard to it, "It is difficult to conceive that any thing superior can ever be obtained." It seems fitting that America, which gave origin to celestial photography, should still wear the palm. Professor Henry Draper, who has so successfully prosecuted this branch of photography with his silvered glass reflecting telescope, has produced a lunar photograph over *four feet* in diameter, which, indeed, presents an imposing appearance, though it gives no more detail than if magnified to only half that size, on account of the silver granulation becoming visible. He has also taken photographs of the sun which exhibit details that were "almost invisible to observation," and some of which show the precipitate-like or minute flocculent appearance of the solar disk described by Sir John Herschel. De La Rue has obtained solar photographs three feet in diameter, taken instantaneously, which (he says) represent the sun's surface as though it had an undulatory motion, "like the surface of the sea agitated by wind." The planets also have given us their photographs, in which the rings of Saturn, the belts of Jupiter and his satellites, the snow zones and other markings of Mars, are shown remarkably well. The brilliant comet of Donati, which appeared in 1858, impressed itself on the plate in an exposure of seven seconds. Mr. Rutherfurd has produced a very fine photograph of the solar spectrum embracing both the luminous and chemical rays, and showing the numerous Fraunhofer lines with great distinctness.

We have stated that the image of the full moon can be fixed in less than one fourth of a second, and that of the sun "instantaneously." The actual time required to produce a solar photograph has been measured, and the result is indicative of the remarkable perfection to which photography has attained. According to the experiments of Mr. Waterhouse, a space of time no longer than one twenty-seven-thousandth of a second is required to fix the solar image.* Even this small fraction however, inconceivably short as it appears, is a tolerable length of time compared with that in which photographs are taken by the electric flash. The duration of the illuminating spark, according to the beautiful and trustworthy experiments of Mr.

* Annual of Scientific Discovery for 1860, p. 162.

Wheatstone with his delicate chronoscope, does not exceed the *millionth* part of a second,* and yet a clear and distinct photographic image is obtained by a single electric discharge. By this means may be shown the real form of objects to which a deceptive appearance is given by their rapid movement. If a wheel on whose side any figure is drawn in conspicuous lines be made to rotate with the greatest possible velocity, the figure will present to the eye only a series of concentric bands of different shades. Let it now be photographed while in motion by the electric flash, and the wheel will appear stationary with the figure perfectly well defined. A vein of water issuing from a small orifice, which appears to the eye as smooth as a stem of crystal, if seen or photographed by the light of the electric discharge, is shown to be composed of drops variously disposed and of various forms, some being elongated, others flattened, and others almost spherical.†

A series of photographs may be taken at inappreciable intervals, which will exhibit the birth, marked phases of existence, and extinction of an act or event much too fleeting to be perceived by the unaided eye. And thus photography, in its highest instantaneousness appears to eternize time, making momentary epochs, otherwise inappreciable, as evident to our senses as the presence of animalculæ in blood or water is by a microscope.‡ This idea recalls the antipodal one of General O. M. Mitchell's, who, in describing the slow oscillatory motion of the ecliptic, which takes many thousands of years to perform a complete vibration, compared it to "a great pendulum in the heavens, swinging to and fro, *beating the seconds of eternity!*" §

But let us glance at some of the results which have been obtained by the application of photography to astronomy, and note their bearing in confirming and extending our knowledge of the science. The moon does not always present exactly the same face toward the earth, but within certain limits seems to rock upon its center, at one time turning one limb a little toward us, and at another time another; or, to use the figure

* Journal of Franklin Institute, vol. xvii, p. 144.

† Smithsonian Report, 1866, p. 215.

‡ Annual of Scientific Discovery for 1860, p. 167.

§ A French writer expresses nearly the same thought as follows: "Immenses pendules de l'éternité qui battent les siècles comnes les notres battent les secondes."

symbolized in the almanacs, and likening the full moon to a human face, it turns so as to present sometimes more and sometimes less of one cheek than of the other, and again more or less of the forehead than of the chin. The measurement of this libration, as the phenomenon is called, has long taxed the patience and ingenuity of observers, but with photography its determination is at once comparatively easy and exceedingly accurate. Mr. De La Rue's lunar photographs, enlarged to thirty-nine inches, give such accurate micrometrical measurements as to furnish precise data for determining the amount of libration. The photographs of the moon taken by him and by Mr. Rutherfurd under different states of libration and illumination, are employed as the foundation of the great lunar map now being prepared under the auspices of the British Association for the Advancement of Science on the colossal scale of two hundred inches to the moon's diameter. As every principal object on the photographs will be transferred by measurement to the map, a degree of accuracy will thus be secured far beyond that which the best charts now present.

An eminent astronomer has declared that in rectifying our knowledge of the moon, more has been accomplished by photography in one hour than by forty years' observations of occultations. Let us see how this has been done, at least in part. During the total eclipse of the sun in 1860, which was visible in a part of Europe and Africa, a number of photographic impressions were taken by Mr. De La Rue representing the different stages of the eclipse with remarkable exactness. A micrometrical examination of these photographs indicated the moon's diameter to be less by about four seconds than that determined by the instruments of the Royal Observatory at Greenwich. A rigid investigation of star occultations shows that the mean diameter of the moon when bright is apparently four seconds greater than when dark. Selecting from a long series of observations those which it is known give the most reliable results, namely, the disappearance of stars at the dark edge of the moon and their reappearance at the dark edge, Mr. G. B. Airy, the Astronomer Royal, has deduced the value of the moon's diameter, which confirms even to a *hundredth part of a second* that obtained from the measurements of the photographs, thus showing that the photographic record furnishes

as good a basis for calculation as the most delicate astronomical observations. Mr. Airy thinks this discrepancy of four seconds between the diameters of the full and new moon is due, certainly in part, if not wholly, to the irradiation of its bright surface, but remarks that even if the whole of it were supposed to be caused by a lunar atmosphere, its tenuity must be so great that it would probably be discoverable in no other way. Its density would be only one two-thousandth part of the earth's atmosphere.*

An interesting fact connected with the photographs of the solar eclipse referred to is, that they reveal more than could be observed by direct vision—the eye of photography caught what was invisible to the human eye. During a total solar eclipse there are seen jutting out beyond the edge of the moon's disk various flame-like protuberances, usually rose-colored, which have excited much interest among all observers. One of these "flames," not sufficiently luminous to be seen with the telescope, was by the predominance of actinic rays distinctly impressed on the sensitive plate. "It probably emitted," says De La Rue, "a feeble purple light." Others of these colored prominences were better defined on the photographs than to the eye. Owing to the discordance between previous observations of these phenomena, it had been a disputed question whether their appearance is connected with the sun or the satellite, and different theories had been proposed to meet each view of the case. The various photographs of this eclipse (taken at different localities) furnished a consistent and reliable record which at once and conclusively settled the fact that these red flames belong to the sun, and are entirely independent of the moon. Recent investigations with the spectroscope prove that they consist of incandescent gaseous matter (chiefly hydrogen) extending into the upper regions of the solar atmosphere. They are visible only during an eclipse, because under ordinary circumstances their light is less brilliant than that of our atmosphere illuminated by the sun. Photographic observations of the solar eclipse which occurred last August were taken at several stations, which, though the state of the atmosphere was somewhat unfavorable, furnish some very interesting results. A complete discussion of them will

* Monthly Notices of the R. A. S., vol. xxv, p. 264.

soon be published in the Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society.

The wonderful power of the stereoscope has been applied to celestial photographs with the most marked and beautiful results. It is well known that this simple instrument exhibits effects which a simple picture cannot produce. The two pictures on a stereoscopic slide, it will be observed, are photographs of the same object from two different positions, varying from each other more or less according to the distance and size of the object, one picture corresponding to its appearance as seen by the right eye, the other as seen by the left eye. Now if, instead of moving the camera in taking the two impressions, the object itself should change its position, or simply turn in its place a few degrees, evidently the same effect would be produced as before. Thus two photographs of a celestial object may possess the stereoscopic relation if taken with an interval sufficiently great to admit of the necessary angular change in its position. For instance, De La Rue photographed a conspicuous spot on the solar disk; then waiting about twenty-four hours till the sun's rotation on its axis should present the spot under a little different phase, he took another photograph of it, and placing the two in a stereoscope, the one last taken being on the left, they showed the true relative position of the various parts connected with the spot. In this we see a confirmation of the theory, first asserted so boldly by Dr. Wilson nearly a century ago, that the spots are immense openings or caverns in the luminous envelope of the sun. The faculæ or bright parts of the disk immediately surrounding the spot, are shown by this stereoscopic view to be portions of the luminous matter *heaped up* above the grosser part of the solar atmosphere. The penumbra is represented at a great distance below the outer surface of this luminous envelope or photosphere, while the central black nucleus appears to be an opening through the penumbra down to the opaque orb within, or rather to still darker masses of clouds which surround it.* The solar spots, according to M. Faye, indicate the thickness of the luminous envelope to be from two to four thousand miles; variable, it is thought, with the latitude. After recounting the above experiment with a sun spot, Mr. De La Rue adds

* Phil. Trans., 1862, Part I, p. 406.

further, "My hope of rendering evident the luminous prominences [on the disk as well as around its edge] is dependent upon an extension of this experiment. I believe that with a careful adjustment of the time of exposure of the sensitive plate, I shall succeed in obtaining the outline of the luminous protuberances (the so-called red flames) as very delicate markings on the more brilliant mottled background of the photosphere. These delineations, except with the aid of the stereoscope, would be confounded with the other markings of the sun's surface; but they would assume their true aspect, and stand out from the rest as soon as two suitable pictures were viewed by the aid of that instrument."

Mr. De La Rue also combined two photographs of the total solar eclipse of 1860, taken with an interval of eighty seconds, and by an exposure of one minute each, which afford a very beautiful view of the phenomena of totality, and one which could not be enjoyed by mortal eyes in looking at the eclipse. In this stereograph the dark disk of the moon, "hung upon nothing," appears of a spherical form and comparatively near; while far beyond, the brilliant corona or atmosphere of the sun, which is never seen except in a total eclipse, flashes out around the disk revealing the presence of the concealed luminous orb in the distance.

In combining pictures of the moon for the stereoscope, two photographs of the same phase are taken, but with an interval of one or more months between, in order that it may present in the latter picture its disk slightly turned from its position in the former, making the difference of libration from five to ten degrees—the two pictures, in fact, (placed in a stereoscope,) representing the moon exactly as it would appear if our eyes could be separated thirty thousand miles apart and each view the moon through a telescope at the same time. By the effect thus produced, the *globular form* of our satellite is demonstrated as a physical fact, being made as apparent to the eye as is that of an orange held in the hand. The telescope exhibits the inequalities of the moon's furrowed surface only as differences of light and shade, while the stereoscope reveals them as actual elevations and depressions, making as manifest the long mountain ranges and deep valleys, the isolated peaks and numerous saucer-like cavities or craters, as they would be in a

bird's-eye view to a lunar inhabitant, though of course lacking the details. With suitable photographs, the stereoscope is to the telescope what the sculptured bust is to the painted portrait.

While a stereoscopic view of the full moon brings out its rounded form with astonishing naturalness, and gives one, perhaps, a better idea of it as a whole, yet a view of the moon only partially illuminated exhibits the unevenness of surface along the limit of illumination with much greater distinctness and beauty. Ordinary stereoscopic pictures of the moon represent it as magnified from twenty to twenty-five times; a common stereoscope further magnifies it about one and a half times, so that it is seen under a power of about thirty-five. Views enlarged to a greater size, with instruments adapted to them, would probably reveal minuter details of the diversified surface.

Photographs of the moon during the lunar eclipse of October 1865 were found to be in stereoscopic relation with those taken during the eclipse of February 1858, (forming a stereoscopic angle which a measurement of the pictures indicates to be about five and a half degrees,) so that, when combined with each other, we have stereoscopic views of various phases of a *lunar eclipse* which present a very novel appearance. Strictly speaking, the moon is never full except at the time of a lunar eclipse. A picture of it taken at any other time will appear more or less jagged at some part of its edge. This view of the moon lying before me, taken just before contact with the earth's shadow, placed in a stereoscope, presents a clear, smooth outline around the entire edge. The next view shows the moon after contact with the penumbra, which dims a small portion of its disk. In the third picture, the moon has just entered the umbra, and in the fourth it is half immersed. The portion of the moon covered by the umbra left not the slightest trace on the photograph, though it was plainly visible to the unaided eye. The limit of the shadow, which is gradually softened off, can be much better traced across the disk in the photograph than as seen in the telescope, and its projection plainly marks the circular, or, more strictly, the elliptical form of the earth's shadow.

The configuration of Jupiter's belts, and the diversity of

light and shade on the surface of Mars, have enabled stereographs to be produced of those planets, the presence of detail or variety in the appearance of a body being necessary to their production. Mr. De La Rue hopes to obtain a stereograph of Saturn and his rings by the aid of the latter's periodical change of appearance in opening and closing. An interval of several years between the two photographs will be necessary. The planet itself will probably present only the appearance of a flat disk from the want of sufficient detail on its surface. The same reason will doubtless be a bar to the production of satisfactory stereographs of the sun until the delicate tracings on its luminous surface can be well defined in the photographs. An attempt was made by Mr. Rutherfurd to produce one when the sun was remarkably rich in spots, but instead of presenting it in relief like a sphere, it gave the appearance of "a flat uniform disk spanned by a spherical network which seemed entirely detached from the disk."

At Kew Observatory, near London, the sun's photograph—we might say autograph—is taken once or twice every day when the sky will permit. By this means we are obtaining a continuous history of the changes in the spots and faculæ on its face more accurate and more instructive than could be procured in any other way. An investigation of these sun-pictures is fast setting at rest many disputed points pertaining to solar physics. The existence of a comparatively cold atmosphere around the sun, outside of the luminous matter, and the connection of the solar spots with planetary influence, (chiefly that of Venus and Jupiter,) have been already established by them. Other questions relating to spots on the sun, and their connection with terrestrial magnetism, it is thought, will soon be solved, and perhaps also those concerning the movements of the supposed ring of asteroids (or, possibly, single planet) within the orbit of Mercury. An investigation is now being made with the view of determining with greater exactness the angular diameter of the sun. Two series of solar researches, based on the Kew photographs, have been published, and further work is being reduced preparatory to a final discussion. In view of the rapid advancement which has been made in solar physics within a few years past there seems reason to hope that the day is not distant when a satisfactory answer

can be given to the oft-repeated inquiry, "What is a sun?" *

Photography also renders its aid in another essential department at Kew Observatory. By its means, in connection with ingenious clock-work, all the various meteorological and magnetic instruments automatically record their momentary changes throughout the twenty-four hours, and in place of such old names as barometer and thermometer, we see used such new terms as barograph, thermograph, and magnetograph.

The Russian government has provided the observatory at Wilna with a photoheliographic apparatus similar to that in operation at Kew, and there is a prospect of a like instrument being erected at Quebec. We shall thus have, on account of the difference of longitude, an almost uninterrupted self-register of solar phenomena.

But perhaps the most desirable application of photography, to the accomplishment of which the hopes of astronomers are strongly turned, is its employment in mapping the sidereal heavens. Professor Bond was the first to call attention to the advantages offered by this method of stellar observation, and prosecuted numerous experiments of the kind in 1857 with his fifteen-inch refractor, photographing stars as small as the sixth magnitude. Mr. Rutherfurd, with his eleven-inch photographic object-glass, has carried the work in this direction to the farthest extent yet attained, having photographed stars of the ninth magnitude. He has taken one cluster of twenty-three stars within the space of one degree square, and another (the Pleiades) of forty-three stars, many of these being of the ninth magnitude, with an exposure of three to four minutes. With a delicate micrometer, which he designed expressly for the work, Mr. Rutherfurd took careful measures of the star images in his photograph of the Pleiades. From these measures Dr. B. A. Gould has deduced the relative position angles, and distances (in arc) of the stars, and a comparison of his

* Recent evidence, furnished by both the telescope and spectroscope, seems to demonstrate that the appearances connected with sun spots are owing to the cooling and absorptive effects of an *inrush or descending current of the sun's atmosphere*, which is known to be cooler than the photosphere. (See London Athenæum, May, 1868, p. 763.)

results with those obtained by Bessel from his observations of the same stars proves both the accuracy of Bessel's measures and the trustworthiness of the new method, while at the same time it shows the small amount of relative change which has taken place in this group during the last quarter of a century. The observations made by Bessel extended over more than eleven years, while the observations of Mr. Rutherfurd were made in a single night. "It would not be difficult," he says, "to expose a surface sufficient to obtain a map of two degrees square, and with instruments of larger aperture we may hope to reach much smaller stars than I have yet taken. There is also every probability that the chemistry of photography will be very much improved, and more sensitive methods devised." *

The advantages of this method of observation, when so extended as to apply to the smaller telescopic stars, as stated by Professor Bond, are its entire immunity from personal errors, errors of judgment, or from want of skill on the part of the observer, with less liability to ordinary mistakes in reading and recording the indications of the micrometer. Besides which, the permanent record can at any time be re-examined to clear up doubtful points. Another advantage, equally decisive, is the extraordinary rapidity with which groups or clusters of small stars would be delineated, saving months and years of labor.† The disturbance of the atmosphere does not prove so serious an objection in stellar photography as one would at first suppose. The effect is more or less eliminated by a long exposure of from three to five minutes, or even longer. The stellar impression being the self-registered mean effect of all the disturbances of the image during exposure, (while in direct vision this mean effect has to be mentally estimated,) the measurements of the photographs are more exact than those made in the ordinary way under the same atmospheric condition. A comparison between Professor Bond's photographic measurements and the results of Struve's observations of the same stars, shows the photographic method to have three times the exactness of the ordinary method; that is, the probable error of a single photographic observation is

* American Journal of Science, vol. xxxix, p. 309.

† Astronomische Nachrichten, No. 1,129.

no greater than the probable error of the mean of three observations made in the usual way. The aid of photography may be also employed in determining the relative magnitudes of stars. From the relative diameters of the star images formed under similar conditions of exposure, a scale of photographic powers could be derived which would approximate to the scale of magnitudes founded on their comparative brightness.

The path of astronomical discovery is obstructed more by the earth's atmosphere than by the limitation of telescopic power. The highest powers of our largest telescopes can only be used on very rare occasions, when the atmosphere is perfectly tranquil. It may be possible to construct a telescope of the best optical qualities, and two or three times the size hitherto attained; but to avail ourselves of its great magnifying power we shall need to search the globe for those favored spots where a clear and tranquil sky will afford the desired field for celestial exploration. As such instruments and opportunities must, from the nature of the case, be rare, the advantage of a rapid and accurate mode of registration in order to secure a greater harvest of the rich fruits thus placed within our reach is obvious. "Let it be admitted for the moment," says Professor Bond, "to be possible to register with adequate perfection an exact chart of each considerable star, surrounded by its host of lesser attendants, what more admirable means can be imagined for the resolution of the great problems of sidereal astronomy? The rare occasions when an atmosphere of perfect tranquillity offers itself will be improved to the utmost, and a single night be made to yield the results of months of labor." Another advantage of the photographic method is the avoidance of errors arising from the imperfection of the physical organization. The method of recording transits by electro-magnetism has greatly reduced these physiological errors, but not entirely eliminated them, as was at first hoped. "The possibility," says M. Faye, "of dispensing with the observer (whose 'personal equation' varies not only with years, but from one moment to another, with the troubles of digestion, circulation, or nervous fatigue) has been fully demonstrated. The method consists in substituting for the eye a photographic plate, and in *automatically* registering by elec-

tricity the instant when the light is admitted to the dark chamber attached to the telescope." * By this means M. Faye obtained in twenty seconds ten complete observations of the sun. Again, while the observer, in looking at an object, scrutinizes closely only the parts which specially interest him at the moment of observation, and nearly always permits the rest to escape his attention, the photograph, on the contrary, permanently registers every thing alike.

A recent example has shown that it is not always safe to rely on the appearance of exactness even in a science which boasts of its perfection. It was supposed that the observations of the last transit of Venus across the solar disk in 1769 gave the sun's mean distance from the earth very correctly. But it is well ascertained to-day that the adopted value of this distance, which is the astronomer's measuring rod for celestial spaces, is too great by more than three millions of miles. Transits of Venus will again occur in 1874 and 1882, and it is proposed to employ the new and more accurate method in observing the phenomenon, though not designed that it should supplant observations with the eye.† The great interest attached to these transits arises from the fact that they furnish the most approved method of determining the solar parallax, and thereby the sun's distance. A correction to the value of this necessitates a like correction in all numerical quantities involving the sun's distance as a unit. The advantages of the photographic method of observing such transits are peculiar. It is not important, as it is with eye observations, to catch exactly the phases of contact of Venus with the sun's limb, nor is it essential that stations should be selected on nearly opposite sides of the earth from which to take the observations. A series of photographs at short intervals can be obtained during the progress of the planet across the sun, thus insuring greater accuracy by increasing the number of observations. The exposure being instantaneous the exact moment of each record may be accurately determined. And what is by no means unimportant, the recording plate, *sensitive* though it is, has no nerves to be strained in the anxiety to make the utmost of so rare and important an event. No solicitude prevents the

* Compte Rendu, Sept. 12, 1864.

† See Monthly Notices R. A. S., Dec. 11, 1868.

unerring instrument from recording the event of a century with the same accuracy that it records an every-day occurrence.

It is well known that "the eternal and incorruptible heavens," as they were termed by Aristotle, are undergoing continual and marked changes. The so-called fixed stars—the "landmarks of the universe"—have their own proper motions not accounted for by that of the solar system. Sirius—as that wonderful aid to physical astronomy, the spectroscope, reveals—is shooting through space at the rate of a thousand million miles a year. The star known as 61 Cygni has a transverse motion alone of one thousand four hundred and fifty million miles a year. Many stars, more distant still, may even exceed this rate. Cooper's recent catalogue of stars shows that no fewer than seventy-seven stars previously catalogued are now missing. This, no doubt, is to be ascribed in part to the errors of former observations; but it is certain that to some extent at least it is the result of changes actually in progress in the sidereal system. Of temporary stars, about twenty have been observed, and more than six times that number are known to be variable. It appears quite certain also that some of the nebulæ have undergone a change of both form and brilliancy. When the celestial lamps shall by their own light record their history on the photographic page, our knowledge of these mysterious luminaries, whose fires wax and wane, or go out in utter darkness, will be less involved in doubt.

Recent observations indicate with considerable probability a change in the appearance of *Linné*, one of the small craters of the moon. Two other craters near the western limb are suspected of having undergone a change; and indeed, if Beer and Mädler's observations of them are worthy of confidence, it can hardly be questioned. It is quite probable, therefore, that volcanic action, which from the moon's configuration seems to have been so abundant in its past history, has not yet entirely ceased. Still errors of observation and of delineation preclude the possibility of forming a perfectly satisfactory conclusion with respect to such variations from former descriptions, or from the inspection of drawings made by hand; but if changes are still in progress in that luminary, or if any

shall hereafter occur, photography, it is thought, affords the readiest means of detecting them. A very interesting question will be solved when we are able positively to affirm beyond all doubt that a change in the lunar surface has been observed.

Much that seems desirable in celestial photography is not yet attained; but when we consider that the art is in its infancy, and that every day is giving origin to improvements, we may well feel confident that this method of automatic observation will render yet more important service to the science of astronomy. There has yet been but one object-glass constructed with photographic focus. Its diameter is eleven and a quarter inches. Mr. De La Rue is having a similar lens constructed of thirteen inches diameter, soon to be in operation, from which, in the hands of so skillful a director, much is expected. Professor Henry Draper has very nearly completed a new *silvered glass* reflector of twenty-eight inches diameter, (the largest of the kind yet constructed, except one by Foucault,) which will be of the Cassegrain form, so as to permit the use of a secondary magnifier to enlarge the image before it is received on the sensitive plate. In a recent communication he says, "The mirror has already had a preliminary polish, and is going to turn out grandly." With this instrument the original negatives will be taken six inches in diameter, with provision for extending them to nine and a half inches if desirable. Such pictures will, of course, contain an amount of detail not possible in those taken with ordinary instruments, which vary from one to two inches in diameter, according to the size of the telescope. Professor Draper expects thus to obtain photographs of larger size and sustaining higher magnifying power than any that have yet been produced. The amount of advantageous enlargement will not be limited by the appearance of the silver granulation, but will depend wholly on the sharpness of definition obtained in the original picture.

There is now being erected (if not already completed) at Melbourne, in Australia, a powerful reflecting telescope four feet in diameter, of the Cassegrain form, which will be supplied with the necessary apparatus for photography, as well as for spectroscopic investigation. This derives its importance

chiefly from the fact that the work will be prosecuted in the rich fields of the southern hemisphere.

An important adjunct to photography is a method, devised a few years ago, of making a photographic impression do its own *engraving*—prepare a plate by which, untouched by the hand of the engraver, any number of accurate copies can be printed with an ordinary press. Specimens of prints produced by this method of automatic engraving are given in the monthly notices of the R. A. S., vol. xxii, No. 7; and vol. xxv, No. 5; and also in the Cosmos, vol. xxi, page 176.

We have already alluded to the perturbations of the atmosphere as being a serious obstacle to astronomical observations. It was suggested by Newton that the serene and quiet air which is so often found on the tops of mountains above the grosser clouds would very much favor celestial observations. Such elevated stations would seem to possess peculiar advantages for the application of photography, since the atmosphere is not only less subject to disturbance, but is also more favorable to the chemical action of light. The results of the expedition to Teneriffe in 1856 prove these suppositions correct. In a paper presented to the British Association in 1863 Professor Piazzi Smith, who had charge of the expedition, states that the chief object at Teneriffe was to ascertain the degree of improvement in telescopic vision at a high elevation. Observations were taken at various points, reaching an altitude of eleven thousand feet, or a little more than two miles. At that height the majority of clouds were found to be far below, the air dry, and in a very steady and homogeneous state. A photograph taken near the sea level could not be made to show the detail on the side of a distant hill no matter how marked the detail might be by rocks and cliffs illuminated by strong sunshine. Even the application of a microscope brought out no other feature than one broad, faint, and nearly uniform tint. But on applying the microscope to photographs of distant hills, taken at a high level, an abundance of minute detail appeared. Each little separate bush could be distinguished, though the hill-side was four and a half miles from the camera.* The important results obtained by this expedition has led to the establishment by the Russian government of an astro-

* Annual of Scientific Discovery, 1864, p. 119.

nomical observatory at an elevated station on Mount Ararat, near Tiflis.

As in the telescope the light decreases inversely as the square of the magnifying power, there must be a limit at which the minute details of an object become lost for want of light. The question has, therefore, very naturally arisen, whether by the aid of photography and extraneous light this barrier can be removed; whether a photographic image, by throwing upon it a beam of condensed light, can permit a higher power to be used with advantage than the optical image formed by the telescope. In other words, Is the photographic eye more sensitive than the living eye? or, Can a photographic recipient be found that will register impressions which the living eye does not detect, but which, by increased light, or by developing agents, may be rendered visible? Concerning this question Mr. W. R. Grove says, "It is perhaps hardly safe to answer it *à priori;* but the experiment of reproducing photographs [by which, even when exposed to a more intense light, we find that the photographic details are limited to the intensity of the first impression] would seem to show that more than the initial light cannot be got, and that we cannot expect to increase telescopic power by photography."*

Want of light, however, will be no obstacle to photographing the sun or moon on a scale of any magnitude desired. The light of the sun is so much in excess of what is required to obtain a collodion picture that the loss of light consequent on the necessary interposition of lenses or mirrors for enlarging the image can constitute no objection. We may reasonably hope, therefore, that photographs of these objects will be obtained on a very much larger scale than any yet produced.

* Grove's Correlation of Physical Forces, (Youman's Compilation,) p. 114.

Art. VI.—THE PROPHECY OF JACOB RESPECTING THE MESSIAH.

לֹא־יָסוּר שֵׁבֶט מִיְּהוּדָה וּמְחֹקֵק מִבֵּין רַגְלָיו עַד כִּי־יָבֹא שִׁילֹה וְלוֹ יִקְּהַת עַמִּים.

The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come; and him shall the nations obey. Gen. xlix, 10.

This important prophecy of the dying Jacob stands out in bold relief in the history of the patriarchal age. Only two Messianic predictions had preceded it; one of them directed to the serpent,—"I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her Seed: it shall bruise thy head, and thou shalt bruise his heel"—language so obscure that the most ancient Targumist* could find in it no allusion to the Messiah:† the other prediction, in the form of a blessing, pronounced upon Abraham—"In thy Seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed"—was more distinct, but simply indicated the salvation of the world through the offspring of Isaac.

Jacob prefaces his predictions with the exhortation and declaration to his sons: "Gather yourselves together that I may tell you that which shall befall you in the last days." The phrase בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים, *in the last days*, is a prophetic formula for the remote future.‡

In a prophecy thus reaching to the most distant events in the history of the twelve tribes we naturally expect some allusion to Him who was to make the name of Israel for ever illustrious, and to hold a universal sway over the human race. Accordingly, the exposition that would exclude any reference to the Messiah in the text placed at the head of this article has in it, *à priori*, great improbability. It is true, that if we take the Rationalistic stand-point, and assume that all prophecy which is not an ardent hope springing from the earnest yearnings and the deeply felt wants of humanity is either history written after the events, or, where that is impossible, the conjecture of

* Onkelos.

† The Targum of Jerusalem, however, written several centuries after Christ, refers it to the times of the Messiah.

‡ See Isaiah ii, 2; Micah iv, 1; Numbers xxiv, 14; Dan. x, 14.

shrewd political observers, then we must deny all reference in the text to any events that lie beyond the time of the composition of the Book of Genesis, which the most skeptical and reckless criticism can scarcely bring down to the Davidic times.

But with the clear conviction of the supernatural character of the Old Testament prophecy, we are prepared to find predictions of events that lie beyond the horizon of the prophet, and so to refer them when the circumstances under which they were uttered and the laws of language require such a reference.

Respecting the import of the single words of the prophecy under discussion, we may remark that שֵׁבֶט, *shebet*, although originally meaning *rod* or *staff*, is properly translated *scepter*, and has that force in various parts of the Old Testament, of which the following are examples: "Out of Zebulun they wield the scepter," (*shebet*,) Judges v, 14. "There shall come a star out of Jacob, and a scepter (*shebet*) shall rise out of Israel." Num. xxiv, 17. "The scepter (*shebet*) of Egypt shall depart." Zech. x, 12. "One handling the scepter," (*shebet*,) a *king*. Amos i, 5, 8. מְחֹקֵק, *Mĕchoqēq*, translated *lawgiver*, a participle poel from חָקַק, means also *ruler*, *judge*, a *scepter*, and in the text it may stand in apposition with *shebet*, *scepter*, and be synonymous with it in accordance with a well-known usage of Hebrew poetry.

The word *shiloh* is written in most editions and manuscripts שִׁילֹה, with the yod, (י,) and in twenty-eight Jewish manuscripts and in all the Samaritan it is שִׁלֹה without the yod, and in a few manuscripts שִׁילוֹ and שִׁלוֹ. But Gesenius thinks this is of no importance, since *shiloh*, when the name of a town, has also this threefold orthography. It is evident, then, that the Hebrew critics and copyists regarded *shiloh* as a simple word; for had they deemed it compounded of שִׁ, *she*, (an abbreviation of אֲשֶׁר,) and לוֹ, *lo*, making שֶׁלּוֹ, *shello*, they would *never* have written it with the yod.

To this objection to its being considered a compound word must be added the fact that שֶׁ, the abbreviated form of אֲשֶׁר, nowhere occurs in the Pentateuch, and is first met with in the Book of Judges. But if, in spite of these facts, *shiloh* be regarded as a compound word, which is the opinion of some eminent scholars, then its meaning is, *to whom it is*, *to whom* the scepter *belongs*, which is, indeed, very abrupt, and is more

fully expressed by Ezekiel: "I will overturn, overturn, overturn it: and it shall be no more until He come whose right it is, (or to whom judgment belongs,) and I will give it him." Chap. xxi, 27. It is very probable that the prophet had in his mind this very text, and he evidently refers it to the Messiah.

Taking "shiloh" as a simple word, what is its import? It means *peace*, *tranquillity*. Nor is this doubtful, for we have cognate forms of similar force: shalah, *to be secure*, *tranquil*, *at rest*, (Gesenius;) *to be tranquil*, *at peace*, *secure*, (Fuerst.) Shalvah, *tranquillity*, *security*, (Gesenius;) *peace*, *rest*, (Fuerst.) In Syriac we have shelyo, *rest;* shalyo, *at rest*, *peaceful;* shalyutho, *rest*, *peace*. Arabic, salah, *to be serene*, *tranquil*. Shiloh seems to be an abbreviation of shilon,* from which by Hebrew usage we have shiloni, shilonite; just as the word שְׁלֹמֹה, *Shelomo*, *Solomon*, is an abbreviation of שְׁלֹמֹן, *Shelomon*. The name Solomon is derived from שָׁלוֹם, *shalom*, *peace*. In shiloh (from shalah) we have the idea of internal quiet and peace; in shalom, *wholeness*, *soundness*, *safety*, then *peace* in opposition to war. Both of these ideas can be well applied to the Messiah.

This name, Shiloh, *Peace*, stands for the Messiah, who in Isaiah ix, 5, is called שַׂר שָׁלוֹם, *Prince of Peace*, which title Gesenius, Rœdiger, and Fuerst themselves refer to the Messiah. It was altogether appropriate that the Messiah should be predicted under the title Shiloh, because in him dwells fullness of peace, its very intensity; and we can illustrate this by a clear analogy. The ruler of the Turkish Empire is called *Sultan*,† an Arabic word—the same as the Chaldee שָׁלְטָן,—meaning *power*, *dominion;* he bears this title because he is regarded as the very embodiment of *power* and *dominion*, the shadow of God upon the earth. This use of abstract ‡ for concrete ideas was more common in the ancient than it is in the modern world. The classical scholar will recall to his mind many

* We find that the Septuagint in most cases gives Σηλώμ for Shiloh. The present name of the ancient site of Shiloh is Seilûn.—*Robinson's Biblical Researches in Palestine*, vol. ii, 269. Josephus writes it Siloun.

† The first Turkish ruler to whom the title Sultan was given was Mahmud of Gazna, a thousand years after Christ.—*Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. v, p. 500.

‡ It is not absolutely necessary to take *Shiloh* abstract for concrete; it may be an appellative, the *possessor of peace*.

instances in the ancient writers. And what a beautiful commentary upon Shiloh was the announcement of the angels at the birth of Christ: "Behold, I bring you good tidings of great joy, which shall be to all people." "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward men." Christ is the great restorer of peace between God and man, and between man and his fellow. Christianity, in teaching the common brotherhood of the human race, has done more than any thing else to break down caste and promote peace and love among men. St. Paul, in Ephesians, speaks of Christ as "our peace," in the sense of peace-maker, which is perfectly in harmony with the title Shiloh.

That the name Shiloh refers to the Messiah was, it seems, the universal opinion until several centuries after Christ. The exposition that denies in the name any reference to the Messiah was the invention of hostile, prejudiced Jews, in which they have been followed by some eminent Rationalistic scholars, but scarcely by any one else.

In giving the views that have been taken of this prophecy of Jacob, we shall begin with the Septuagint: "A ruler shall not fail from Judah, and a leader from his loins, until He come for whom these things are reserved, and he himself is the expectation of the nations."* "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, and a lawyer from between his feet, until He come whose it is, and for him shall the nations await."—*Peshito Syriac.*† "The scepter shall not depart from Judah, and a leader from his thigh, until He come who is to be sent, and he shall be the expectation of the nations."—*Vulgate Edition of Sixtus V. and Clement VIII.*

The Samaritan Pentateuch contains the text under discussion in nearly the same form as it stands in the Hebrew, and there is the best authority for saying that the Samaritans themselves explain it of a Messiah.

Of all the ancient versions of the Pentateuch that of Onkelos,‡ made in Chaldee, is the most valuable, and it has always stood

* Οὐκ ἐκλείψει ἄρχων ἐξ Ἰούδα καὶ ἡγούμενος ἐκ τῶν μηρῶν αὐτοῦ ἕως ἂν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ, καὶ αὐτὸς προσδοκία ἐθνῶν.—*Van Ess's Edition.* The Pentateuch was translated 280 B. C.

† Edition of Prof. Lee, London, 1823. This version was made in the first or second century.

‡ Onkelos probably lived a short time before Christ.

very high with the Jews. His translation of our passage is as satisfactory as could be desired: "A ruler shall not depart from the house of Judah, and a prophet (*saphra*, prophet, lawyer, scribe) from among his children's children for ever, until the MESSIAH come whose the kingdom is, and him shall the nations obey."* "Kings shall not fail from the house of Judah, nor skillful teachers of the law from among his children's children, until the time when King Messiah comes, whose the kingdom is, and him shall all the kingdoms of the earth serve."—*Targum of Jerusalem.* "Until Shiloh come, King Messiah, whose the kingdom is, and so Onkelos and Midrash [a Jewish Commentary] explain Shiloh."—*Rashi.*† "The great scepter shall not depart from Judah until David come, who was the first king of Judah, and so it was as is shown from the fact that Judah [in the wilderness] marched in the front rank; also Jehovah (the name) said, Judah shall go up first."—*Aben Ezra.*‡ He also remarks: "There are some who explain this of the city Shiloh, *until an end come to Shiloh*, [Shiloh nominative to the verb יָבֹא, *come*, *to go down*, like the sun,] for thus it is written: And he rejected the tabernacle of Shiloh, and afterward he chose David his servant." Here we have the germ of an exposition that has become very popular among the Jews and with some of the Rationalists—the referring of Shiloh to a city of that name, thus freeing themselves from the necessity of applying the passage to the Messiah.

Fuerst, in his great Concordance of the Hebrew Bible, (published at Leipsic in 1840,) defines Shiloh: *Rest, peace, a title, as the most ancient tradition proves, of the Messiah, who brings peace and rest.*" He then confirms this statement by referring to ancient authorities, and concludes by remarking: "Some affirm that Shiloh is for *Shilyah*, and that it is spoken of the son (of Judah,) absurdly, certainly; others, among whom are also Jewish interpreters, through prejudice, understand it of the town Shiloh." §

* This passage and the three following we have translated from the Chaldee and Rabbinical in Buxtorf's great Rabbinical Bible.

† A Jewish commentator.

‡ A celebrated Spanish Rabbi of the twelfth century.

§ Quies, pax, cognomen, uti vetustissima traditio confirmat, Messiæ, pacem quitemque afferentis. Alii pro שִׁלָּרָה de filio dictum volunt, absurde scilicet; alii, in his etiam Judaici interpretes, *Siluntem* oppidum præconcepta opinione intelligunt.

But let us hear Fuerst in 1863. After giving the views of others upon the word, he says, "But it is better to abide by the first signification of שִׁילֹה as the name of a place, and take the verse to mean that Judah took the precedence of all the other tribes at the beginning in leading warlike marches till the ark came to Shiloh in Ephraim, and the obedience of the Canaanite peoples was effected; after which the old leadership ceased." * This is certainly a remarkable falling off in the exposition of a sublime prophecy, and shows great progress in the Rationalistic direction.

Gesenius, in the last edition of his Hebrew Lexicon, has, under the word *Shiloh*, the following: "*Rest, tranquillity;* such seems to be the meaning of the word in the difficult passage, *the scepter shall not depart from Judah until rest shall come, and the nations obey him*, (Judah.) That is, Judah shall not lay aside the scepter of a leader until he shall have subdued his enemies, and obtained dominion over many nations; referring to the expected kingdom of the Messiah, who was to spring from the tribe of Judah." This is from Dr. Robinson's edition at the close of 1843, about a year after the death of Gesenius. In Robinson's eighth stereotyped edition of Gesenius's Lexicon we have the following from Rœdiger, who made additions to the last part of Gesenius: "The scepter shall not depart from Judah until he (Judah) come to Shiloh, and the nations obey him. Here Shiloh is accusative of place, as in וַיָּבֹא שִׁילֹה, *and he came to Shiloh*, 1 Sam. iv, 12; 1 Kings xiv, 4. Comp. Judges xxiv, 12; 1 Sam. iv, 4. It was in the patriarch's mind that the tribe of Judah would be the leader of the other tribes in the war against the Canaanites, and thus hold the supreme power. See Judges i, 1, seq. Comp. xx, 18; Num. ii, 1, seq. x, 14; nor could this war be regarded as finished and victory obtained until the Hebrews came as conquerors to Shiloh, in the middle of the land, and there set up the sacred ark and tabernacle; after which the Canaanites, being now subdued, Judah ceased to be leader, and the land was distributed in peace among the tribes. See especially Josh. xviii, 1. This interpretation was proposed by Teller, and has been followed by Herder, Bleek, Tuch, Ewald, Delitsch, and others. In the name שִׁילֹה

* Hebrew and Chaldee Lex., translated by Dr. Davidson. New York: Leypoldt & Holt. 1867.

the author probably had respect to the signification, *rest, peace;* and the prophecy may have looked forward beyond that epoch of time." He also remarks: "Not a few modern interpreters take שִׁילֹה here as an appellative, signifying either *peace, quiet,* or (abstract for the concrete) *pacificator, prince of peace.* Most understand by it the Messiah. But this view labors under the difficulty that no such appellative noun is elsewhere found, nor one of a like form, except גילֹה, which is the name of a place, as is שִׁילֹה, every-where else." Here we have the anti-Messianic view exhibited in its most plausible form by a very distinguished scholar and critic.

But what shall we say of Rœdiger's assertion that "no such appellative noun is elsewhere found, nor one of a like form?" Is not the word שְׁלֹמֹה, Shelomoh, Solomon, like שִׁילֹה, Shiloh, in form; and is it not an appellative, and given to Solomon because he was a *man of peace?* * We find in the Old Testament more than forty proper nouns, the names of places, about thirty of persons, and many common nouns and adjectives, with the termination וֹן *on.* We find some words ending in וֹן *on*, that are *the names of both cities and men;* for example, עַבְדּוֹן, כָּגְלוֹן. Why, then, may not Shiloh (Shilon) be both the name of an individual and of a city? or, according to the usage of the language, be both a common and a proper noun? Shiloh (from *shalah*) could be an adjective or a noun. As applied to a person, it would mean *peaceful, peace,* or a *peace-maker.* When applied to a city, a *place of peace* or *rest.*

It seems very probable that the town Shiloh had no existence before the children of Israel, under Joshua, pitched the tabernacle there, and the ark *rested* after its long wanderings, and that from this very circumstance the place derived its name, when the "land was subdued before them." See Joshua xviii, 1. We have in Joshua iv, 19, a similar case. It is said they "encamped in Gilgal," but the place was not *then* so called, but acquired the name afterward from the reproach of the Israelites having been rolled away by their circumcision. Chap. v, 9.

Even if the town Shiloh existed in the patriarchal times it

* That Shiloh is generally written with the yod (ר) makes no difference in the comparison. Similar in formation are קִיטוֹר, כִּידֹּן. פַּרְעֹה, according to Gesenius, is for פַּרְוֹן.—*Pharon.*

must have been a place of little note. In the Book of Joshua we have an account of the capture of many cities and kings, but not a word about the *capture* of Shiloh; the Israelites simply *come* thither and *pitch the tabernacle.* In describing the borders of the land allotted to each tribe the *old* names are almost invariably given, and in the description of the limits of Ephraim it is said, "and the border went about eastward unto Taanath-Shiloh." Taanath-Shiloh, according to Gesenius, means "Approach of Shiloh;" according to Fuerst, "Circle of Shiloh." That this is the same Shiloh in which the tabernacle was pitched, is evident from the locality. It is not named Shiloh, but the *Circuit* or *Region of Shiloh*, for the *land*, not the city, was there when Joshua entered the country.

That Shiloh owed all its importance to the presence of the tabernacle and the ark is clear from the fact that after the capture of the ark in the time of Eli the place was almost entirely abandoned. It is spoken of by Jeremiah in the following terms: "But go ye now unto my place which was in Shiloh, where I set my name at the first, and see what I did to it for the wickedness of my people Israel." Chap. vii, 12. In the time of Jeroboam the prophet Ahijah is spoken of in several passages* as dwelling in Shiloh. How Fuerst (Heb. and Chal. Lexicon) could say that Shiloh was *then* an "important city," and refer to these passages simply as the proof, is hard to say.

How unnatural it would be for Jacob to speak of coming to a Shiloh that then had no existence—a most minute prophecy respecting an unimportant event—and to pass by in utter silence matters of the deepest import. To suppose that genuine prophecy would overlook the greatness and renown of Judah with his long line of kings, and the glory of the kingdom of the Messiah who was to spring from Judah, and that it would limit itself to the insignificant honors of the tribe before coming to Shiloh, is absurd in a very high degree. "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." But it is very evident that those who explain the prophecy of the coming to Shiloh have no abiding conviction of the genuineness of the prophecy,† but

* 1 Kings xi, 29; xii, 15; xiv, 2, 4.

† From this remark we should except the Jews, who have a dogmatic interest in not referring it to the Messiah.

rather regard it as language put into the mouth of Jacob when the event justified the prophecy. But there is nothing in the prediction to show that it is merely history thrown into the prophetic form. When, then, was the Book of Genesis written, or when was this prophecy invented? when Judah came to Shiloh? But the war with the Canaanites was not yet ended, and if Judah had been the leading tribe up to that time, what ground could the inventor have to think that Judah's leadership would *then* cease, when in fact it did not, but rather began after that event? Nor could the prophecy have been invented during the period of the Judges, of David, or of any subsequent king.

What, then, was the leadership of Judah previous to his coming to Shiloh? The prophecy announces that the *scepter* shall not depart from Judah. A scepter is wielded by a king; Judah then had no king. It was Moses, who, under God, held absolute power over the twelve tribes for forty years, from the coming out of Egypt until their approach to the promised land. But Moses belonged to the tribe of Levi. Joshua was the leader until they came to Shiloh, and he was of the tribe of Ephraim. It is perfectly clear, then, that Levi and Ephraim were the leading tribes; just as among the ancient Greeks that tribe from which the president of the senate was selected, was called the presiding tribe. All the pre-eminence that Judah had in the wilderness was the privilege of marching in the front rank in the wilderness,* and it is very likely that this was conceded to him because his tribe was the most numerous. Dan stood next in numbers; he was posted as a strong guard in the rear. *In the numerous battles recorded in Joshua previous to the coming to Shiloh, not a word is said about Judah's taking the lead.*

After the death of Joshua the children of Israel inquire of the Lord, "Who shall go up for us against the Canaanites, first to fight against them."† The answer is, "Judah shall go." But if Judah had been accustomed to take the lead, what need was there to inquire of the Lord concerning the matter? About twenty years after this they ask counsel of the Lord again, "Which of us shall go up first to the battle against the children of Benjamin?" The answer is, "Judah shall go up

* Num. x, 14, *seq.* † Judges i, 1, 2.

first."* All this was *after* the coming to Shiloh, and it shows that even then there was no absolute leadership in the tribe of Judah.

Furthermore, the second member of the prophetic sentence is wholly incongruous with the explanation "until he come to Shiloh." If we understand מְחֹקֵק, *Mechoqéq*, (translated lawgiver,) as defining more exactly *shebet*, (scepter,) and translate it *ruler*, what ruler had Judah before he came to Shiloh? If the word means *lawgiver* or *prophet*, he had none. If we understand by it a *lawyer* or *scribe*, it is altogether inappropriate, for when the tribe came to Shiloh the law had been given but comparatively a few years, and these teachers were to continue for many centuries afterward. Besides all this, it is very strange that the Jews should have so palpably misunderstood their own language for so many centuries in referring the passage to the Messiah, never dreaming of this coming to Shiloh. Nor are Fuerst and Rœdiger happy in explaining "him shall the nations obey," of obedience rendered to Judah by the Canaanites. For—to say nothing of the unauthorized limitation of the expression "nations" to the Canaanites—were they not *destroyed* rather than held in obedience to Judah? There would be some force in the exposition if the prophecy read, "By him shall the nations be cut off!" The word יִקְהָה, construct יִקְהַת, (English version, gathering,) is found in one other passage only, Prov. xxx, 17, where it is rendered *to obey;* it properly means *obedience*, *reverence*, *respect*. The corresponding Arabic word *wakiha* has the same force, *to obey*.

It may be a question whether the obedience of the nations is to be rendered to Judah or to Shiloh; *him*, in the passage, can refer to Judah, but the reference to Shiloh is more natural, and on the hypothesis that the Messiah is here spoken of, is necessarily required. Nor is there any difficulty respecting gender, for Shiloh is *masculine*, and if it were not, the sense would demand a masculine pronoun.

But it may be asked, had not the scepter already departed from Judah when the Messiah came? There was a captivity of seventy years in Babylon, during which the scepter was in abeyance. When Judah returned from captivity, Zerubbabel, of that tribe, became governor; after him the government was

* Judges xx, 18.

administered by high priests, (Nehemiah may be an exception,) until the posterity of the Asmonæans set up kingly government. The Asmonæan family reigned for one hundred and twenty-six years. This Asmonæan or Maccabean family was destroyed by Herod the Great about thirty-seven years before the birth of Christ. He was the son of an Idumean, and appointed king of the Jews by the Romans, which position he held until a short time after the birth of Christ. The Jews, however, had already been made tributary to the Romans by Pompey, about sixty-three years before Christ. About thirty-seven years after the crucifixion of our Lord Jerusalem was destroyed by the Roman army under Titus, and the Jewish people scattered to the four winds of heaven.

But this government of Judah, administered by Levites until the accession of Herod, was by no means a foreign one, for these Levites were blended and reckoned with Judah. Judah possessed the scepter, the royal prerogatives, in the same degree as if its rulers had been of its own tribe: just as our States are in their sphere sovereign and independent, though their governors may be Irishmen or Germans. Accordingly, the substantial truth of the prophecy remains unshaken, after all proper abatements are made and limitations set. But it must be observed that *in a short, pithy, prophetic declaration, we are not to expect all the precision of a geometrical definition, or of an algebraical equation.* Hengstenberg, in his Christology of the Old Testament, contends that the scepter *never* has left Judah, since Christ, who now holds the scepter, sprang from that tribe; and that *until* does not express an absolute limit, any more than when we say to our friends upon parting, "Farewell *until* we meet again;" for this does not imply no concern about their welfare after the future meeting. And this appears to be the right view. Jacob would seem to say, "The scepter shall not leave Judah until Messiah come; beyond that I have no concern. For if once the Messiah lays hold upon the scepter, no power in the universe can wrest it from his hands." Here we cannot but advert to that remarkable providence that preserved the tribe of Judah until the advent of Christ. Between the powerful kingdoms of Egypt, Damascus, Syria, and Babylon, it might have been ground to powder. The ten tribes, more than seven hundred years before Christ, had been carried away

captive beyond the Euphrates by Shalmaneser, to return no more. Judah, to which Benjamin was reckoned, alone remained, as the stock from which should spring "THE BRANCH," under which the various nations of the earth should find peace and safety.

In conclusion, this prophecy, in its fulfillment, has become matter of history. The kingdom of Christ in three centuries broke to pieces the Roman Empire of Paganism, and dethroned Jupiter himself. The most cultivated and powerful nations of the earth recognize the divine mission of Christ. Millions of hearts now render homage to *him*. His influence shall go on increasing until all the nations of the earth shall bow to his "scepter."

ART. VII.—BIBLICAL MONOGRAPHS.

SAUL AND PAUL.

THE change of name in the great Apostle of the Gentiles has given rise to various interpretations. The precise meaning of Paul. The motive for adopting it in the place of Saul is still a subject of dispute.

The original name of the Apostle was Saul, the most distinguished name in the genealogy of the tribe of Benjamin, to which he belonged, (Rom. xi, 1; Phil. iii, 5. Compare Acts xiii, 12.) He used it among the Jews, at least before he entered upon his independent apostolic labors among the Gentiles. But in the latter part of the Acts and in his Epistles the name of Paul uniformly occurs. He chose it, in all probability, as the nearest allusive and alliterative Hellenistic and Latin equivalent for Saul, and because it was already familiar to the Greeks and Romans; while Saul, as a proper name, was unknown to them.

It was customary among the Jews and early Christians to use two names, either similar in sound and identical in meaning, as Silas and Silvanus, Lucas and Lucanus; or similar in sound but different in meaning, as Jesus and Justus, (Col. iv, 11,) Saul and Paul, Hillel and Pollio; or different in sound but identical in meaning, as Cephas (Hebrew) and Peter, (Greek;) or different both in sound and meaning, as Jacob and Israel, Simon and Peter, Bartholomew and Nathanael, John

and Mark, (Acts xii, 12, 25,) Simeon and Niger, (xiii, 1,) Barsabas and Justus, (i, 23.)

It is possible that the Apostle Paul as a Roman citizen received this name in early youth in Tarsus, or inherited it from some ancestor, who may have adopted it in becoming a freedman or in acquiring the Roman citizenship, Paul being the well-known *cognomen* of several distinguished Roman families, as the *gens* Æmilia, Fabia, Julia, Sergia, etc.

It is more probable, however, that he chose the name himself, after he entered upon his labors among the Gentiles, as a part of his missionary policy to become a Greek to the Greeks, in order to gain them more readily to Christ. (1 Cor. ix, 19–23.)

At all events, the name Paul is first mentioned during his first great missionary journey, when he, taking henceforth precedence of Barnabas in words and in acts, struck Elymas, the sorcerer, with blindness, and converted Sergius Paulus, the Proconsul of Cyprus, to the Christian faith. Acts xiii, 8. After this striking fact he is uniformly called Paul in the latter chapters of the Acts and in all the Epistles.

But we have no right for this reason to infer (with Jerome, Olshausen, Meyer, Ewald, and others) that the name Paul was a memorial of the conversion of Sergius Paulus, as his first fruit. For, 1. He may have converted many Jews and Gentiles before that time; 2. Pupils are called after their teachers and benefactors, and not *vice versa;* 3. Luke gives no intimation to that effect, and connects the name Paul, not with that of the Proconsul of Cyprus, (xiii, 7, 12,) but with that of Elymas the sorcerer, (verse 8.)

The last circumstance favors the ingenious hypothesis of Dr. Lange, that the name expresses the symbolical significance of the victory of Paul, the *small man* of God, over Elymas, the *mighty magician* of the devil, as a New Testament counterpart of the victory of David over Goliath, or of Moses over the sorcerers of Egypt. Dr. Lange, however, admits the probability that Paul had his Roman name before this occasion.

At all events, the change of name has nothing whatever to do with his conversion; and all allegorical interpretations of Chrysostom, Augustine, Wordsworth, and others, which go on this assumption, are merely pious fancies, which are suffi-

ciently refuted by the fact that the Apostle is repeatedly called Saul long *after* his conversion, as in Acts ix, 25, 30; xii, 25; xiii, 1, 2, 7, 9; and that it is said of Saul in one passage (xiii, 9) that he was "filled with the Holy Ghost."

I add, as an exegetical curiosity, the view of Dr. Wordsworth, who, in his Commentary on Acts xiii, 9, uncritically combines all the various interpretations of the name, except Dr. Lange's, which was then not yet known to him, and assigns no less than eight reasons for the change of Saul into Paul. 1. Because Σαῦλος was a purely Jewish name; 2. Because among the Greeks it might expose him to contempt, as having the same sound as σαῦλος, *wanton;* (see Homer, Hymn Mercur, 28, and Ruhnken *in loc.;*) 3. To indicate his *change* and call to a new life from a Jew to a Christian, from a persecutor to a preacher of the Gospel; 4. But in the change much of the original name was left, and commemorated what he *had been.* The fire of zeal of Σαῦλος still glowed in the heart of Παῦλος, but its flame was purified by the Holy Ghost; 5. His new name denoted also his mission to the Gentiles, the Romans being familiar with the name Paulus; 6. It was a token of humility, Paulus-parvulus, (1 Cor. xv, 9;) 7. It commemorated the cognomen of Paul's first (?) convert, Sergius Paulus, and was a good augury of his future success in the Roman world; 8. It indicates Paul's intended supremacy in the Roman or Western Church as distinct from the Aramaic name Cephas, and the Greek name Peter.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH.

The name of *Enoch*, or more properly *Chanoch*, (Hebrew, חֲנוֹךְ,) is applied to *four* Biblical persons, namely, 1. To the oldest son of Cain, (Gen. iv, 17;) 2. To a grandson of Abraham, (Gen. xxv, 4;) 3. To the oldest son of Reuben, (Gen. xlvi, 9;) 4. To a descendant of Seth, father of Methuselah and great-grandfather of Noah, (Gen. v, 19, 22; Heb. xi, 5; Jude 14, 15.) The one last mentioned is alone historically important; first, because of the fragmentary but at the same time interesting accounts in the Holy Scriptures concerning his life and destiny; and, secondly, because of the various tra-

ditions concerning him and the apocryphal book bearing his name, and mentioned by St. Jude in his epistle, verses 14, 15.

Enoch, "the seventh from Adam," though born at a time when the human family had increased in numbers and in sin, "walked with God," and therefore "pleased him." His mind was pure; his spirit rose above the turmoil of worldliness; he delighted in calm communion with God. Seth addressed Jehovah through the medium of the *word*,* (Gen. iv, 26,) Enoch approached him by the still more spiritual medium of *thought*, the highest form of religious life and experience. As a reward of his *faith* and *piety*, and probably to preserve him from being contaminated by the surrounding evils, "*he was not*," (וְאֵינֶנּוּ,) "for God took him," (Gen. v, 24;) he was translated that he should not see death; and was not found," (*καί οὐκ εὑρίσκετο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός*, (Heb. xi, 5.) While the biographies of most of the patriarchs close with the sentence, "and he died," that of Enoch closes with the suggestive words, "He was not, for God took him." Though a descendant of a sinful race, he was delivered from the real punishment which sin had inflicted upon the human family; his existence was uninterrupted; he was undying, as man was originally intended to be. God took him as a loving father to his eternal home without laying him under the necessity of undergoing the ordinary process of physical dissolution.

The history of Enoch may justly be regarded as embodying profound religious truths, and as furnishing one of the strongest proofs of the belief in a future state prevailing among the early Hebrews. For without admitting this belief, the history of Enoch is a perfect mystery, a hieroglyph without a clue, a commencement without an end. But admit it, and the histories and songs of the Old Testament become intelligible and beautiful; and instead of being enveloped in the gloomy clouds of despair they are luminous with rays of hope, pointing to that higher and holier life, to that immortality fully brought to light through the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

The translation of Enoch no doubt gave rise to many traditions that were handed down to subsequent generations, and were even transplanted to the Gentile nations of the ante-

* See Kalisch's Commentary on Genesis *in loc.*

Christian world. It is known that the classical writers mention such translations into heaven. They assign this distinction, among others, to Hercules, to Ganymede, and to Romulus. (Liv., i, 16; "*nec deinde in terris fuit.*") But it was awarded to them either for their valor or for mere physical beauty, which advantages, though valued among the Hebrews, were not considered by them as sublime or godlike; a pious life alone deserved and obtained the crown of immortal glory. But the idea of a translation into heaven is not limited to the old and ante-Christian world; it was familiar to some of the tribes of Central America. The chronicles of Guatemala record four progenitors of mankind who were suddenly raised to heaven, and the documents add that those first four men came to Guatemala from the other side of the sea, from the East.*

Later legends have busily adorned and amplified the history of Enoch. An apocryphal book, containing all the traditions which the lapse of time had accumulated concerning him, has been written under his name. That such a book, bearing his name and containing his supposed prophecies, etc., existed during the apostolic time, is evident from the fact that St. Jude quotes from it. (Jude 14, 15.) Its recent discovery, contents, author, time and place of its composition, we will briefly consider in the following pages.†

In 1773 the distinguished British traveler, Sir J. Bruce, discovered in Abyssinia three manuscripts in the Koptic or Ethiopian language, of the Book of Enoch mentioned in Jude 14, 15, and brought them to Europe, one of which he presented to the King of France, and the other two to the library of the University of Oxford. The knowledge of the existence of these manuscripts in Abyssinia having reached Europe as early as the first half of the seventeenth century, their discovery caused naturally a great stir in the theological world. For nearly a quarter of a century, however, they lay partially neglected in the dusty alcoves of these libraries, until, in 1800, Mons. De Sacy, of Paris, published in the *Magazin Encyclop.*, (vol. vi, tom. i, p. 382,) a brief historical sketch, together with a Latin translation of a few chapters of the Book of Enoch, under the

* See an account of these chronicles in the Athenæum of May 31, 1856.

† In considering these points *results* only are given, and not the processes by which they were obtained.

title, "*Notice sur le Livre d'Enoch.*" This sketch was translated into German by a Dr. F. T. Rink, and published in book form in 1801. In 1821 Prof. R. Laurence, of Oxford, published an English translation, with notes, of the Book of Enoch; a second edition appeared in 1833, and a third in 1838. Since that time German translations, with valuable commentaries, were published by A. G. Hoffmann, 1833 and 1838; Rüppel & Gfrörrer, 1840, and Dillmann, 1853; while essays and criticisms were written on it by Lücke, Edward, Murray, Krieger, J. Hoffmann, Ewald, Köstlin, and more recently by Hilgenfeld.* The Ethiopian text was published by Laurence in 1838, and by Dillmann in 1851.

The contents of this remarkable book are divided, according to most manuscripts, besides a brief introduction, into five parts, nineteen sections, and one hundred and five chapters, and each chapter into verses, varying in number from one to thirty-seven. The whole book would make a duodecimo volume of about one hundred and twenty-five pages.

In the introduction the book is characterized as a revelation of the seer Enoch concerning the future judgment and its consequences upon both the just and the unjust, namely, eternal happiness of the former and eternal misery of the latter. Chap. i–v.†

* Die Jüdische Apokalyptik, pp. 91–181.

† At the close of the first chapter of this introduction occurs the celebrated passage quoted by St. Jude in his epistle, (14, 15.) So as not to break the connection we will give the entire chapter in a Latin translation. Chap. 1. "Sermo benedictionis Enochi, quomodo benedixit electis et justis, qui futuri sunt in die afflictionis ad expellendum (i. e. quando expelletur) omnem improbum et impium. Locutus est, et dixit Enoch, vir justus, qui a Domino (venit) quo tempore oculi ejus aperti sunt, et vidit visionem sancti, qui in coelis est, quem ostenderunt mihi Angeli, et audivi ab eis omnia, et novi ego illud, quod vidi, et non est (i. e. non esse) futurum in hac generatione, sed in generatione, quæ ventura est (hominum) longe dissitorum, propter electos. Dixi et locutus sum propter eos, cum (eo) quod exibit sanctus et magnus de tabernaculo suo, et deus mundi: et inde calcabit super montem Sina, et videbitur in tabernaculo suo, et manifestabitur in fortitudine virtutis suæ de cœlo, et pavebunt omnes, et commovebuntur vigiles, et capiet eos timor et tremor magnus usque ad fines terræ, et consternabuntur montes excelsi, et deprimentur colles sublimes, et liquescent sicut mel favi præ æstu, et submergetur terra, et omnia, quæ in ea sunt, peribunt, et erit judicium super omnes, et super justos; quoad justos autem, pacem faciet eis, et servabit electos, et erit clementia super eos, et omnes erunt Dei (τοῦ θεοῦ) et erunt feciles, et benedicentur, et splendor Dei lucescet eis. *Et venit cum myriadibus sanctorum, ut faciat judicium super eos, et perdat impios, et litiget cum omnibus carnalibus, pro omnibus, quæ fecerunt et ope-*

Part I opens with an account of the fall of angels, their marriage with the daughters of men, and the consequent race of giants, (Gen. vi, 1–8;) of their spreading dangerous arts among men, thereby increasing their wickedness, and of Enoch being sent to them to announce to them the judgments of God with which he would destroy them. Chap. vi–xvi. Then follows a description of the journeys of Enoch through the earth and the lower heaven, accompanied by angels, who explained to him all the mysterious places and things he saw. These mysteries revealed to mankind are to strengthen their faith in God, the creator and preserver of all things and the judge of all men. Chap. xvii–xxxvi.

Part II opens with an account of Enoch's "second vision of wisdom." It is divided into three sections or "parables," (chap. xxxvii–xliv, xlv–lvii, lviii–lxxi.) It continues to narrate his journeys through the highest heaven, receiving revelations of its splendors and beatitudes, and of the consummated kingdom and glory of the Messiah. In Part I he describes *natural* places and objects, in Part II the *supernatural.* In the first he uses a plain narrative style, here the prophetic and parabolic.

In Part III, (chap. lxxii–lxxxii,) entitled "The Book of the Revolutions of the Lights of Heaven," are described the revolutions of the sun, moon, and stars, and the consequent changes in the days, months, seasons, and years, and their relation to each other. The "winds of heaven" and their effects, and the most important mountains, rivers, and islands of the earth are also mentioned. With this part the account of Enoch's journeys closes.

Part IV (chap. lxxxii–xci) contains the "dream-visions" which Enoch had in his youth concerning the development and

rati sunt contra eum, peccatores et impii." The Greek text, with some of the various readings, is as follows: Ἰδοὺ, ἦλθε Κύριος ἐν μυριάσιν ἁγίαις (or, ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν, or, ἁγίαις αγγέλλῶν, or, ἁγίων αγγέλλῶν) αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι (or, του ποιῆσαι) κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐξελέγξαι (or, ἐλέγξαι) πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς αὐτῶν, περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ασεβείας (or, ἔργων πονήρων) αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν, καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν (λόγων) ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς. "Behold, the Lord cometh with ten thousands of his saints to execute judgment upon all, and to convince all that are ungodly among them of all their ungodly deeds which they have ungodly committed, and of all their hard *speeches* which ungodly sinners have spoken against him."

consummation of the history of man. Of these "dream-visions" there are two kinds; the first relating to the judgment of God, the flood, to be sent upon mankind soon after his departure from earth; and the second relating to the entire history of man from Adam down to the judgment of the great day, and the final consummation of the Messiah's kingdom. A brief paternal address to his descendants closes this part. Fitly joined to this is

Part V, (chap. xcii–cviii,) called the "Book of Doctrines and Exhortations." Here Enoch is exhorting first his immediate family, and then all the inhabitants of the earth, with all the love and earnestness of a departing father, to be faithful and steadfast, and to flee the manifold sins and errors which in the course of time would prevail upon the earth, and on account of which God's eternal judgments would be visited upon the godless and wicked. Finally, the book closes with a brief account of some wonderful signs that would become visible at the birth of Noah, typifying the coming retribution.

As to the *real author* of this wonderful book, and the time and place of its composition, different opinions prevail. So much is certain, however, that it was not written by Enoch, "the seventh from Adam." But most of its critics agree that it is an indisputable fact that in its present form it was composed *before* the canon of the New Testament closed, and that its chief portions, at least, were written *by a Jew of Palestine, in the Hebrew language, more than a hundred years before the birth of Christ.* Whether he belonged to the sect of the Essenes or the Pharisees, or to neither, is not certain. Probably he was one of those "pious men" of the Asmonæan period who took no part in the doctrinal quarrels of these two sects, but in the strictest obedience to the letter of the law lived a severely righteous life, and waited patiently for the coming of the Messianic kingdom.

As to the *integrity* of the book, it is admitted by most critics that additions and interpolations have been made. These are said to occur in chapters x, 1–3; xx; liv, 7–lv, 2; lx; lxv–lxix, 25; lxx; lxxx, 9–20; and cvi; but they do not materially change the connection. In its present form it is one of the most interesting literary monuments extant of the time between the close of the Old Testament canon and the begin-

ning of the Christian era. It gives us an insight into the religious life and prophetic theology of that period; and in the absence of an inspired account, may be relied upon as tolerably correct data of the Messianic and eschatological hopes and views entertained by the pious of that period.

We may add, with regard to the history of this extraordinary book, that when it appeared it was evidently read with eager interest; that it was soon translated into Greek, and from Greek into the Ethiopian dialect; that not only the later apocryphal writings, as for instance, the "Book of the Jubilees," and the "Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs," but most of the fathers of the Church down to the time of Augustine and Jerome, used and quoted it; that, however, from this period it fell into almost entire oblivion, and was, with the exception of a few fragments of the learned monk Syncellus, at the end of the eighth century, and some allusions in Rabbinical writers, almost totally forgotten.*

As to the question, Whether the book under consideration is the same quoted by St. Jude, and frequently mentioned by the Church fathers, most critics answer in the affirmative.† But we are not to conclude therefrom that it ever possessed the authority of a canonical book. The mere fact that the Apostle Jude quotes from it does not invest it with such an authority any more than the works of the Greek poet and the Cretian prophet, from which the Apostle Paul quotes, (Acts xvii, 28; Titus i, 12,)‡ are to be invested with this dignity. Most of the Church fathers, with the exception of Tertullian, considered it as belonging among the apocryphal books of that age; and Origen, at the beginning of the third century, expressly declares that the Church never considered it as an inspired work: *ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐ πάνυ φέρεται ὡς θεῖα.*§

* See Dr. Hoffmann's edition of the Book of Enoch. Introd. Also, Dr. Dillmann's Introd. to his edition. Also, Kalisch's Comment., Gen. v.

† See Introd. and Comment. to Hoffman's Enoch. Also, Dillman's Introd. to the Book of Enoch.

‡ "For in him we live, and move, and have our being; as certain also of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring." "One of themselves, even a *prophet* of their own, said, The Cretians are always liars, evil beasts, slow bellies."

§ See Orig., Contra Celsum, p. 267. Ed. Spenc. Celsus took occasion to upbraid the Christians for their credulity in believing, as he says, the visions of Enoch, not knowing that the book had no canonical authority.

Jerome, in his "Catal. Scriptor. Apost. sub nom. Judas," says, "Judas frater Jacobi, parvam quidem, quae de septem Catholicis est, epistolam reliquit. Et quia de libro Enoch, qui apocryphus est, in ea assumit testimonium, a plerisque rejicitur." And again he says in his Commentary on Psalm cxxii, 3: "Manifestissimus liber est, (speaking of the Book of Enoch,) et inter apocryphos computatur, et *veteres* interpretes de isto locuti sunt; nonnulla autem nos diximus, *non in auctoritatem sed in commemorationem.*"

We might multiply quotations from the Church fathers to show that the Book of Enoch never possessed the authority of a canonical book in the early Church; but the above will suffice. Nor is the Epistle of St. Jude to be rendered suspicious (as some critics have attempted to do) on account of its containing a quotation from this book, for on the same ground they might suspect the authenticity of the address of the Apostle Paul to the Athenians, (Acts xvii,) and of his letter to Titus, because both contain quotations from profane writers. To argue thus is simply preposterous.

From what has been said it is evident that this remarkable apocryphal book was well known and carefully studied in the early Church, probably because it embodies several of the leading ideas of the New Testament, and insists with all the earnestness of the old prophets upon the renewal and restoration of the pure *Biblical faith*, combating with equal energy the corruptions of rabbinical interpretation and the inroads of Greek philosophy, traditional exaggeration, and undue embellishment. And if we are not mistaken it will probably, at some time or other, be used as a witness in the history of religious dogmas, and for that reason it deserves even now a careful study.

ST. PAUL'S CLOSING PÆAN.—Rom. viii, 31–39.

The first eight chapters of Romans embrace Paul's great argument of the epic of redemption. It traces human ruin and human salvation until, at viii, 30, the whole scheme, crowned with glorification, stands like a grand structure, and the Apostle commences a pæan with, What shall we say to these things?

The semi-poetical character of this pæan is evident from its phenomena of number. There are three interrogatories of ad-

miration, verses 31, 32; three challenges to the foes of the redeemed to *accuse*, to *condemn*, or to *separate*, verse 35; seven earthly foes are challenged by name, verse 35; and ten tran scendental potencies are defied as unable to sever the believer from Christ, verses 38, 39.

In regard to the sacred numbers, *three* and *seven*, the reader may consult the supplementary note in our commentary to Luke vi, 13. The number *ten* we shall soon discuss.

Our present purpose is to call attention to the two catalogues of potencies, namely, the SEVEN *terrene* and the TEN *transcendent*, which are challenged and defied successfully to assail the Christian persistently adhering to Christ. This sevenfold list is furnished in confirmation of the third challenge, *Who shall accuse? Who condemneth? Who shall separate?* He finally calls the roll and challenges the *seven*, one by one—"tribulation, distress, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, sword."

As *seven* is rather a gracious than a hostile number, we should hardly expect the Christian's foes to be symbolized under it. But it is from the *victories over them* that the Apostle assigns this favorable number; counting out *seven martyr triumphs.* The foes are none of them living beings, but all abstractions, yet implying a fierce human authorship behind them. They are all terrible; none of them seductive or tempting enemies. They are the terrors and trials of which the Apostle's own personal history was full, and which rose, doubtless, in their awful shapes, to his memory as he wrote. How sublime the sense of divine strength and triumph in his own soul as he consciously felt their impotence to break the tie between him and his crucified Lord! There seems something almost prophetic, however, in the fact that the catalogue closed in this enumeration, as it did in the Apostle's history, with the *sword!* Without the gates of the very Rome to which he was now writing the executioner's *sword* was in a few brief years to close the catalogue of his sufferings and triumphs. The foes were strong, but his love to Christ was still stronger. Wisely did the wise king say, (Sol. Song, viii, 6, 7,) "Love is strong as death. Many waters cannot quench love, neither can the floods drown it."

A curious parallel to this enumerative *seven* is the inventory

of Abraham's wealth in Gen. xii, 16: "Sheep and oxen, and he-asses and men-servants, and maid-servants and she-asses and camels." Here, in allusion, doubtless, to its fulfilling the covenant blessing upon him, the number is *seven*, elaborately wrought out by counting males and females, paralleling sexually he-asses and men-servants against maid-servants and she-asses, but keeping the *seven* by making no sexual division of the camels.

The TEN *potencies*, in verses 38, 39, far transcend the seven, rising grandly above the earthly and the human, and spreading out upon the wide universe. Elements of the most widely different nature are selected, a tinge of personification pervading them all. So vast and shadowy, indeed, so unique and unparalleled with other passages are the idealities with which Paul's conception here surrounds him, that few commentators have seemed quite able to rise into a full comprehension of their import. Nor does the Apostle select them as possessing essentially a malignant, hostile, or infernal nature; but as endowed with unmeasured power, if they were called to exert it hostilely. Just so, in Gal. i, 8, he selects an *angel from heaven* as the hypothetical announcer of a rival Gospel. He sends his voice of challenge through the vastitudes of the universe, defying their power to break the love between Christ and his redeemed.

As Fletcher of Madeley somewhere beautifully says, Not all the powers of hell can separate the Christian from his Saviour; not all the powers of heaven will do it; none can or will, unless the *man himself*.

Erasmus says there is nothing in Cicero superior in eloquence to this passage of the Apostle. But there is nothing in Cicero so in the same style as to be suitably brought into comparison. The passage is rather poetic than oratorical; rising into regions into which secular oratory at least, like Cicero's, rarely ascends. Horace, though a pagan poet, gives a picture of the firmly just man, which, though immensely inferior to this grand passage, is not unworthy to be brought into comparison.

> Justum ac tenacem propositi virum,
> Non civium ardor prava jubentium
> Non vultus instantis tyranni
> Mente quatit solida; neque Auster

Dux inquieti turbidus Hadriæ
Nec fulminantis magna manus Jovis:
Si fractus illabatur orbis
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.

The MAN, just and firm of purpose,
No popular excitement enjoining crime,
No face of menacing tyrant
Shakes from his steady mind; nor south-blast

Stormy lord of the restless Hadrian sea
Nor the great hand of fulminating Jove:
Should the shattered firmament fall
Its ruins would strike him fearless.

Were we to apply predestinarian exegesis to the words of Horace, we should hold him as denying that a just man ever ceases to be just, and so make the epicurean poet a good Calvinist.

The number *ten* appears to symbolize the mundane or universal, usually in its secular or profane aspects; and that in distinction often, but not always, from the sacred, especially from the elect of God. The ten horns of Daniel and John are the ten worldly kingdoms. The ten plagues of Egypt, the type of the world power, were a judicial penalty upon the profane. The ten commandments are judicial and mundane. The first ten pedigrees of Genesis, as being a thread of mundane history, embrace each just ten generations. Ten multiplied into seven gives us the seventy mundane nations. (See our Commentary on Luke x, 1–16.) The Apostle marshals his ten potencies in four couplets (each couplet linked by an *and*) and two units. Thereby the ten is divided into two fives; each five contains two couplets, followed and closed by one unit.

Death and Life, Angels and Principalities,
Powers,
Presents and Futures, Heights and Depths,
Creature.

It was from want of knowing this remarkably exact numeration and parallelism that Alford, in his note on the word *powers* says, "Some confusion, evidently, has crept into the arrangement."

The first couplet embraces the two potencies of *existence;* the second of living spiritual *agencies;* and the unit the

potency of *force*. The third couplet presents the potencies of *time*, the fourth of *space*, and the last unit, of general *finitude*. Upon which we offer the following notes:

Verse 38. *Neither death nor life*—The two potencies of *existence*, namely, the two stages of human existence, life and death. These are both mighty powers over human destiny. Personified life is armed with terrible dangers, and death is the very king of terrors. *Nor angels nor principalities*—Two potencies of *living agents* in the supersensible spiritual world. Angels throughout scripture are the messengers of God, armed often with divine authorities. *Principalities* are the ranks and orders of beings in the background, never appearing to human view, and but dimly presupposed and rarely alluded to in scripture. The Jews assigned various *ranks* to the beings of the invisible world; and they were doubtless correct in assuming the existence of ranks and orders, though we have no reason to imagine that their description of those orders was accurate, or drawn from any revelation. So Paul in Col. i, 16 speaks very indefinitely of *thrones*, *dominions*, *principalities*, *powers*; and in Eph. i, 21, *principality*, *power*, *might*, *dominion*, *and every thing named in this world and that to come*. All of which intimates that the New Testament, by a glimpse into the spiritual world, authorizes the belief of a great variety of classifications without giving us any distinct description of their nature. They come but very slightly within the range of the redemptive scheme, and so scarce within the limits of the purpose of Scripture revelation. *Nor powers*—Perhaps including the grand physical forces of universal nature known to science, especially to astronomy, in the abstract, but sometimes personified in Scripture as living agencies, and even identified with angels. From the Greek word δυνάμεις comes our *dynamics*, *dynamical*. And then we have a sublime conclusion. Not all the *forces* that move the astronomic worlds could separate the redeemed from Christ. This is a thought which was not fully taken in by the Apostle's mind, yet his words seem pregnant with it, and legitimately express it to us. This unit, *powers*, after the two couplets, finishes the first five of the ten, as the other unit, *creature*, finishes the second five. *Nor things present nor things to come*—Two potencies of *time*, embracing the vicis-

situdes of the present and the unknown revolutions of the future.

Verse 39. *Nor height, nor depth*—Two antithetic potencies of *space*. The interpretation of *heighths and depths* as equivalent to *heaven and hell* is altogether incommensurate with the Apostle's conception. He designates the opposite extremes of immensity. Height indicates the sublimity of loftiness or grandeur; depth the sublimity of darkness, obscurity, and terror. Both personified suggest limitless power for unknown destruction. *Any other creature*—Any other nature or being, save God and the man himself. Only these two (neither of whom are named in the list) can work the terrible separation; the former never will; the dread alternative rests solely with the latter.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church—Main Features of the Bill—Its Passage in the House of Commons.—The great battle in England for the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church has been vigorously carried on during the past three months. The bill was introduced by Mr. Gladstone on the first of March, when it was read a first time; on the twenty-fourth of the same month, after a debate which will ever remain memorable in the Parliamentary annals of Great Britain, it was passed to a second reading by the large majority of 118, the numbers being for the second reading 368, against it 250. The Bill which is to produce so radical a change in the Anglican Church contains sixty clauses. Its full title is: "A Bill to put an end to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland, and to make provision in respect to the Temporalities thereof, and in respect to the Royal College of Maynooth." The main features of the measure are as follows: *First*, as to *disestablishment*. This will be total, but it will not take effect until the first of January, 1871. On that day the ecclesiastical courts will be abolished, the ecclesiastical laws will cease to have any authority, the Bishops will be no longer Peers of Parliament, and all ecclesiastical corporations in the country will be dissolved. *Secondly*, as to *disendowment*. Technically and legally this will be total and immediate. The present Irish Ecclesiastical Commission is at once to be wound up, and a new Commission, composed of ten members, is to be constituted, in which the entire property of the Irish Church will vest from the day on which the measure receives the Royal assent. A distinction will be made between public endowments, including every thing in the nature of a State grant or a State reserve, and private endowments, which Mr. Gladstone defines as money contributed from private sources since the year 1660. The former will be resumed by the State; the latter will be restored to the disestablished Church. The value of the public endowments is estimated at £15,500,000; the value of private endowments is put at £500,000. *Thirdly*, as to *public endowments*. First of all, compensation has to be made to vested interests, including those connected with Maynooth College and the Presbyterians in receipt of the *Regium Donum*. Among vested interests the largest is that of incumbents. The amount of income to which each is entitled, deducting what he may have paid for curates, will be secured to him during

his life, provided he continues to discharge the duties of his benefice. Under certain circumstances this interest may, upon his own application, be commuted for a life annuity. The next class of interest is that of curates, permanent and temporary. Next will come lay compensations, the largest part of which will be absorbed by parish clerks and sextons. The amount of the Maynooth endowment and the Presbyterian *Regium Donum* will be valued at fourteen years' purchase, and a capital sum equal to that amount will be handed over to the respective representatives of the Presbyterians and Roman Catholics. Altogether these payments will amount to about £8,000,000, leaving about £7,500,000, or an annual sum of £30,000, to the disposal of Parliament. This will be appropriated "mainly to the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering," but at the same time in a way that will not interfere with the obligation imposed upon property by the Poor Law. When the affairs of the Established Church shall have been wound up, the Commissioners will report to the Queen that the objects immediately contemplated by the Act have all been provided for, and that such and such a surplus is available for charitable purposes. *Fourthly*, as to *private endowments*. These are to be handed over to the disestablished Church. The Government "presume" that immediately after the disestablishment the bishops, clergy, and laity of the Church will proceed to constitute for themselves something in the nature of a "governing body," and power will be given to the Queen in Council "not to create such a body, but to recognize it when created."

During the passage of the Bill through Committee of the House, the Conservatives in vain attempted to modify some of its most important provisions. All their amendments were rejected by majorities of about one hundred.

SPAIN.

Reorganization of the Reformed Spanish Church—The Provisions of the new Constitution on Religious Toleration.—In the January number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review" we referred to the sudden and gratifying opening which the Spanish revolution of September, 1868, had prepared for Protestantism in what was commonly regarded as the most fanatical and ultramontane country of the Roman Catholic world, and we gave a brief outline of the previous history of Spanish Protestantism. The history of the six months which have since elapsed is full of promise and encouragement for the future.

The representatives of the Spanish people, chosen by universal suffrage, have met in a Constituent Cortes and elaborated a new constitution, which in its provisions on religious affairs is very different from the laws which, with hardly any interruptions, have reigned in Spain during the last three hundred years. When the time of election approached it was generally known by the people that, next to the question whether Spain is to have in future a monarchical or republican form of government, the religious question would be the most important to be decided by the Cortes. The views of most of the candidates on this subject were well known; and it may, therefore, be justly assumed, that, on the whole, the views and votes of the deputies represented the sentiments of the Spanish people. The draft of the new constitution, as prepared by a special Committee of Fifteen, contained the following articles on religion: "The nation binds itself to maintain the worship and ministers of the Catholic religion. The public or private exercise of any other form of worship is guaranteed to all foreigners resident in Spain without any further limitations than those of morality and right. If any Spaniards shall profess a religion other than the Catholic, all that the last paragraph provides is applicable to them." All the priests who were members of the Constituent Cortes—the Cardinal Archbishop of Santiago, the Bishop of Jaen, and Canon Manterola—violently opposed the rights conceded in these articles to Protestants, and demanded the continuance of the former laws, which forbade the exercise of any non-Catholic religion. With them, of course, voted all the adherents of the ex-Queen and the Carlists, some twenty in number, and about as many more members of the Liberal Union, who, from political reasons, wished to preserve the religious uniformity of the country; but all the Progressists, the Democrats, and the Republicans were agreed in denouncing the former intolerant laws, and the Republicans unanimously demanded complete separation between Church and State, and full religious freedom for every form of belief. They did not carry their

point; but one of them (Castelar) made in favor of religious freedom the greatest and most impressive speech of the whole session, in which he paid a beautiful tribute to the Protestant countries. The majority of the Cortes adopted the Constitution as it had been drafted by the Committee, and, after its promulgation on the fifth of June, religious toleration became the law of the land. The manifestations of public opinion relative to the discussion of the articles on religion in the Cortes clearly indicated that the Spanish people are much less priest-ridden and fanatical than has commonly been supposed. In every part of the country a strong sympathy with the new laws on religion was shown, and the steady growth of the Republican party indicates that even complete separation between Church and State, and absolute freedom of religion, may be hoped for at no distant day.

For fourteen years there has been in Edinburgh a "Spanish Evangelization Society," which, notwithstanding the cruel laws of the kingdom against Protestants, succeeded in maintaining a number of agents in Spain, who circulated the Bible and religious books, and worked efficiently for the dissemination of Protestant principles. This Society has been very active since the beginning of the new era. In March it supported about twelve agents, three of whom were men of superior education, well-tried Christian character, and good ministerial gifts. In Seville, the capital of Andalusia, and the second city of Spain, there were two evangelists — the Rev. Juan B. Cabrera, and the Rev. Antonio S. Soler. The Protestant population of this city alone amounts to fully 4,000. A neat, comfortable, and suitable place for worship has been opened at the expense of the Evangelization Society, but it is by far too small. It is thought that if Seville had from four to six churches they would all be well filled. The congregation of Cabrera consists for the most part of working people and their wives. On the evening of Good Friday the Lord's Supper was administered to about one hundred and fifty communicants.

The Protestant chapel in Madrid was opened on the 21st of March. It can seat about nine hundred persons, and it is always largely attended. The congregation is fully organized and constituted. On Easter Sunday fifty Spaniards received the communion, this being the first time that the Lord's Supper was thus administered in the Spanish capital. The congregations in Barcelona, Malaga, and several other cities are also constituted. The number of places in which evangelical worship has occasionally been celebrated is very large. In many places as many as one or two thousand people were present, and listened to the new doctrines with interest and attention.

The circulation of the Bible and of religious tracts has been carried on with great energy and success. Arrangements were early made by the religious societies of foreign countries to have Bibles and tracts printed in Spain, and the eagerness of the people to receive, and even to buy, the hitherto prohibited books was marvelous. From the Bible-stand in Madrid more than 100,000 Gospels and Epistles passed into the hands of the people. The tracts printed in Madrid for the Religious Tract Society of London number about 500,000. Each of the forty-nine provinces has now voluntary agents, who aid in the distribution of Bibles and tracts. They are men of all professions—medical men, merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, and many of them report great successes.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE COMING COUNCIL—THE ORIENTAL AND THE PROTESTANT CHURCHES—THE STATE GOVERNMENTS — PROGRESS OF PREPARATIONS.—Ever since the publication of the Pope's Bull convoking the Œcumenical Council, and of his letters of invitation to the Oriental Bishops and the Protestant Churches, the preparations for the Council have made uninterrupted progress. The Jesuits in Rome have established a periodical specially devoted to giving information concerning the coming Council, entitled "Chronicle of Matters relating to the Future Council," and similar periodicals have been established in Germany and France. It may naturally be supposed that these periodicals publish nearly all the trustworthy information that can be obtained about the Council, and the sensational reports of the Roman correspondents of political papers must be received with great distrust. The preparations are made under the chief direction of a Special Congregation of seven Cardinals. They are all Italians with the exception of one, Cardinal de Reisach, who is a German, and

was formerly Archbishop of Munich. To them are added seven Consultors, four of whom are Italians, one, Mgr. Talbot, an Englishman; one, Professor Feije, of the University of Louvain, a Belgian; and one, Professor Hefele, of the University of Tubingen, a German. The last named has the greatest reputation among the members for scholarship. He is the author of the best work that has ever been written on the History of the Councils, and is generally esteemed, by both Roman Catholics and Protestants, as one of the best Church historians of Germany. Special Commissions have been appointed for ceremonies, for politico-ecclesiastical affairs, for the Eastern Churches, on religious orders and congregations, on questions of dogmatic theology, and on points of ecclesiastical discipline. There are in all these commissions more members from Italy than from any other country. Hardly one of them is known outside of his Church, or even outside of Italy. The scholarship of Catholic Germany has received some recognition by the appointment of the next largest number of commissioners from Germany. Some of them are authors of works whose scholarship is cheerfully acknowledged in Protestant literature; as Dr. Alzog, the author of the best Roman Catholic Church History and of a Manual of Patrology; Dr. Hergenroether, the author of the great work on the Patriarch Photius, and the Separation of the Latin and Greek Churches. Dr. Hefele has already been mentioned. Dr. Döllinger, probably the greatest living Roman Catholic theologian of Germany, has also been invited, although he is decidedly disliked in Rome on account of the liberal views he holds on several questions. He has declined the invitation, and report credits him with the authorship of several articles on the Council in the "Augsburg Gazette," which have been very unfavorably received in Rome. Dr. Newman, in England, has also declined an invitation on account of his infirm health.

The principal architects of Rome have begun to prepare one of the large chapels of St. Peter's Church, which is capable of containing several thousand persons, for the sessions of the Council. The altar of the Council is at one end of the chapel, the throne of the Pope at the opposite end. On the right and left of the throne are placed the seats of the Cardinals, Patriarchs, and Embassadors of Sovereigns. The seats of the Prelates are arranged in two semicircles, each tier being elevated above the one before it; the tribune of the orators is placed in the middle of the open space between; and there are also tribunes prepared for those who will be admitted as spectators of the public sessions.

The invitations sent to the Bishops of the Greek Church promise no results. The emphatic refusal of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Emperor of Russia to comply with the invitation, would alone be sufficient to decide the course of the great majority of the Bishops. A few instances are cited of Bishops who received the letter with respect. Thus the Bishop of Trebizond is said to have raised it to his forehead and pressed it to his bosom, exclaiming with emotion, "O Rome! O Rome! O St. Peter! O St. Peter!" The Bishop of Adrianople returned the letter, saying, "I wish first to reflect. I wish to decide for myself." But not one Greek bishop, it seems, has thus far signified his intention to be present, and the expectation of some organs of Rome that probably about a hundred Oriental Bishops would attend is certain to be doomed to disappointment.

The interview between the Papal Commissioners and the Greek Patriarch elect of Alexandria is of special interest, as the arguments of the Patriarch explain more fully than any other reply from the Eastern Bishops which we have seen yet, the present relations of the Greek to the Roman Catholic Church. Besides numerous others, the Patriarch stated in his conversation with the Papal embassadors, there are particularly three considerations which render the acceptance of the Papal brief by the Greek Bishops an impossibility. In the first place, the Pope of old Rome, though merely the occupant of one of the ancient Patriarchal Sees, and a peer only of the other Patriarchs, claims a sovereign dominion over all the others. The Œcumenical Councils of the ancient Church conceded to him merely the honor of precedence, and he has, therefore, no right to convoke a General Council without the consent of the other Patriarchs. The proper way for a Pope to convoke a Council which would be œcumenical in the eyes of the Greek Church, also, would be to secure the previous consent and co-operation of the other Patriarchs. Secondly, the Patriarch objects to the Pope teaching that salvation is exclusively found in the communion of Rome, whereas, according to

the Patriarch, the grace of God has operated throughout the habitable globe. In the third place, the Patriarch remarks that the "Festival of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of the Lord," on which the Council convoked by the Pope is to meet, is one wholly unknown to the ancient Church, a recent invention of the Church of Rome, and by no means a solitary one. In conclusion, the Patriarch advises the Pope, in case he sincerely desires the unity of the universal Church, that he should write to the Patriarchs individually, and acting in concert, endeavor to come to an understanding with them respecting the course to be adopted; renouncing every idea of domination and every dogma on which opinions may clash in the Church. By so doing his efforts might perchance be crowned with some degree of success.

It is, however, probable that a few Bishops of the smaller Oriental Churches, may be induced to be present. The Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, who at first referred the Papal Commissioners to the Catholicus of Etschmiadsin, the first Bishop of the Armenian Church, seems subsequently to have been gained over, together with a number of other Bishops. But the great majority of the Armenian population does not want to hear any thing about transactions with Rome, and so earnestly remonstrated against his course that the Patriarch was forced to resign. The Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria is said to have received the Encyclical with great respect and many expressions of courtesy toward the Prelate who was its bearer.

The attendance, then, will be almost limited to those who are entitled to a seat by the Church law of Rome. This class embraces the Bishops, the Cardinals, Abbots, and Generals of religious orders. The Bishops are entitled to a seat by divine right, the others by ecclesiastical law or privilege. The number of Bishops is considerable, and it has of late rapidly increased. The "Annuario Pontificio" (official Paper Almanac) for 1868 gives the following summary of the dioceses of the Roman Catholic Church:

PATRIARCHATES.

Of the Latin Rite and the Oriental Rite	12

ARCHBISHOPRICS.

Latin Rite.

Immediately subject to the Pope	12
With Ecclesiastical Provinces	120

Oriental Rite.

With Ecclesiastical Provinces.

Armenian Rite	1
Greco-Roumanian Rite	1
Greco-Ruthenian Rite	1

Dependent on Oriental Patriarchs.

Greco-Melchite Rite	3
Syro-Maronite Rite	1
Total Archbishoprics	139

BISHOPRICS.

Latin Rite.

Suburban (the Sees of the Cardinal Bishops)	6
Immediately subject to the Pope	84
Suffragans in Ecclesiastical Provinces	561

Oriental Rite.

Armenian	16
Greco-Melchite	8
Greco-Roumanian	3
Greco-Ruthenian	5
Greco-Bulgarian	1
Syriac	11
Syro-Chaldaic	12
Syro-Maronite	7
Total Bishoprics	714
Total Patriarchates, Archbishoprics, and Bishoprics	865

Of these dioceses about 100 are usually vacant, leaving the number of Bishops who have actually been invited by the Pope about 750. There are, besides, about 230 titular Bishops, who are not at the head of the idocese, but are either coadjutors of diocesan Bishops, or vicars apostolic, delegates apostolic, or prefects apostolic. The question of the right of these Bishops to a seat was, according to the latest advices, still under consideration. The number of dioceses has received a considerable increase by the present Pope, who has erected 6 archbishoprics and 112 bishoprics. The increase has been greater in the countries of America than in any of the countries of the Old World, and at the beginning of the present year the number of American dioceses already amounted to 152, or more than one sixth of the total number of dioceses.

The number of Cardinals, who are not at the same time Bishops, is about 25. Of Generals, or Superiors of Monastic Orders, most of whom reside in Rome, the Papal Almanac mentions about 50. The number of mitered Abbots is also considerable. As all those who are entitled to a seat are not only invited, but commanded to come, the number of absentees will be comparatively small, and the Assembly will number probably from 800 to 900 members.

In Holland there has been for over 150 years a small sect called the Jansenists, who consider themselves as Roman Catholics, though they are unrecognized and excommunicated by the Pope. They are the followers of Bishop Jansenius, whose work on Grace was, after his death, condemned by the Pope, a sentence which called forth a great commotion in the Churches of France and the Netherlands, the friends of Jansenius maintaining that the book of Jansenius had been misunderstood at Rome, and appealing from the decision of the Pope, whose infallibility they denied, to the supreme authority of an Œcumenical Council. They have one Archbishop and two Bishops, all in Holland, who probably will go to Rome, and, submitting to the Council, will be reunited with the Church. The entire population connected with this sect is about 8,000. The Protestant world has, on the whole, taken but little notice of the Council. A few Churches and corporations have published, in reply to the Papal letter inviting the Protestants to return to the Roman Catholic Church, declarations or letters restating the fundamental differences which separate Protestants in general, and the Church which they specially represent, from Rome. Other Churches, as the Old and New School Presbyterians, have recently resolved to do the same thing. That portion of the English Ritualists whose great aim is the reunion between the Church of England and Rome, still talk of sending representatives to Rome to negotiate for terms of submission. Outside of that party there are only a few isolated men in the Protestant world who think that the Council may aid in healing the divisions of Christendom, and in preparing the day when all the believers in the Lord Jesus Christ will agree in the fundamental articles of faith. Guizot has expressed himself in this sense, and in Germany a few Protestant writers have advanced similar views; but on the Protestant world in general the Papal letter and the proceedings of the Council will have as little effect as a General Assembly of Mohammedans or Hindoos would produce.

Art. IX.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The great work of Calvin, the Institutes of the Christian Religion, has been published as a part of the new edition of the complete works of Calvin which appears under the editorship of Drs. Baum, Cunitz, and Reuss, three professors of the Seminary of Strasburg. It is also sold separately. This is by far the best edition of the Works of the great reformer which has yet appeared. (*Institutio Religionis Christianæ.* 2 vols. Brunswick. 1869.)

The popular lectures by Professor Hagenbach on Church History, which were first published in several editions, independent of each other, have now been united by the author into one work called *Kirchengeschichte von der ältesten Zeit bis zum 19 Jahrhundert.* (Leipsic, 1869.) The whole work, in its present form, will form five volumes. The first, containing the history of the first six centuries, has recently been published. The lectures on recent Church history, of which an English translation has just been announced by Dr. Hurst, are part of this work.

Sebastian Franck, one of the noblest and most prominent representatives of the enthusiasts and separatists, whom Luther designated by the name of *Schwarmgeister*, has been made the subject of a learned monogram by Carl Alfred Hase, a son of the well-known historian. (*Sebastian Franck der Schwarmgeist.* Leipsic, 1869.)

The edition of Posthumous Sermons of Richard Rothe is now completed by the appearance of the third volume, which has been published by J. Bleek. The two first volumes had been published by Dr. Schenkel. (*Rothe's Nachgelassene Predigten.* Elberfeld, 1869.)

An autobiography has been published of the great German pulpit orator, Friedrich Wilhelm Krummacher, who died on December 10, 1868. The translation of many of his works into the English, French, Dutch, and other languages, had made the name of Krummacher well known throughout the Protestant world.

One of the standard works of the evangelical school of German theology, Dr. Ebrard's *Wissenschaftlische Kritik der Evangelischen Geschichte*, has been published in a third edition. (Frankfort, 1869.) The author gives in this new edition a full review of the whole recent literature on the Gospel history.

Among the most important of the recent theological publications of Germany belongs, according to the opinion of all schools, the History of the Old Testament in the Christian Church, by Dr. Diestel, professor in Jena. (*Geschichte des Alten Testamentes.* Jena, 1869.) The object of the author is not only to give a history of the interpretation of the Old Testament, but also a review of the theological views concerning the Old Testament in the several periods of the Christian Church, of its influences upon the life, constitution, worship, and doctrine of the Church, as well as of the use made of Old Testament subjects in art and the application of Old Testament precedents in law. The book is divided into seven periods, namely: 1. The times of the Fathers, from 100 to 250, A. D. (The Old Testament in the Apostolic Church is only briefly treated of in the preface.) 2. The time of the great Church teachers, 250–600. 3. Theological science as pupil of the fathers, 600–1100. 4. The times of Church power, 1100–1517. 5. The Reformation, 1517–1600. 6. The rise of opposing systems under the predominance of orthodoxy, 1600–1750. 7. The conflict and reconciliation of the opposing systems, 1750 to the present day. No work of so comprehensive a character has ever been published, and the scholarship and accuracy of the author meets with general approbation.

Among the last publications of the "Rough House," in Hamburg, we find one, a German translation of a work by a distinguished Danish theologian, Dr. Kalkar, on the history of the conversions from Judaism to Christianity. (*Israel u. die Kirche.* Hamburg, 1869.)

Art. X.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian Review, April, 1869. (New York.)—1. Recent Discoveries in Geology. 2. The Reformed or Calvinistic Sense. 3. Biblical Preaching. 4. President Wheelock and his Contemporaries. 5. Progress of the Reunion Movement. 6. The Incarnation, and the System which Stands upon It. 7. Mr. Mill and his Critics. 8. An "Old Side" Plea for Reunion.

Baptist Quarterly, April, 1869. (Philadelphia.)—1. Dale's Classic Baptism. 2. The Causal Judgment. 3. Infant Baptism an Invention of Men. 4. The Great Pyramid of Gizeh. 5. The Tübingen School. 6. Exegetical Studies.

Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, April, 1869. (New York.)—1. The Calvinistic Methodists in Wales. 2. Some Recent Discussions on the Fundamental Principles of Morals. 3. Planting of the American Churches. 4. The Novel and Novel Reading. 5. Ethics and Economics of Commercial Speculation. 6. Froude's History of England. 7. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church. 8. Recent Developments respecting Presbyterian Reunion.

Bibliotheca Sacra, April, 1869. (Andover.)—1. The Origin of the First Three Gospels. 2. Jonathan Edwards. 3. The Authority of Faith. 4. Theodore Parker and Adoniram Judson. 5. The Doctrine of God's Providence. 6. Revelation and Inspiration.

Christian Quarterly, April, 1869. (Cincinnati.)—1. Galileo and the Church. 2. Phases of Religion in the United States. 3. The Glories of Mary. 4. The Royal Priesthood. 5. Christology. 6. The Kingdom of God. 7. Church Officers.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1869. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Death and the Intermediate State. 2. True Faith: Its Nature and Efficacy. 3. The Meaning of the Word Selah. 4. The Good Angels. 5. How shall we Order our Worship? 6. Lutheranism before Luther. 7. The Keys. 8. Sermonizing. 9. Sprague's Annals of the American Lutheran Pulpit.

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, April, 1869. (Philadelphia.)—1. Nominalism and Realism. 2. Luther's Translation of the Holy Scriptures; The New Testament. 3. The Christologic Problem. 4. Reply to Dr. Dorner's Criticism on "Mercersburg and Modern Theology Compared." 5. The Catholic Church Movement. 6. "The Wisdom of God in a Mystery." 7. Preaching. 8. The Unity of the Apostles' Creed.

NEW ENGLANDER, April, 1869. (New Haven.)—1. The San Kiau, or the Three Religions of China. 2. False Definitions of Faith, and the True Definition. 3. Yale College, and the Late Meeting of the Alumni in New York. 4. Spain, and the Late Revolution, by an Eye-witness in the Winter of 1868–9. 5. The American Colleges and the American Public. 6. Princeton Exegesis, No. II.—Its Dealing with the Testimony of the Scriptures against the Doctrine of a Limited Atonement.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, April, 1869. (Boston.)—1. The Dogmatic Use of Old Testament Passages in the New Testament; and their Importance as Binding upon the Christian Expositor, with especial Reference to Hebrews i, 5–13. 2. The Origin of Sin. 3. Ancient Babylonian Literature. 4. The Development of Protestantism. 5. The Fullness of Christ. 6. Our Nation, and Statesmanship. 7. The Mission of Christ.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, April, 1869. (Boston.)—1. Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft. 2. The Talmud. 3. The "Seven Cities of Cibola." 4. The Sanitary and Physiological Relations of Tobacco. 5. The Financial Condition of the United States. 6. The Spanish Revolution. 7. Earthquakes.

Mr. Poole, in the first article, rescues the name of Cotton Mather from the imputation of leading the witchcraft excitement in New England. Indeed, he shows that the most responsible parties were not the clergy but the judges; not the theology but the law. Would not a fair allowance for the really inexplicable character of some of the phenomena justify, generally, a less severe tone of history on the whole affair?

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, April, 1869. (London.)—1. Christian Female Authorship. 2. Modern Judaism. 3. The Procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son. 4. The Antiquity of Man. 5. Romeward Tendencies of the Day. 6. Scottish Prelacy after the Restoration. 7. Hammerich's Ancient Church. 8. The Royal Supremacy and Religious Liberty.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1869. (London.)—1. The Works of Mrs. Oliphant. 2. Royal Commission on the Laws of Marriage. 3. Rawlinson's Five Great Monarchies. 4. Roman Catholicism in France. 5. Poetical Works of Robert Browning. 6. The Irish Church in the Sixteenth Century. 7. Pauperism. 8. The Brahmo Somaj of India. 9. Result of the Irish Church Debate.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, April, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Confucius. 2. Edible Fungi. 3. The Competitive Industry of Nations. 4. Memoir of Madame de Lafayette. 5. The Settlement of Ulster. 6. Dilke's Greater Britain. 7. Matthew Arnold's Critical Works. 8. American Finance, 1865–1869. 9. Life and Times of Edward III. 10. Campbell's Lives of Lyndhurst and Brougham.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, April, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Rassam's Abyssinia. 2. Modern English Poets. 3. Geological Climates and the Origin of Species. 4. Cost of Party Government. 5. Dante Alighieri. 6. Female Education. 7. Travels in Greece. 8. The Religious Wars of France. 9. Aims of Modern Medicine. 10. Irish Church Bill.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, March, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Royal Engineers. 2. Russian Literature—Turguenief's Novels. 3. Revolutions in the Queen's English. 4. Dean Milman. 5. The Increase of Lunacy. 6. The Hudson's Bay Company. 7. What is Man's Chief End? 8. Public Works in India. 9. The Reconstruction of Germany.

German Reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Theological Essays and Reviews.) Third Number. 1869.—*Essays.* 1. ACHELIS, Dr. Richard Rothe. 2. DIETSCH, The Doctrines of the Inspiration of the Scriptures. 3. KLOPPER, The Meaning and the Object of Rom. v, 12–21. *Thoughts and Remarks.* 1. BURKHARDT, On the Credibility of the Reply of Luther: "Here I stand; I cannot otherwise; God help me, Amen." 2. GRAF, The Accounts of the Four Gospels on the Resurrection of Jesus. *Reviews:* 1. WALTERS, Conrad von Heresbach, and the History of the Reformation of the City of Wesel; reviewed by WILKINS. 2. PIPER, Introduction into Monumental Theology; reviewed by GRUNEISEN. 3. PEISS, Apology of Faith; reviewed by BAXMANN.

Richard Rothe is so eminent among the theological writers of the present century that we cannot be surprised at the large number of biographical sketches which are published of him. Among the fullest and best accounts of his life and his works are counted those published by Schekel in the *Allgemeine Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, (1867, numbers 9 and 10,) and in the preface to his edition of Rothe's Posthumous Sermons, (*Nachgelassene Predigten*, vol. i,) by Dr. Nippold, Professor at the University of Heidelberg, in Gelzer's *Monatshefte*, 1868, and in particular that by Honig, *Suddeutsches protest. Wochenblatt*, 1867. The article in this number of the *Studien*, by Achelis, will take its rank among the best. In four sections it treats of Rothe's life, of his religious and moral character, of his eminence as a pulpit orator and scientific theologian, and of his relation to the ecclesiastical parties. Rothe occupies a peculiar position in the history of the German Protestant Church. In the great literary controversy between the believers in the supernatural origin of Christianity and the special inspiration of the Bible on the one hand, and the Rationalists on the other, Rothe stood very emphatically on the side of the former; and evangelical theologians unanimously class his great work on Ethiks (*Theolog. Ethik*, 3 vols., 1846–1848, second edition, volumes i and ii, 1867) among the standard works of recent Protestant theological literature. He had, however, many peculiar views. He himself, to designate his theological

stand-point claimed the name of a Christian theosophist, and professed to be a follower of Jacob Bœhm and of Oettinger. The author of this sketch in the *Studien* remarks that Rothe was the first to raise theosophy to the rank of a science, and that by his method of theological speculation he rendered the greatest services to theology. Rothe (in his work, *Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche und ihrer Verfassung*, and again in his *Theolog. Ethik*) developed an entirely new theory of the Church. He viewed it as an exclusively religious communion as distinguished from the several moral communities, the totality of which, according to him, is the State. The Church, as an abstractly religious communion, can never, according to Rothe, completely realize its own idea; as a separate organization it is the less needed the more the moral development of the State advances, until finally it will be entirely superseded, and the State become the kingdom of God. Rothe had a profound appreciation and admiration of the progress of modern civilization, and had the firmest conviction that as this civilization was an outgrowth of Christianity, it could and should be fully harmonized with the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. He deplored the course which the great majority of the orthodox Churches of Germany are pursuing with regard to the progressive tendencies of the age, and, therefore, resolved to co-operate with the Protestant Union," (*Protestanten Verein*,) which demands the abolition of the influence of the State governments upon the Church and the reconstruction of the Church upon a popular basis. Most of the leaders of this association are Rationalists, but Rothe believed that the change of ecclesiastical constitution advocated by them was a step in the right direction. The author of this biographical sketch, an enthusiastical admirer of the piety and the character of Rothe, believes that in expecting any good to come from an association controlled by Rationalistic leaders, Rothe was radically mistaken.

In the little article on the famous saying of Luther at the Diet of Worms, (Here I stand; I cannot otherwise; God help me, Amen,) Dr. Burkhardt, a writer already favorably known by several writings on Luther, undertakes to prove, from a careful comparison of all the original documents, that those words do probably not contain the real answer of Luther, but that the first half is a later addition.

The next article, by Graf, has for its object to prove, against the attacks of Dr. Strauss, the entire harmony of the accounts of the four Gospels relative to the sending of the Apostles to Galilee after the resurrection of Christ.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR HISTORISCHE THEOLOGIE. (Journal for Historical Theology.) 1869. Second Number.—2. KLEMME, Life and Writings of Johann Yennhardt. 3. FOERSTER, Johann Forster; a Life Picture of the Time of the Reformation. 4. HERZOG, Fénélon, Archbishop of Cambray. 5. LINDER, The Reformed Church of Switzerland in its Conflict with Pietism and Separatism during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

Third Number.—6. BITTCHER, Life of Peter Abelard. 7. GROTE, Andreas Musculus. 8. LINDER, The Weininger Affair in the Years 1598–1600, a Contribution to the History of the Controversies between Lutherans and Reformed. 9. RÖNSCH, Testimonies of the Fathers on the First Latin Version of the Bible.

The most interesting article in the above two numbers is that by Dr. Herzog, the editor of the Theological Cyclopedia, on Fénélon. It is, like the article on St. Elizabeth in a former number by Dr. Kahnis, in the form of a lecture, and, on account both of its subject and its form, is certain to interest a much larger number of readers than the great majority of articles in this Review. Dr. Herzog treats of Fénélon, first as the educator of the Dauphin, next as the apologist of the pure love to God, and, in the third place, as a patriot and politician. An interesting letter is published in the third part of the article, in which Fénélon severely criticises the policy pursued by Louis XIV., and which shows him to have been imbued by truly liberal principles at a time when nearly all statesmen bowed their knee to the absolutism of Louis XIV. The letter was not printed until 1787, when D'Alembert published it for the first time in his History of the Members of the French Academy. Its authenticity was long doubted, but all doubts were dispelled in 1835 by the discovery of the original, the whole of which was clearly in the handwriting of Fénélon.

ZEITSCHRIFT FUR WISSENSCHAFTLICHE THEOLOGY. (Journal for Scientific Theology.) 1869. First Number.—1. LIPSIUS, The Dialectics of Schleiermacher. 2. HOLTZMANN, The Relation of the Gospel of John to the Synoptical Gospels. 3. SPIEGEL, Hardenberg's Views Concerning the Lord's Supper. 4. EGLI, Biblical Notes.

Second Number.—5. LIPSIUS, The Dialectics of Schleiermacher, (concluded.) 6. HOLTZMANN, The Relation of the Gospel of John to the Synoptical Gospels. 7. OBERBECK, On Rom. viii, 4. 8. RÖNSCH, Remarks on the Assumptio Mosis. 9. HILGENFELD, The Pastor of Hermas.

Third Number.—11. LIPSIUS, The Pastor of Hermas. 12. GRIMM, The Doxology, Rom. ix, 5. 13. IMMER, On Biedermann's "*Christliche Dogmatik.*" 14. CLEMENS, The Sources for the History of the Essenes.

The history of the Essenes has been for a series of years a favorite topic for the contributors to this periodical. The last named article, by Dr. Clemens, a young scholar who is already favorably known by a work on the subject, is another valuable addition to this literature. The author enters into a thorough examination of the credibility of the accounts of Josephus, Philo, and Pliny, the only three writers on the Essenes who were their contemporaries,

and from whom the accounts of all subsequent writers have been derived.

The articles of Hilgenfeld and Lipsius on the Pastor of Hermas are both directed against the recent work on that subject by a young theologian of the evangelical school, Dr. Zahn. As one of the earliest among the post apostolic writings of the Christian Church, the Pastor of Hermas is a work of great importance for settling the controversies relating to the first period of the history of the Christian Church.

The Christian Dogmatics of Professor Biedermann of Zurich, (Christliche Dogmatik, Zurich, 1869,) which is briefly noticed in the thirteenth article by Professor Immer, of the University of Berne, is the most ultra rationalistic work on the subject which has yet appeared. Biedermann is one of the chief representatives of the new rationalistic school in the Reformed Church of Switzerland, which openly reject even the belief in a personal God and the immortality of the soul, and yet deem it right to retain their membership in the Reformed State Churches first organized by Calvin and Zuinglius.

Art. XI.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE.

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

THE EPISCOPAL CORRESPONDENCE ON CHURCH REUNION.

Our venerable Mother Church, the Methodist Episcopal, has a powerful hand, but a liberal heart. To all the lesser Methodisms she extends her genial invitation to become, with her, one family. Her dignity is unoffended by their declining. Her very invitation means, that if they prefer a separate home they are none the less welcome to her eucharistic table whenever they choose to make a fraternal visit. It is thus that our Bishops lately, in the exercise of the discretion which belongs to their office, availed themselves of the meeting of the Bishops of the Church South to bring to the attention of the latter the Commission appointed by our General Conference on Church reunion. The great body of the Church, we doubt not, approve this action and the address of our Bishops. Of the response from the Southern Bishops, we regret to say, an adverse and condemnatory view is taken by a large part of our best thinkers. This condemnatory view is one-sided, and arises from omitting to put ourselves in the stand-point of

those Bishops, in allowing too little to human nature, and in forgetting our own past.

For more than thirty years we have, rightly as we think, wrongly as they thought, talked very severe things to and of the Church South. We have done so before the war, during the war, since the war, and up to the very latest dates. All at once we tune down to a very gentle melody, and of course we expect them to chime in, *instanter*, with just as gentle a harmony! No, indeed. If they are *men*, either in the higher or humbler sense of the word, they will not do it—just as we would not. What, then, do they?

They do just as we might predict. They meet the address with every expression of love and courtesy, with every assurance of a desire for peace and mutual brotherhood, but they firmly and frankly state the feelings that still exist as the result of the terrible past. They still feel the sting of our rejection of their fraternal delegate; they reject the assumption of their identification with slavery, or of their being on a level with seceders; they unfold the wrongs they hold themselves to suffer; frankly, though in undertone, admitting that the wrong is not all on one side, and in a higher tone proposing a co-operative effort to check the mutual wrong and secure a permanent peace. Their reply is a peculiar blending of an earnest desire not to offend, with a feeling of distrust for so sudden an overture, and a firmly determined purpose to avail themselves of the occasion, which our Northern papers do not usually afford them, of getting their views before the Methodist Episcopal Church.

This frank boldness, blended with every effort to evince a fraternal purpose in that very boldness, we approve. We have ourself repeatedly used it, and before this article closes we purpose to use it again. Our readers will recollect that a short time since we "read a lecture"? to Dr. Summers, referring to some bitter points both of the past and future. His response so fully appreciated both the plainness of our speech and the friendliness of our purpose, as to lay us under the obligation not to be outdone in magnanimity.

The Southern Bishops say that there must be unity of heart, the removal of strifes, before there can be organic unity. Perhaps this is true. And yet, paradox as it may seem, the reverse order may be the true order. It seems to us nearly true that the frank offer of reunion on our part is, *ipso facto*, either the reparation, or the offer of reparation, of every wrong, as well as settlement of every question. Did we reject their offer of fraternization?

Surely the offer of a reunion is a cancellation of that slight, with a surplus. Do we impute slavery as a cause of separation? That is a dead issue when, regardless alike of *cause* or *occasion*, we say we know no cause at all for present separation, and propose reunion. Do we impute to them secession, and level them with schismatics? We say we are ready to hold them ecclesiastically as good as ourselves, and recognize them upon our own level, as one with ourselves. Have there been strifes among our Churches, proselytisms, and "church-stealings?" Those die forever at the moment of reunion. When we are one we cannot proselyte from ourselves, nor steal our own churches from ourselves. We avow, then, the paradox, and reverse the Bishops' order; give us the *antecedent*, reunion, and we will guarantee the *consequent*, the dismissal of dead issues and the settlements of strife.

If, however, the Southern Bishops mean to affirm, as the only "*basis*" of reunion, that the Methodist Episcopal Church must recognize the validity of the Plan of Separation, and hold her jurisdiction over her Conferences and Churches in the South as *de jure* null, and *de facto* a usurpation, that, so far as the Bishops are concerned, closes the matter. For, *first*, it bases reunion on a *falsification of facts;* and, *second*, it prescribes *dishonorable conditions.* It *falsifies facts*, for, 1. The Plan of Separation failing of the constitutional vote of the Annual Conferences attained no valid existence; and, 2. The boundaries between the two proposed sections were notoriously disregarded by the Church South, which attempted, in some cases with violence, to acquire churches in the Northern section. It *proposes dishonorable conditions;* for since our Church, recognizing that no limitation to her evangelizing work existed, occupied Southern territory, she can never stigmatize her own work by pronouncing it unlawful, or abandoning it in the full tide of its success. She is willing, as we believe, to wave punctilio and past questions, and proceed to inaugurate a reunion; she is willing, as the result of that reunion, that the Southern territory shall come under a single jurisdiction; but she is not willing to condemn her own present occupancy of the South as a transgression and a crime. The proposal would be rejected as a contumely. But let it be remembered that it is only the Southern Bishops who are by some construed as taking this ground. There is time yet for the Southern General Conference in May, 1870, to revise the position; and then there is a further time for the *people* of the two sections to make up their verdict. After a full and conscientious discussion of the question for one or two years, both sections being fully

furnished with the argument for and against, *we would be very willing to submit it to the popular vote of the two churches.*

The difficulties in regard to Church property (which have given rise in the Church South to the unseemly neologism, "church-stealing") if strongly pressed will raise a political discussion. The temporary occupancy of Southern Churches during the war raises the question, What, by the rules of war, according to the laws of nations, are the rights of a government over ecclesiastical property in a section of the nation in rebellion? What are those rights, especially, over churches used in aid of rebellion? And, then, Has there been a rebellion? And have any Southern Churches aided and abetted rebellion? If so, What is the duty of loyal ministers in case the government call them to occupy the churches as loyal citizens? It will be perceived that each party will see the course actually pursued to be right or wrong according to his own antecedent political views. This whole question had, therefore, better be waived, and the above neologism had better be dismissed from the Southern ecclesiastical vocabulary. As to all other Church-property difficulties, we apprehend that investigation will show that if any "church-stealing" has been committed, the Church South will be found to be the more aggressive party.

Dr. Summers, of the "Nashville Advocate," in noticing Dr. Peck's late article on Methodism, furnishes the following views, which views are indorsed by Dr. Myers, of the "Southern Christian Advocate," as indicating "the only plan of union which may be feasible or profitable:"

If the North had followed out in good faith the provisions of the brotherly covenant proposed and urged by its chief ministers in 1844, and which we kept to the letter, there might have been to-day one great Œcumenical Connection in the United States, with perhaps three or more General or Provincial Conferences, and as many Colleges of Bishops as the rapidly-growing Connection and widely-extending country might require. We have never been averse to such a fraternal arrangement. Had our Northern brethren abode by the Plan of Separation, Methodism might have been developed into a higher unity than it had before the division of the Church in 1844. Dr. Elliott, the great champion of the North, said then, that two General Conferences were imperiously required by the rapid growth of the Connection, and he instanced the Provinces of Canterbury and York, into which the Church of England is divided, as a precedent for our division. There might have been a "Methodist Episcopal Church in America," the original title of the Connection, with half a dozen jurisdictional divisions, (General Conferences, and Colleges of Bishops,) and a General Council, or Œcumenical Conference, which might meet at stated times to recognize and ratify the common Methodism of all. Then there would not have been the disgrace and scandal of "altar against altar," and all the deplorable consequences of such schism. God knows we never wanted to invade their territory, or to infringe upon any of their rights. We wanted to see Methodism a unit the world over—every particular section recognizing the other, and each keeping within its own jurisdictional bounds as in the case with our circuits, districts, and Annual Conferences. It is not our fault that this is not the case.

As to the infringement and validity of the "Plan of Separation," a future Quarterly may furnish a chapter of history and exposition. The decision of the Supreme Court settled the question of law as to the Church property; but it had no ecclesiastical or moral force to limit our evangelizing labors or church extension within any geographical section. Nevertheless we think that such questions as, Which was in the wrong? Was slavery the cause or occasion? Was the division a separation or secession? Was the Plan of Separation legal? etc., etc., however interesting as history, are dead as *issues*, and their ghosts should be expelled the premises.

Dr. Myers, in the "Southern Christian Advocate," states such conditions as these:

> 1. All aggressions upon our congregations, members, Churches, white or black, singly or in a body, publicly or privately, must cease; and all arrangements that look to disintegrating and absorbing our communion must be arrested.
> 2. Every attempt to judge us as Christians or Methodists for our political opinions or public acts as citizens, and all animadversions upon our [political] creed or conduct, must come to a sudden pause. Those things lie out of the range of Church questions, and we refuse to be judged therein by the Church.

The first of these conditions, rightly construed, ought to be observed in any case. But it is not to be so interpreted as to exclude our Church from the Southern States; to prevent our asserting the rights of the colored Methodists of the South; to preclude our attracting to our own Church all who felt themselves wronged when the separation cut them off from the "Old Church;" or to prohibit our entering into that fair and honorable competition which all denominations have a right to exercise, by both a public and private exhibition of their faith and order. None of these rights will be sacrificed to any "fraternization." Whatever Church denies them must take our wager of battle.

In regard to Dr. Myers's second condition, the very offer of reunion is 'an offer to dismiss dead issues'; to judge no man as a Methodist adversely from historically settled questions; to impeach no man "as a citizen" for any thing not immoral; and to hold no one censurable for future political opinions unless those opinions contradict our religious doctrines, our Church order, or common Christian morality. The term "political" cannot, however, in general, be held to justify or cover from rebuke any transgression of the law of God. A man who insists on the right as a politician persistently to break the Sabbath, or to sustain Sabbath-breaking, we do condemn. The sins of politicians are no better than any body else's sins.

Since penning the above our eye recognizes the following fuller statement of Dr. Myers's meaning:

No Church will ever succeed at the South which requires Southerners to utter sentence of condemnation against their honored dead, or the cause in which they died. They do not do this to become citizens of the reconstructed republic, they *will* not do it under ecclesiastical dictation; and yet *they will prove themselves as faithful to the Constitution and laws of their country as are those who hold adverse opinions respecting political questions.* The very discussion, then, of the question of Church union means—let all political opinions which divide Northern and Southern citizens be ignored; let 'the dead past bury its dead;' throw out of the discussion the dead issues of secession and slavery: in short, consign to an eternal grave, as between the Northern and the Southern Methodists—the one Church and the other—all questions of secession, slavery, war, suffrage, and the like; resolve that, however differing in opinion, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, there shall never be introduced, directly or indirectly, into any Church, court, or assembly, great or small, in document, speech, sermon, exhortation, prayer, or into book or periodical, (except in violation of the spirit of the compact between the two Churches,) any reference to the causes, consequences, history, or results of their past difficulties, in any such way as could offend or do violence willingly to the most delicate Christian charity—that they will never bandy such epithets, in crimination and recrimination, as slaveholder, abolitionist, pro-slavery, secesh, radical, unionist, rebel, and such like—will try to forget that these words ever had any application to members of either body, or that the opinions and acts they suggest ever had any existence—or if ever existing, that they have now ceased to be a reason for any treatment other than that in accord with the sincerest Christian love. If we know what is meant by *Christian forgiveness*—without which no proper union can exist—this is the temper, spirit, and *purpose* with which to approach this question which some of the Northern papers are proposing to discuss.

We do not agree, as a general principle, that respect for our ancestors or our dead binds us to maintain their opinions, or to indorse all they did as right. Truth and righteousness are independent of human relations. Our illustrious dead would be not our benefactors but our enemies if they bound our souls to error and wrong. We will bind garlands around their tombs, but never will we pay them so poor a compliment as to immolate truth and peace to their manes. The disposition to maintain a principle, because it was bequeathed us by the dead, or because it belongs to our side, is the iniquitous source, all through history, of perpetuated falsehood, hereditary hate, feud and bloodshed. But the principles laid down by Dr. Myers as fundamental to Church unity, though needing exacter expression on one point, are about correct, and would tend to national peace. Our Quarterly would not engage, for instance, to never utter an ethical condemnation upon slavery, or upon the late war on the national government; and yet we would, and we do, avoid referring to either with the animus of *reproach* upon the Church South. There should be upon neither side either the purpose of contumely, or a cultivated sensitiveness, anxious to take offense, and proud to lay hampers upon all free

utterance. But Dr. Myers impracticably lays down this platform as condition *precedent* to negotiation. How can it be made obligatory, or enforced on either side, previous to any compact? How can Dr. Myers undertake beforehand to keep the Episcopal Methodist in decent order?

And now it is our turn to present "conditions," and utter frank statements. And they shall not be selfish conditions, seeking our own good, but seeking right-dealing toward a third party—the negroes. We should have been almost entirely opposed to any organic effort to take possession of southern territory but for what appeared to us to be the manifest purpose of Southern Methodism—to retain the negro as nearly as possible in his original state of ignorance and serfdom. The southern editors claimed that the negro was still exclusively theirs; that they only "understood the negro;" that every body else must keep "hands off." They launched their nicknames and denunciations at the incoming teachers from the North. At the same time every imputation was heaped upon the negro character for laziness and vice, results though they were of centuries of a most cruel and debasing legislation; and last came those ominous predictions that the negro race would soon die out. The absolute condition of any fraternity, on our part, is generous justice to the colored Methodism of the South. The spirit of oppression that seeks to disfranchise and degrade must cease. We do not, however, condemn schools, churches, or conferences intended for one color, where both colors consent. Every man, also, has the right to select his own social intimates; and the negro does not ask promiscuous sociality. He asks, and he must have, fair play in life to develop his most noble manhood. How fully the Church South is now ready to accord these rights we know not; but the apparent evidence is yet in the negative. The (Philadelphia) "Christian Recorder," edited by a negro, utters its own views in the following strong, probably exaggerating, language:

In no part of our Church are more desperate efforts made to retake the Churches and the people who gladly united with us than in Kentucky. This is especially true of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. She spares no means to get back the preachers and the people whom, at the dawn of liberty, she drove off with contempt. Righteousness and the truth are not allowed to stand in her way. Talking with one of our preachers in that State in regard to the doings of some of these southern preachers, he incidentally made the remark, "Why, they think no more of lying to a black man than though it were nothing." To a greater or less extent this is true all over the South. So seared are their consciences that they do not feel themselves bound to be truthful to the negro. "No faith with heretics," was the watchery of the Romanist. "No faith with negroes," is the watchword of the Southern Methodist.

Again:

We do not think we over-estimate the fact, when we state that there are now about five times the number of schools and school-houses at the South to what there was previous to the war. All classes are now going to school. The sons of the poor whites and negroes now vie with the sons of the grandees. A generation hence the country can make an estimate of the relative capacity of the two races. This could never be done before; yet did our enemies do it, and pronounce against us; but their very condemnation was our glory. What was it? It was that a black untaught did not know as much as a white taught—that a negro boy out of school could not keep up with a white boy in school. Astounding judgment!

The time has come, brethren of the South, for considering negro testimony. The paper above quoted is not inferior to the average of your own periodicals in moral or intellectual character. And now it removes all hesitation on the part of any section of our venerable Church when we are convinced that the wrong indicated, perhaps exaggerated, in the above testimony is in fair way of being surely renounced. And when our Bishops respond, as we hope they will, to the very proper offer of the Southern Bishops to unite in conciliating Church quarrels, we trust they will also propose, as absolute conditions, to unite in giving full fair play to the colored race. With that plank superadded we are ready, and the Church, softened by advancing time, soon will be ready, to accept Dr. Myers's paragraph substantially as a basis. And then, looking to a future Œcumenical Methodism as foreshadowed by Dr. Peck and indorsed by Dr. Summers, the Churches can, by a true Christian policy, attain a wise reunion.

Foreign Missions: their Relations and Claims. By RUFUS ANDERSON, D.D., LL.D., late Foreign Secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. 12mo., pp. 373. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

At the age of threescore and ten Dr. Anderson resigned his office, after a service of forty years, and was appointed to an endowed Lectureship for Andover Theological Seminary. His course of lectures, delivered in the most important of his denominational Seminaries, are now embodied in this handsome volume. They furnish the results of long years of observation and experience; they were heard with earnest attention by very competent audiences; and they furnish thought equally important for all the Churches engaged in the work of evangelical missions.

Dr. Anderson's view of the missionary field, though recognizing that fifty years have accomplished but little more than preparatory work, is confident that it is a grand preparation, and sanguinely assured of final success in rendering a living Christianity the religion of the race. He commences with an expanded view of the simultaneous double work of the Church's awakening to the missionary

enterprise, and the providential breaking away, of the national barriers, in succession, furnishing a wonderful access to the peaceful armies of the cross. As Jehovah has said to the Church, "Awake," he has also said to the world, "Give way."

Tracing by the light of Scripture and history, as furnished in the New Testament, in the Irish missions, and others of the early Church, Dr. Anderson develops the principles and discusses the methods of our modern missions, both in enlisting the interest of the Church at home, and in attaining a broad and permanent success abroad. He then gives a brief sketch of the foreign field as it now stands, furnishes a bird's-eye view of the entire army of occupation, showing the degree of success attained, and the proper view of the success attainable. This is a cheerful, instructive, and timely book. To the inquirer about the missionary field challenging "What of the night?" it is the vigilant watchman's answer, "The morning cometh, and also the night."

It seems very amazing that the American Board and other missionary managers have discovered but lately, and as if by accidental experience, that the true method is to train up the earliest possible native workers, and to throw the native Churches as early as possible upon their own strength. In the Sandwich Islands, when the missionaries were driven off by French invasion, the natives selected their own religious leaders, and for the first time displayed and developed their own independent vigor. When Madagascar, after a period of missionary successful labor, expelled the missionaries, the native Christians, arising from the apparent weakness of their pupilage, not only showed themselves self-sustaining, but displayed a spirit of martyrdom worthy the apostolic age. Dr. Anderson lays down the rule that the foreign missionary should never become pastor of a mission Church; but, appointing a native pastor, should remain in the broad, apostolic field.

Dr. Anderson well refutes the idea, every now and then uttered with oracular authority by ignorant editors of secular papers, that civilization must precede Christianization. The pseudo-experience of men who never studied missions is constantly reasserting this fallacy, falsified by the whole history of missions. The barbarian mind is a vacant mind, and you have not to empty it of a powerful preoccupant. Idolatry does not satisfy, and gives way easily to a higher system. Hence we have more hope of heathenism than of Mohammedanism and Romanism. There are in the latter two systems elements of elevated truth that serve as conservatives to the error: but in the blank, uncivilized religions, is a moral basis for industrious habits and healthful civilization.

Dr. Anderson's work is well worthy the study of both the friends and opponents of missions.

Fiftieth Annual Report of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church for the Year 1868. 8vo., pp. 184. New York.

Upon our excellent Annual Report, which has been before the Church some months, we offer no remarks, but make a few points on the present aspects of our missionary enterprise itself.

The fact that our Secretaries, cannot, in our whole Church, find the proper individuals to man our fields, is not only sad in itself, but suggestive of other sad things. It suggests that our missionary zeal is too superficial and routine. The missionary enterprise is accepted, of course, as an established thing; but our people, if not ministry, seem to know little *specifically* about it, and feel less. How is it that so few of our young men are taught and inspired by the preaching they hear to burn with a holy ambition to carry the Gospel to the dark peoples? How is it that of so many young ministers entering our Conferences "moved by the Holy Ghost," so few, or so almost none at all, are consecrated in spirit to the wide parish of the world? How is it that already, in each of our theological schools, there are not the full dozen waiting for the Macedonian call? The whole Church ought to cherish a sense of self-condemnation until this shame disappears.

A million dollars a year ought to be, without spasm or struggle, but easily and normally, raised. For this purpose the next General Conference, we trust, will authorize and cause to be put in motion the plan of a dollar a member through the whole Church. We cannot but hope that our respected Secretaries will feel encouraged to construct the proper plan for adoption.

Ought there to be a distinct missionary seminary established? or ought the missionary work to occupy largely the attention of our present seminaries? For the present, certainly the latter. The Boston school claims, at the present time, to take the lead in the importance it gives to this department, and we hope it will earnestly strive to justify the claim. But so long as the Secretaries are compelled to say that any field calls vainly for an occupant, our seminaries must lay vigorous claim to a large share of the responsibility. There is not a student within their walls who ought not to examine his own case before God.

One great reason, we might, perhaps, say, *the* great reason, why our missionary zeal is so routine is, that our system, as brought before the people, is a vague generality. They are asked

to "give for the missionary cause;" and their gift is, as it were, flung into an unknown sea. Whether it goes to India or Michigan the giver never knows. By our ministers little or no missionary history is ever given; the missionary map is seldom exhibited and explained, and no *specific* interest is felt. We have often surmised, that if every Conference of the Church had some one missionary ground to sustain, or some one or more missionaries to support, an immense deal of new interest would be created, and a much larger amount raised.

One illustration of the routine character above specified is, the character of missionary speeches delivered at the anniversaries. The speakers seem to know that there is a missionary effort in process to convert the world. Upon this point they are often very eloquent, and present the grand idea with such impressiveness that the Church has very fully acquired it. And in that idea lies the large amount of our missionary strength. But in these speeches you usually see little reference to any specific fact in the present state of that effort. You are half inclined to suspect that the speaker himself is not very thorough in his acquaintance with it.

John's Gospel. Apologetical Lectures. By J. J. Van Oosterzee, D. D., Professor of Theology in the University of Utrecht. Translated, with additions, by J. F. Hurst. 12mo., pp. 256. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner, Welford, & Co.

It is a marvelous power of work displayed by Dr. Hurst, that besides the duties of his seminary, his contributions to periodicals, his translation of Hagenbach, and his forthcoming translation of the Commentary on Romans for Dr. Schaff, he should, as seed by the way-side, throw out this little volume of Van Oosterzee. He furnishes an example followed by too few of our young scholars.

Van Oosterzee is already known in America as one of the contributors to Lange's Commentary. He is one of the most eloquent preachers and profound scholars of Holland, a little more than fifty years of age. His great qualities entitle him to measure weapons with the haughtiest skeptics of Europe. The present volume is a course of lectures by him, delivered to a large and intelligent audience in the Odeon of Amsterdam with good effect. They are preluded with a preface by Dr. Hurst and a letter from the author to him, and consist of four very valuable and highly interesting pieces, namely, On the Authenticity of John's Gospel, On John and the Synoptics, John's Miracles of Jesus, and John's Christ.

There is less concentration and positiveness of style than we expect in a great orator. Yet in spite of a very slight Teutonic haze and languor of style, the argument in its full volume is stated with much freshness and conclusiveness. He sheds touches of light on a succession of points; and to those who have been perplexed by the plausibly stated difficulties of John he suggests very plausible solutions. One thing stands finally as clear as day: the skeptic disregards all scientific criticism in rejecting the authenticity of this Gospel; his sole final practicable resort is that taken by Renan, and finally by Strauss, to admit the authenticity and deny its veracity, on the ground mainly that all miracles are fictitious.

This Gospel, including the others, differs from all other books containing miracles in this, that the miracles are not incidental, but the main thing. Christ himself is THE miracle; and so a Gospel is miracle from end to end. Tacitus and Livy subsidiarily weave in miracles; but this Gospel takes the bull by the horns, and is boldly all miracle. And these miracles are not scientific performances, such as a chemist performs in his laboratory, nor to be tried by scientific tests. They belong to the region of spirit, and are to be appreciated in the temper of a spiritual and yet perfectly rational faith.

The Sermons of Henry Ward Beecher in Plymouth Church, Brooklyn. From Verbatim Reports by T. J. ELLINWOOD. "Plymouth Pulpit." First Series: September, 1868–March, 1869. 8vo., pp. 438. New York: J. B. Ford & Co. 1869.

More flashes and detonations from the powerful battery of that great brain, and the still more powerful battery of that great heart. It is suggestive to be called to read Beecher and Spurgeon within the same few hours. In Spurgeon we see revived one of the great Puritan preachers of the seventeenth century, rugged, oaken, dogmatic, evangelical, intensely Christian. If this nineteenth century, with its London Times, and criticism, and railroads, and liberalism does not like him, still there he is, a live fact; and what does the nineteenth century propose to do about it? Mr. Beecher's problem is to identify himself with the nineteenth century in its intensest spirit, to lead its onward march, to surrender all inconsistent with its demands, and yet to retain fast hold of Christ in the soul. It is a difficult problem. We suspect that Mr. Beecher makes many a minor mistake. We often fear lest he surrender that firm hold; we often think he makes unnecessary surrenders. But his problem is his mission, and we trust he will work it out triumphantly.

The Day-Dawn and The Rain, and other Sermons. By Rev. JOHN KER, Glasgow, Scotland. 12mo., pp. 450. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers. 1869.

Mr. Ker's name is new to us, but these beautiful sermons form a very favorable introduction to it. The British Quarterly thus characterizes him:

> All good sermons are now compared to Robertson's, and possibly all sermon writers since him have drunk in his spirit. Mr. Ker is of his school, and with the exception of the posthumous sermons of Mr. E. L. Hull, we have met with none so worthy of standing by his side. Mr. Ker's thought, although perfectly simple and natural, is fresh and bold; and if it may not claim absolute originality, it may yet claim that distinctive individuality which indicates the honest and vigorous independent thinker, who, whatever he may owe to other men, owes it only as all life owes nutriment. His style is quiet and chaste, every thing is said with the utmost simplicity, but also with a refined beauty which works like a spell. There is scarcely a fine sentence in the volume, but neither is there a common-place sentence. Every thing is quietly, easily, naturally produced and set forth; but its qualities of thoughtfulness, suggestiveness, and strength are those which ordinary men would vainly strive after. Mr. Ker is a thoroughly-cultured man, and yet uncompromisingly and devoutly evangelical. His thought and reading have led him to an unhesitating acceptance of the great verities of the Evangelical creed, not, however, in any creed shape, but in their thorough adaptation to the nature and necessities of human souls. The doctrine is every where humanized, and presented in vital forms of human need and experience.

Christian Purity; or, The Heritage of Faith. Revised, Enlarged, and Adapted to the Later Phases of the Subject. By Rev. R. S. FOSTER, D.D., LL.D. With an Introduction by Bishop JANES. 12mo., pp. 364. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

It is unnecessary for us to commend a work which has for years been accepted by the Church, and which now comes forth renewed by the author's matured thought and experience. Though treating a subject reaching the inmost recesses of mind, Dr. Foster, while writing to be tested by the metaphysician, writes more truly for the popular reader. Avoiding the technics of theology he endeavors to so state his views, like a guiding and loving teacher, as to bring the willing heart to the decisive point of Christian experience. It will be a gratifying consideration that Dr. Foster carries not only his views, but his feelings and his purposes, into the professorship to which he has so worthily been called.

The work will be reviewed in a full article of a future Quarterly.

Anecdotes of the Wesleys. Illustrative of their Character and Personal History. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY. With an Introduction by Rev. J. M'CLINTOCK, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 351. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1869.

A book for the million, and we wish that a million copies could be forthwith sold. The lady author of "The Gates Ajar" tells us that there will be the witticism and the laugh in heaven. And Mr. Wake-

ley loves a smiling, if not a laughing, religion; and loves to present his saints with their most radiant face on, and to send them forth brightening the faces of his million readers.

These anecdotes are arranged in five classes, each class gathered around its own hero; namely, Samuel Wesley, Susannah Wesley, John Wesley, Charles Wesley, and Charles Wesley, Jun. The whole presupposes some interest in the reader for the Wesleys; and, in fact, it is very much a popular history of the wondrous family in sprightly, anecdotal form. This is a memorable history; and we rejoice to send it out in this most popular guise.

The Student's Scripture History.—The Old Testament History. From the Creation to the Return of the Jews from Captivity. Edited by WILLIAM SMITH, LL.D., Classical Examiner in the University of London. With Maps and Woodcuts. 12mo., pp. 715. New York: Harper & Brothers.

We have had occasion to make much use of Dr. Smith's New Testament History, and have found it a remarkable specimen of thorough, ultimate erudition, clothed in a style condensed, clear, and graceful. The present volume we judge, from a cursory examination, to be an equally excellent accompaniment. By nothing in our language can the rugged old volumes of Shuckford and Prideaux be so successfully and relievingly replaced. Both volumes would be valuable occupants of a place in our course of ministerial study.

No Sects in Heaven, and other Poems. By Mrs. E. H. J. CLEAVELAND. 24mo., pp. 95. New York: Clark & Maynard.

A little gem of decidedly piquant and sprightly poetry. The first piece, "No Sects in Heaven," is well conceived in the general, but fails in the details. We do not see why Dr. Watts appears as a "sect," or why he must leave his immortal "hymns and psalms" behind him in going to heaven. We doubt not that not only he, but millions after him, will take them in memory and heart and chant them in the choirs above. Wesley is made to leave behind him his MSS.; but we opine that it is the mere paper of them that is left behind, not their thought and spirit. When such men as Watts and Wesley "rest from their labors," "their works will follow them."

Evening by Evening; or, Readings at Eventide. For the Family or the Closet. By C. H. SPURGEON. 12mo., pp. 400. New York: Sheldon & Co. 1869.

Spurgeon's purpose in the present volume is to furnish a page of stirring religious thought for the hour of evening devotion, as a sequel to his "Morning by Morning." It is a richly evangelical

page he furnishes, going right, with life and power, to the depths of the Christian soul. Hereby you may have such a preacher as Spurgeon pouring his faithful monitions in your ear, tuning and toning the heart to its evening prayer. .

Foreign Theological Publications.

Die letzten Lebenstage Jesu. Ein Biblisch-historischer Versuch. (The Last Days of the Life of Jesus. A Biblical-Historical Treatise.) Von Dr. JOSEPH LANGEN. 8vo., pp. xii, 431. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1864.

Das Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi. Ein Beitrag zur Offenbarungs und Religions Geschichte als Einleitung in die Theologie des Neuen Testaments. (Judaism in Palestine at the Time of Christ. A Contribution to Revealed and Religious History, as an Introduction to the Theology of the New Testament. Von Dr. JOSEPH LANGEN. 8vo., pp. xiv, 528. Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder. 1866.

Professor Langen is one of the principal representatives of Catholicism in Northern Germany, and is not willing that Protestantism should monopolize the defense of Christianity; and both his works may be regarded as among the best contributions of Catholic theology to the department of apologetics. In his Last Days of the Life of Christ he avows his principle that the life of Jesus is the foundation of the whole order of salvation recorded in the New Testament, and the center of the whole history of the world. He takes up the last week in the life of Christ, and treats it historically instead of exegetically. His bias as a Roman Catholic may be seen to advantage in his elaborate treatment of small and unimportant points connected with the scene of the crucifixion. For instance, we have a lengthy discussion of the question whether Christ was crucified perfectly naked or girded about his loins. After an argument covering five pages he concludes that the latter was the case, and is quite right when he says that the ancients were much more delicate in many respects than a large number of their most enthusiastic admirers of our own day. Another question of similar character is, whether three or four nails were used in crucifying Christ. If there were only three, one foot must have been placed above the other, and one nail driven through both; but if there were four, the feet were nailed separately. He finally decides in favor of the latter. The concluding portion of the work, Golgotha and the Holy Sepulcher, is a learned investigation of the localities connected with the closing scenes of Christ's life on earth. The English authorities are liberally quoted, and our American Dr. Robinson is declared to be the most important of all the recent topographers of Jerusalem. He opposes Robinson's view, however, that Aera

was situated in the northwestern part of Jerusalem, and closes his argument by affirming that Roman Catholic tradition is the only authority on which we can rely at the present day in ascertaining the sacred places of Jerusalem.

Dr. Langen, in his Judaism in Palestine at the time of Christ, addresses himself directly to the attacks of Renan, Strauss, Schenkel, and Colani, and raises the objection to them all that their accounts of Christ are utterly unhistorical. In order to prove this he enters into a thorough examination of Judaism at the time when the Messiah made his appearance. The Jewish religious views were neither the starting-point nor the close of a development, but only the element of transition. It is important to see what was the relation borne by the Jewish religious views of Christ's time to the Old and New Testaments, and also to trace the connection of later Judaism with foreign views, and particularly with Hellenism. The Old Testament is intimately related to the New, and each is dependent on the other. But there are such points of difference between them that an apocrypha was necessary to form a connecting link between them, thus uniting the Jewish revelation with the Hellenic thoughts and opinions that began to spread over the Jewish nation at the time of the great Græco-Oriental monarchy. It was the mission of the Romans to connect the whole earth into one great unity, in order to render possible the universal progress of the Gospel. It was the task of the Grecian mind, as it ruled the whole world at the time of Alexander the Great, to constitute an intellectual union for the reception of God's last revelation; while it was the part of the East to enter into connection with Hellenism, so that the Hellenic and Oriental spirit might be propagated over all the world. The book abounds in many good thoughts, and the style is far above the average of Continental theologians, whether Protestant or Catholic. The following is its comprehensive plan: Introduction. I. Historical and Critical Inquiry into the Original Literature; 1. The Canonical Writings of the Old Testament from the Jewish-Hellenic Period; 2. The Non-canonical Books which originated in Palestine; 3. The Non-canonical Books of Egyptian Origin; 4. The later Jewish Literature and the Apocryphal Writings of the New Testament. II. The Religious Views of the Jews of Palestine at the Time of Christ. 1. The Religious Parties in Palestine; 2. The Doctrine of God; 3. The Doctrine of the Logos; 4. The Doctrine of the Holy Spirit; 5. Angelology and Demonology; 6. Anthropology; 7. The Expectation of the Messiah; 8. Eschatology.

Die ältesten Zeugnisse betreffend die Schriften des Neuen Testamentes. (The Oldest Witnesses on the Writings of the New Testament.) Von J. H. SCHOLTEN. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt, von CARL MANCHOT. 8vo., pp. xii, 191. Bremen: H. Gesenius. 1867.

A pointed and outspoken Dutch reply to Tischendorf's "When were our Gospels written?" a work, as is well known, written to prove the correctness of the orthodox view of the early origin of the Gospels. The German translator, Dr. Manchot, is a Bremen Pastor, and an earnest advocate of the new skeptical theology of the Protestant Unions. Of course he is cheek by jowl in sympathy with Dr. Scholten, whom he here makes to speak in German. Scholten, in his preface, aims to destroy Tischendorf's claim to any critical ability whatever, and repeats with great gusto the opinion of Volkmar of Zurich on Tischendorf, that "he is not only not the first man in the whole of the learned world, but that he is a perfect stranger in it." The introduction is a continuation of similar language; it is not only superfluous, however, but worse. The following divisions furnish a clear idea of the scope of the work: 1. The ecclesiastical writers down to A. D. 170; 2. The heretics; 3. The ecclesiastical writers, canons, and translations, A. D. 170–200; 4. Traces of doubt on the apostolic origin of the fourth Gospel at the end of the second century; 5. The Apocryphal Gospels and Pilate's Acta. The surprising conclusions at which Scholten arrives are, that there was no Canon of the Books of the New Testament before A. D. 200; that not a book in the Old Testament was regarded as "Holy Scripture" before A. D. 170 or 175; that, down to the same time, if we except a few of Paul's Epistles and John's Revelation, no author was mentioned by name; that at the time of Papias (A. D. 125–140) oral tradition was much more highly respected than any written document; that it is very uncertain whether Papias, in his reference to Matthew and Mark, had in mind the same Gospels attributed to them which we have; that it is not clear that he had any acquaintance whatever with the third Gospel; that there is no sufficient proof for the existence of our three synoptical Gospels before the time of Justin Martyr; that Paul's writings were not used, or regarded with respect, by the prominent teachers of the Church until the middle of the second century; and that there is no trace of John's Gospel, either in the writings of the principal ecclesiastical authors, or of the Gnostics, or of the first Montanists, until A. D. 170! In fact, if we except a few of Paul's Epistles and the Revelation of John, history has nothing to say on the whole of the New Tes-

tament, and the writings of the New Testament are not by the authors whose names they bear. Without entering into Dr. Scholten's arguments in detail, we may say of his method that it has this fatal defect: he infers from the silence of certain early writers on certain books of the New Testament that such books had no existence whatever. He seems to forget that their existence was assumed as a matter of universal consent. The point of Tischendorf's excellent little work, to which this is a reply—that there is abundant external historical testimony from the last quarter of the first century in favor of the early origin of all the Gospels—still remains unrefuted. To all into whose hands this book may fall we commend a reperusal of the volume which has provoked it, and also of Hofstede de Groot's little volume on Basilides, as the first witness for the age and authority of the New Testament writings, and especially of John's Gospel.

Das Buch der Richter. Mit besonderer Rücksicht auf die Geschichte seiner Auslegung und Kirchlichen Verwendung. (The Book of Judges. With special regard to the History of its Exposition and Ecclesiastical Application.) Von Dr. JOHANNES BACHMAN. 8vo., pp. vi, 242. Berlin: Wiegandt und Grieben. 1868.

This is the first elaborate attempt, since the works of Osiander (Tubingen, 1682) and Sebastian Schmid, (Strasburg, 1684,) to explain the Book of Judges from a decidedly ecclesiastical standpoint. Dr. Bachmann has therefore an essentially different object from Keil (1863) and Paul Cassell, (1865,) as he does not confine himself strictly to an exegetical interpretation of Judges, but bears in mind as well its historical, theological, and ecclesiastical relations. He divides this first installment of his work into two parts, the first being an examination of the scope and extent of the period of the Judges, the position and importance of this period in the history of the Old Testament, the political and religious condition of Israel during the Judges, and the chronology of the period. The second part begins with an introduction (pp. 77–86) to the commentary proper, in which the views of numerous exegetical writers on the dates and events described in Judges are carefully sifted. One of the mooted questions is the exact date of the events recounted in the first chapter of Judges. A number of Catholic expositors, and recently Hengstenberg, place all of them in the life-time of Joshua. Dr. Bachmann enters fully into this question, and decides that a portion of these events took place after Joshua's death. The most plausible ground which he gives is, that the general condition of the people in the

first chapter of Judges is that of a people without a head. The commentary opens with a parallel between the beginnings of the Books of Joshua and Judges. The former commences with an account of the death of Moses, and the latter with one of Joshua. After the death of Moses the Lord *speaks* to Joshua, but after the death of Joshua the children of Israel *inquire* of the Lord. The beginning of Joshua refers to the essential equality of the period of Joshua with the Mosaic, of which it is a conclusion; but in the beginning of Judges we find a broad chasm between the closing of one period and the dawn of the new one. In the former God continues his revelation uninterruptedly, but in the latter there is a period of quiescence, which calls out more strongly than ever the human activity of the people.

The work gives promise of being a valuable contribution to exegetical theology. We must withhold an opinion on it as a commentary until the other parts shall have made their appearance, for the present only takes us through the first three chapters of Judges. Of the publishers, Messrs. Wiegandt and Grieben, we cannot speak too highly. They publish an excellent class of works, and are one of the unhappily small class in Germany who will issue nothing but evangelical books. We wish all publishers had as much *conscience* in their acceptance of MSS. for publication.

History, Biography, and Topography.

Chips from a German Workshop. By MAX MÜLLER, M. A., Fellow of All Souls College, Oxford. Vol. I, Essays on the Science of Religion. Vol. II, Essays on Mythology, Traditions, and Customs. 12mo. In two volumes, pp. 374, 402. New York: Charles Scribner & Co.

Some fourteen hundred years before the blessed Advent, near the epoch when Moses was leading forth the Exodus and composing the Pentateuch, the Aryan race, residing upon the table-lands east of the Caspian, were pouring forth those rhythmical compositions which formed both their psalm book and bible, and which have come down to the present age under the title of the RIG-VEDA. This fact has a stirring interest to us and the peoples of modern Europe; for these Aryans were kin with us, as sons of Japhet; and in fact this very word veda—akin with the Greek *οἶδα*, and (by an interchange of v and w) with *wit*, *wist*, and *wisdom*—is radically an English word. This Rig-Veda or *Song-lore*, in a racial point of view, is our bible; and, in placing ourselves under the guidance of the Hebrew canon, we are Japhet sitting

in the tents of Shem. But Japhet, though physiologically far the more manly race, is less intuitive and spiritual, and hence he was not chosen to be the official exponent of the Infinite, or the progenitor of the Incarnate. The Veda, though intensely interesting as the natural and simple utterance of the childhood of our race, and furnishing a few specimens of lofty and devout inspiration, is for the most part a mere mass of earthly and secular twaddle, the prattle not only of childhood but of childishness. The body, of one thousand and twenty-eight songs, is not, like the Old Testament, impregnated with God, and it is only a rare exception that rises into companionship with the Psalms of David, or tells of immortality and retribution.

The Aryan had not yet produced that class of composition in which Japhet's genius has since shone so resplendently—accurate consecutive history, reproducing to the present the realities of the past. So that we know with little distinctness when it was that the Aryan adjourned from his first known abode into India. Nor can we trace how, from the primitive simplicity of the Vedic theology, there arose, under the name of Brahmanism, the most iron hierarchy the world has ever known. Talk of American slavery as *caste;* talk of feudalism, papacy, any thing elsewhere in history! These were all democracies compared with this most intensified gradation of despotisms. Underneath the whole structure, of course, lay the luckless "colored man," not only as "nigger" but as reptile and devil; against whom hatred most diabolical was a divine duty, and imprecations were chanted as divinely inspired.

At length against this despotism a protest arose. More than five hundred years before Christ, Sakya-Muni, a beautiful young prince of India, was from his childhood endowed with a wonderful insight into the perfect unreality of earthly things. Princedom, power, beauty, wealth, he saw to be, as they are, momentary, shadowy, vanishing, *nothing.* And that same powerfully intuitive eye that so vividly *knew* this *nothing*, sought, with earnestness and ceaseless unrest, for the REALITY. It perpetually asked that solemn question, put by a brother Aryan, in a later age, to the divine Shemite, WHAT IS TRUTH? Six years he subjected himself under the iron ritualism of the Brahmans, and decided that ritualism could not disclose the divine secret. He resorted to the severest fastings, but found that though mortifications could subdue the passions and clarify the intellect they could disclose no revelation. At length the day came. It was not that, like Wesley, his "heart was strangely warmed" by the

divine fire, but his head was illumined by the divine light, and his eye looked straight upon *Truth*, and saw it!! Thereby, no longer a doubter, an inquirer, he became a BUDDHA, a *boder* or *knower;* for here, too, we have an English word, *bode*, (as in fore-*bode*,) but in the stronger sense of *know*. He sprang forth—a *preacher;* fascinating and eloquent, unsurpassed by any Whitefield or Summerfield, gathering crowds of hearers, thousands of followers, menacing Brahmanism with overthrow, and promising to become the sole apostle and prophet of India. After having yielded for long years, Brahmanism at last made an overwhelming rally, and drove Buddhism from India, to spread over Eastern Asia, winning and partially elevating one third of the human race.

The doctrines which so magnetized and still entrance these millions recognize no supreme personal God of all, and as the highest boon for the most perfect piety promise the attainment of—annihilation! The Buddha, Sakya-Muni, saw a universal fatalistic system in existence, ruled with a most complex system of necessary laws. In that system all phenomenal existence was synonymous with misery, and release from existence was the highest attainment. Why not then commit suicide? Alas, that would produce only a change, not a termination of being—a leap from the frying-pan into the fire. For then we should only transmigrate, through various animal forms, during the ages, our moral imperfections producing bodily deformities and degradations. The only escape was *Nirvana*—the *blowing out*, as of a candle. Yet whether the Buddha really taught actual annihilation is a greatly debated query among the Sanscrit masters. Max Müller takes the affirmative; but also maintains that his disciples, unable to endure the awful dogma, subsequently translated Nirvana into blissful quietude. The truth may be, that as Herbert Spencer maintains that his Unknown Absolute possesses not intelligence, but may possess some inconceivable attribute infinitely superior to intelligence, so Nirvana may utterly exclude existence, but include an inconceivable *something infinitely superior to existence!* But as it took the enlightened eye of Buddha himself to cognize this Nirvana, probably no human language could convey it to ordinary mortal conception. It is vain then to discuss; no one can understand Nirvana until he attains the Buddhic eye and sees it.

Even in the primitive ages, before the Aryans migrated from their northern home, there arose the sect of Zarathrusta or Zoroaster, who aspired to a lofter theism and a more spiritual religion than was taught by the Vedic faith. They too can be traced as

descending into India, and thence moving eastward into Persia, where they became the predominant sect. They separated from the primitive stock later than the sections who migrated westward to form the future nations of Europe, whose sons we are; for their language, the Zend, is a nearer sister of the Sanscrit than any European tongue. These spiritual religionists were severely orthodox, for they use the names of the Vedic gods to designate their devils. Their sacred canon, the Zend Avesta, is still extant in a form more or less authentic, containing the doctrines of the Zoroastrians, though not the work of Zoroaster. The fancy of the Aryan was ever fascinated with the element of *Light*, and thence the Zoroastrian held it, in the form of flame and fire, to be the emblem and essence of the good and the divine, in profound contrast with Darkness, the identical of evil. And this duality is the very soul of the ancient Persian heathendom.

Fifty years ago not a line of the vast literature embraced in the sacred books of the Brahmans, the Buddhists, and the Zoroastrians, the three great Aryan religions, could be read by any European scholar. The learned Frenchman, Eugene Burnouf, was the founder of the Zend philology. In 1846 a young German attended the lectures of Burnouf, and was fired with the ambition to make it his life-task to strike to the fountain head, and translate the entire Rig-Veda; a work requiring a stupendous amount of study, labor, and expense, to result in six thousand pages of quarto, of which not a hundred copies were likely to be sold. Coming to London, by the mediation of Chevalier Bunsen, the Board of Directors of the East India Company nobly undertook to defray the expense, and our young German, MAX MÜLLER, set himself to work. Four volumes were completed in 1862. "Now," said Bunsen to the young laborer, "you have got a work for life. But mind, let us have from time to time some chips from your workshop." These volumes, sent us by our friend Scribner, are the result of these occasional furnishings; and two baskets full of more nutritious "chips" it has seldom been our lot to nibble.

The Vedas, though almost adored by the Brahman and his adherents, as embodying the divine mind and insuring salvation to those who study them, have been seldom found in India, and are generally unread even by the priests who found their authority upon them. It is a wonder to the Hindoos themselves that their sacred books, their sole absolute authority in religion, are better understood on the Thames than by the Ganges. The western Japhet is altogether ahead of his eastern brother. The people

mutter the Vedic hymns by pure unintelligent rote, while the listening European scholar alone recognizes the sacred syllables of three thousand years ago. And, what is more to the point, the missionary, like Luther, is able to appeal to the sacred text in condemnation of the present tenets and practices of the Church. He has amazed the pundits by showing that neither caste, nor prohibition of second female marriages, nor widow-burning, have, even by their own standard, any divine authority.

Max Müller studies and writes of philology as a handmaid to what he considers the most important of all histories, the history of religion in all its forms throughout the human race. In accordance with the views of our best Arminian doctors, Episcopius, Curcellaeus, Wesley, and Fletcher, he holds that elements of truth pervade the world, and that every probationary being has his light and his possibility of salvation. Of his erudition, his eloquence, and his noble spirit we have spoken fully and freely in former notices. These qualities make their full display in these fascinating pages.

Prehistoric Nations; or, Inquiries Concerning some of the Great Peoples and Civilizations of Antiquity, and their Probable Relation to a still Older Civilization of the Ethiopians or Cushites of Arabia. By JOHN D. BALDWIN, A. M. 12mo., pp. 414. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Mr. Baldwin belongs not to the Niebuhr school of historical criticism, but to the grandest order of the Bunsen chronologists. Rejecting with disdain the Darwinian deduction of humanity from monkeydom, he nevertheless accepts the theory of human development through the longest geological ages; ages, however, not so much of dreary anthropoid degradation as of lengthened and magnificent civilization. He is cheerful and genial in temper. The only creature he utterly hates and expectorates upon is the "impious" race of Biblical commentators, who mendaciously pretend that there is any chronology whatever in the sacred text. Having exterminated this vile species of cephalopods, with all their chronological romances, he has no issue with the Bible or religion, and utters not one irreverent word that we have found of either. Having overleaped these narrow and factitious limits, he springs forth, like a wing-footed steed, ramping over the vast and magnificent expanse of historical eternities. He measures you off ages and æons with all the facility of a dry goods clerk, knowing that he has the amplest resources behind him.

His method may be illustrated by the instance of Egypt. The monuments verified by Manetho carry us vast ages beyond the

Usherian epoch of creation. But the first monuments demonstrate a proud civilization, requiring antecedent ages of development since the historical cities of Egypt were founded. But these historical cities are based upon the surface of an alluvium which has required long geological ages to deposit; and these deposits, when perforated, reveal proofs of civilized inhabitants down to the very bottom of the series of alluvial layers. There need, therefore, be no minute quarrel between the Hebrew and Septuagint chronologies. Egypt has been humanly inhabited during the large share of the tertiary period. And this process of calculation can be repeated with variations upon most sections of the globe. He can run us back through the historical period; then back through the mythological period, which, however nebulous, is still the shadow of true history; and finish off with the iron, brass, and stone ages of geological man.

Your Bible Dictionary will tell you that Tyre is one of the most ancient cities of the world. But Mr. Baldwin will further tell you how little aware these dictionary gentlemen are that before Tyre was born Sidon had had ages of growth, ages of zenith, and ages of decline. Then back of Sidon, Berytus, the modern Beyroot, had its threefold ages. And back of Berytus was the old dynasty of Joppa, whose king was Kepheus, the grandfather of ages.

And these Phœnicians were a part of that great Æthiopic or Cushite race, which is Mr. Baldwin's special favorite, the flower and glory of the prehistoric ages. This illustrious progeny, be sure, are no negroes—though Mr. Baldwin launches a lightning fork at all defenders of slavery—but of a stately ruddy race. And the term *Æthiop* does not signify *burnt face*, (as Mr. Blyden lately told our readers,) but *bright face*, and indicates the true Caucasian bloom. The genetic center of these glorious Cushites was Central Arabia; but thence they spread, and covering the large share of the globe, left the magnificent monuments of their genius and power in those stupendous architectures that have been the unimitated problems and wonders of all historic ages. These architectures have lately been disclosed by Mr. Palgrave, as now standing in solitary state in Central Arabia; a region, until his visit, supposed to have been a blank desert. But they are known in Greece as Cyclopean; in Ceylon, in Syria, in Egypt; and in Britain as the Stonehenge. Sometimes we have magnificent temples carved, as Canova carved a statue, from the single solid rock. Sometimes they are gigantic masses of rock, piled up into vast structures by machines unknown to modern art. Of all these,

history furnishes no record; and they bear tokens of existence earlier than any historic commencement.

> Antiquity appears to have begun
> Long after their primeval race was run.

And now, what can the commentators (for we belong, alas! to that irredeemable race) say to all these disclosures? Or, how have we the heart to disperse to the winds Mr. Baldwin's arabesque air-castles? Above all, how could we, with relentless steel pen and slaughterous ink-shed, endure to exterminate this wonderful race of prehistoric white-faced Æthiopians? Our compunctions are, indeed, somewhat soothed by the apparent possibilities that they never had any existence; and that after all, the only really used-up man might be Mr. Baldwin, who seems to be the actual Adam in whom this whole race is seminally concentrated, and in whom they must live or die.

If any patient of ours, however, were bitten by Mr. Baldwin's theory, and the virus were taking dangerously, we might, for the nonce, pursue the following treatment: First, for the primary geological paroxysm a few of Dr. Jewell's anti-geological pills, an installment of which was done up in a late number of our Quarterly. For the mythological stage we would give a few doses of Max Müller's philological analyses, showing how easily whole groups of myths have been formed out of etymologies and metaphors. As for the Egyptological period, Sir Cornwall Lewis might furnish a few febrifuges. As to the dim twilight of written semi-history a little more Max; for instance, the following prescription:

> To extract consecutive history from those recollections is simplyi mpossible. All is vague, contradictory, miraculous, absurd. *Consecutive history is all a modern idea*, of which few only of the ancient nations had any conception.
>
> Now and then, it is true, one imagines one sees certain periods and landmarks, but in the next page all is chaos again. It may be difficult to confess that with all the traditions of the early migrations of Cecrops and Danaus into Greece, with the Homeric poems of the Trojan War, and the genealogies of the ancient dynasties of Greece, we know nothing of Greek history before the Olympiads, and very little even then. *Yet the true historian does not allow himself to indulge in any illusions of this subject, and he shuts his eyes even to the most plausible reconstructions.*
>
> The same applies with a force increased a hundredfold to the ancient history of the aboriginal races of America, and the sooner this is acknowledged the better for the credit of American scholars. Even the traditions of the migrations of the Chichimus, Colhuas, and Nahaus, which form the staple of all American antiquarians, are no better than the Greek traditions about Pelasgians, Æolians, and Ionians; and *it would be a mere waste of time to construct out of such elements a systematic history, only to be destroyed again sooner or later by some Niebuhr, Grote, or Lewis.*

And as for the extent of real human history, which a healthy belief, tempered with a healthy skepticism, can accept, take the following dose of a writer perfectly familiar with all the most

modern developments from the various ancient inscriptions, Dr. George Rawlinson:

On the whole, it would seem that no profane history of an authentic character mounts up to an earlier date than the twenty-seventh or twenty-eighth century before Christ. Egyptian history begins about B. C. 2700; Chinese, perhaps, in B. C. 2637; Babylonian B. C. 2458; Assyrian in B. C. 1273; Greek, with the Trojan War, B. C. 1250, or, perhaps with Hercules, a century earlier: Lydian in B. C. 1229; Phœnician about the same period; Carthaginian in B. C. 880; Macedonian about B. C. 720; Median not before B. C. 708; Roman in the middle of the same century; Persian in B. C. 558; Indian about B. C. 350; Mexican and Peruvian not until after our era. The oldest human constructions remaining upon the earth are the Pyramids, and these date from about B. C. 2400; the brick temples of Babylonia seem, none of them, earlier than B. C. 2300; B. C. 2000 would be a high date for the first Cyclopean walls in Greece or Italy; the earliest rock inscriptions belong to nearly the same period. If man has existed upon the earth ten or twenty thousand years, as M. Bunsen supposes, why has he left no vestiges of himself till within the last five thousand years? *

We do not say that these furnish the last words on this subject. Religion and history can calmly wait the most ultimate researches. We may, perhaps, bequeath the discussion to investigators yet unborn. Yet we can afford to feel that the conclusion will leave the foundations of a devout religious faith undisturbed. And so, for aught we know, thinks Mr. Baldwin.

Literature and Fiction.

The Gates Ajar. By ELIZABETH STUART PHELPS. 16mo., pp. 248. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co.

Are we to be fitted for the future heaven, or is the future heaven to be precisely adjusted to us? Smitten by the sudden loss of her beloved brother Roy, Mrs. Phelps seems to require that God, upon penalty of forfeiting his character for goodness, restore *him* to *her* pure human affections, and will not consent to be so reconstructed as to become supremely blessed on a higher than the sisterly plane. Heaven must be suited to *her*, and to *her* present mood; not she to a transcendent sphere, and far more glorious moods. She writes this beautiful parable to show that heaven is the renewal of our present feelings, with their due gratifications, in a more perfect state. There will be the jest and the laugh, the arts and the graces, the fields and the houses, with all the tender related affections, with their more perfect gratifications.

* The "flint weapons in the drift," and Mr. Horner's Egyptian pottery, will be said to be such vestiges. But the extremely doubtful age of the latter has been well shown by the "Quarterly Review," (No. 210, pp. 419–421.) The value of the former as evidence of extreme human antiquity must depend on two questions, neither of which has yet been solved. 1. Are they of the same age as the formation in which they are found? and 2. Is that formation itself of an antiquity very remote? It has been clearly shown by a writer in "Blackwood's Magazine," (No. 540, pp. 422–439,) that the high antiquity of the drift is at any rate "not proven."

How all this can be fully carried out she fails to show. Grant that *her* brother will be restored to *her*. But for that saintly widow of a depraved husband and mother of five depraved children deceased, what comfort has this parable? All the fibers of *her* human affections tie *her* to the children of sin and hell. For *her* we must furnish either Universalism, or the doctrine of a substitution of higher affections than belonged to her earthly relationships. And how many of us are there whose affections of marriage or consanguinity would not demand the admission of some one of the finally wicked into heaven?

Mrs. Phelps seems to evade these difficulties, and triumphantly flaunts her brilliant heresies into the face of her village Church, frightening the Deacon and getting preached at by the Minister, so as to raise a very lively ferment in the little flock of orthodoxy. It is even asserted in the advertisements that her book is under the orthodox ban, and so is glorified with the honors, not only of heterodoxy, but of virtual martyrdom. This clever play-off of heresy and martyrdom, however, is all a skillful Yankee device. Mrs. Phelps has slyly inserted in the very center of her book a proviso which amply saves its orthodoxy by solving the mysteries of her parable. For what is the meaning of these palaces, and parlors, and pianos, and pictures, and poetries, and puns in heaven? "I don't suppose (p. 144) that the houses will be made of oak and pine nailed together, for instance. But I hope for heavenly types of nature and art. *Something that will be to us what these are now.*" O that is it, then; in the author's own italics. So that, after all, all she means is, that a higher Roy may come to her higher affections. Now had Mrs. P. frankly told the Deacon and the Minister this, she would have saved them from their horrors; but her book would have lost perhaps some notoriety, and have gone into a very quiet public acceptance as a beautiful but not perfectly consistent apologue.

Yet we thank Mrs. P. for thus tenderly impressing upon us the feeling that we are still to be human in heaven. We have inherited from our Methodist fathers a human Jesus, a human heaven, a humanized religion. We thank Mrs. Phelps for illustrating to the popular feeling how beautifully the human heart demands the Divine-human now and forever. Our Puritan friends might have learned this mellow humaneness of piety, if not from Wesley, at least from Whitefield. Mr. Wakeley, in his Wesley Anecdotes, (noticed on another page) tells the story in effect as follows: A narrow-hearted Calvinist asked Mr. Whitefield if he expected ever to see John Wesley in heaven. Yes, replied the great-hearted Calvinist,

unless he is so near the throne that I cannot get sight of him. We cannot, therefore, concede to Mrs. P. any consistent claim to heterodoxy. We do not allow her the penalty she inflicts on Dr. Bland's sermon.

My Recollections of Lord Byron, and those of the Eye-witnesses of his Life. By the Countess GUICCIOLI. 12mo., pp. 670. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

To Byron neither the literary nor religious world has done any injustice. His rare gifts, his noble birth, his disastrous career, are all understood. His imperial ideality, his exquisite sense and power of painting even moral beauty, the unaffected sadness that he breathes through the productions of his genius, who does not feel? We place him in the first rank of English poets. But then can genius, with all its gifts and fascinations, reverse the eternal laws of truth and righteousness? The last sad fact in the history of his moral being is this: that the defender of his Christian and conscientious character is the Italian woman with whom he lived years of adultery.

Periodicals.

Annual Report of the Boston Theological Seminary, 1869. Riverside Press. 1869.
Catalogue and Circular of the Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Illinois. October, 1868. Chicago. 1868.
Catalogue of the Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N. J., 1869.

It is a significant fact, that as soon as a number of eminent laymen came into council on the subject there was a very hearty concurrence in the policy of establishing schools of Christian learning for the educating of our future ministry. On this subject we ever believed that our people was quite abreast with, if not ahead of, our ministry. Our hearers were not much better satisfied with our extant preaching than the preachers themselves. Still, it is with earnest solicitude that our ministry and laity reflect on the fact that we are making anew the experiment whether a scholarly ministry can be a truly stirring popular ministry. We cannot, indeed, do our part in resisting the incoming tide of scholarly infidelity without furnishing the means of the highest religious and theological scholarship. We must have a class of profound Christian scholars as writers and professors. But scholasticism in the pulpit is forever feeble and unpopular. An over-drilled and thoroughly manufactured ministry loses its popular power. Even our most intelligent people always will prefer an untrained yet gifted preacher, warm with his first love, in whom religion is a reality and a power, rather

than a titled B.D. or D.D. with whom it is a profound abstraction and a most accurate science. It is a ruinous bargain if, for theological erudition, we barter away our popular power. We had better transform our theological schools into orphan asylums.

There are, we think, against this result, three important precautions, well realized by our present professors. The first is, the cultivation of the highest tone of piety; the second is, the engaging in the active work of the ministry during the course; and the third is, the uncompromising maintenance of the preaching, as a lawyer pleads and a senator harangues, without manuscript. On the first point our earnest doctrine of entire consecration should rule, as we believe it does, in our seminaries in supreme practical and revival power. On the second point, a great advantage it is that our seminaries be really or virtually, as we believe that of Boston is, in the heart of a great city, where the active, popular work of exhorting, preaching, and revivals shall both keep the soul alive and spread the ruling power of the institution over the city. Heathen missioning, a plenty of it, might be found a few blocks from the seminary halls. On the third point, particularly emphasized at the Drew, the example and precept of all our princes in Israel, our bishops, our professors, and our eminent doctors, should be exclusively, as it is mainly, on the side of extemporaneous preaching.

We cannot quite agree with those who would abolish those titles of reverence which ever seemed to us so becoming to many past great men of the Christian Church. The prefixes which the Christian ages have furnished to even our ordinary names are, we take it, not a sign of servility, but of benign courtesy. When Christ verbally forbade the title of *Rabbi*, and *Master*, and *Father*, he did not forbid the mere prefix syllables, nor the courtesy they express in modern days, but that subjection of the soul to the dicta of those absolute dogmatists who overruled reason and truth, by which Jewish tradition excluded Christianity. If it was the mere literal epithet that Christ forbade, then the Boston student must refuse to address his chief teacher as Dr. Warren, or Professor Warren, or Rev. Warren, or even Mr. [master] Warren, but blankly as Warren. But who can suppose that our Lord gave a precept requiring this mere adoption of the old Roman in preference to the modern style of address? It is to fling contempt upon Jesus to charge him with so puerile an ethic. Knowing as we did not only the high-toned scholarship of Dr. Warren, but his high-toned love of scholarly forms, and predilection for making the

scholarly impression, we would not have predicted the abnegation of this custom in that quarter.

Both the eastern seminaries have drawn forth the chartered outlines of a University. We coincide with those who view with profound regret the multiplication of nominal universities, to the manifest depreciation of all higher education. This depreciation becomes all the more disparaging from the fact that genuine American universities are looming up in stupendous proportions, flinging us by the comparison into a still more pitiable background. The policy of encouraging every academy to start up into a nominal university, and of scattering small pocket colleges broadcast over the country, is disobedience to the pronounced voice of the Church, a disgrace to her character, a waste of her resources, and treason to her best interests. If, indeed, some enthusiastic and munificent patron, or number of patrons, were ready, like Cornell, with liberal heart and purse, at once, and during his own living years, to endow and rear a university forthwith to vie with the tallest of the land, he might put it just where he pleased, and we would consent that half a dozen small affairs should repose under its shadow. And the fact that educational rationalism, a separation of higher education from religion, with a verging toward Atheism, promises to reign in institutions like old Harvard and young Cornell emphasises the call for a Methodist university of the highest grade But an institution with less than a million endowment, yet plastered with the name University, is in danger of soon feeling oppressed by the title it bears.

The criticism upon the terms *Halieutics* and *Kerykties*, terms imported from Germany, have not been of the most intelligent kind, and yet are not without their basis. The German technics, introduced during the last thirty years, are no improvement to our language. They are clumsy, crowd out appropriate native terms, and come in with bad associations. It is not pleasant to learn that Christian defenses are all *apologetic*, and Christian truths are all *dogmatic*, and Christian arguments are all *polemic*; that the philosophy of common sense is *empirical*, and that the higher philosophy is barely *rational*. And as to that "word of learned length and thundering sound," *soteriological*, with a body as long as an anaconda's, we would like to take it by the tail and fling it back to Germany. Many technics, therefore, even authorized by their German extraction, are very undesirable accessions.

Laying out of present account our two humble institutes for the Southern freedmen's benefit, we have reason for great gratulation at the aspect presented by our three noble Theological Seminaries.

They are no supposititious affairs. The ripest scholarship of the Church, the best practical ability, the most untiring industry, the worthiest and purest ambition to aid the Church in acquiring a learned, fervent, working ministry, are concentrated at these three foci. Our young ministry will increasingly realize their value, and, aided by an increasing liberality, will gather in larger number to their halls. The Church gives the faculties her fullest confidence; and her prayer and trust is, that their great problem will be conscientiously and successfully wrought.

Juvenile.

We have received from Hitchcock & Walden the following Five Series in red and gold:

Home Circle Library: SERIES I. Beginning Life; Living in Earnest; Counsel to Converts; Young Man's Counselor; Successful Merchant.

SERIES II. Young Lady's Counselor; Path of Life; Friends in Heaven; Early Choice.

SERIES III. Village Blacksmith; Heavenly World; Hester Ann Rogers; Sketches for the Young; Memoirs of Carvosso; Sketches and Incidents.

SERIES IV. Sketches of Pioneer History; Pea Ridge and Prairie Grove; Diary of a Country Pastor; Jottings from Life.

SERIES V. Wesley and his Coadjutors; Asbury and his Coadjutors.

From Perkinpine & Higgins the following:

My Bible Class. With an Essay on Bible-Class Teaching. By a Scripture Teacher. 24mo., pp. 177. Philadelphia; Perkinpine & Higgins.

Rays from the Sun; or, Twelve Lectures from the Bible, for Children and their Teachers. By S. G. GREEN. 24mo., pp. 160. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins.

Crumbs from the Bread of Life; or, Twelve Lectures, illustrating for Children the Leading Points of Evangelical Doctrine. By S. G. GREEN. 24mo., pp. 153. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins.

Bible Portraits; or, Nine short Addresses to Children. With Suggestions to Teachers and Preachers of the Children's Church. By S. G. GREEN. 24mo., pp. 186. Philadelphia: Perkinpine & Higgins.

Pamphlets.

Woman as God made her; The True Woman. By Rev. J. D. FULTON, of Tremont Temple. To which is added, Woman vs. Ballot. 24mo., pp. 48. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

Mr. Fulton is generally a graceful writer and an eloquent speaker, with his heart on the right side, and we trust a noble future before him. His arguments, however, upon female suffrage, such as that its advocates are generally infidel, are rather *ad captandum* than logical. We had supposed that in the Baptist Church female suffrage had long been a right, safely and properly exercised. He overlooks the fact that our Methodist General Conference, by a large majority, gave to females the ballot on one of our most fundamental constitutional questions.

We would suggest to Mr. Fulton that there is no such English word as *helpmeet.* We are, moreover, sorry to find him saying, "We have never supposed it the imperative duty of every man to vote. And we know that many of the most intelligent and upright do not vote." The man who claims to be upright and refuses to vote falsifies his claim. He surrenders our nation over to the rule of the wicked, and is a traitor to his country and his God. He is responsible for all the "nastiness," etc., which Mr. Fulton ascribes to our elections, and which the presence of woman might purify.

Mr. Fulton says, but does not prove, that "the right to vote implies the right to rule, and to take the presidential chair." He might as well say that the right to refuse an offered husband implied the right to select her man. A woman, even if she never ought to rule, ought to have some voice in the selection of her public as of her domestic "lord." Mr. Fulton has no gift for making a watch; but he would perhaps claim some right to choose his own watchmaker. St. Paul probably tolerated the four daughters of his friend Philip at Cæsarea, who were *prophetesses;* and also his friend Phœbe, of Rome, who was a *deaconess;* and yet he suffered not a woman to *teach* amid the wrangling contests of the synagogue, nor to usurp authority; nor have we in the New Testament any official *eldress* or *bishopess.* And all these distinctions are quite as nice as the difference between voting for a ruler and being elected to rule.

We neither fear, expect, or desire to see woman filling high military, civil, or ecclesiastical office, for which she is in the general physiologically and psychologically unfitted. Offices *under* government requiring a dexterous tact in management she may discharge, not posts of authority requiring bold statesmanship. But a vote is a quiet exercise of a humble privilege, partaking as much of the nature of a petition as of a mandate. Ruling ability is a specialty; its possessor is selected on principles of particular expediency; voting is a rightful universality, appertaining to all whose destinies are at stake, and are competent to act.

We have for many years felt it our most solemn duty, having for self and descendants a deep interest in the welfare of our country, to go to the polls and deposit our vote. We should do so for example to others, even if we gave a blank vote. We have not found at the polls that "nastiness" of which Mr. Fulton speaks. We have passed through New York city on the most important election days, and, save that the ordinary business of life went on, it has usually been as quiet as a Sabbath. The voting room has, indeed, been of the plainest order. This bare plainness is doubtless the result of the fact that men of false refinement leave the polls under

the care of the coarser part of community. If we were all expecting that our wives and daughters would be present to take share they would, doubtless, be improved in style. And then what impropriety or immodesty there could be in the most refined lady's walking forward and depositing a paper ballot in a box surpasses our perspicacity to discover. She could do it as gracefully, as femininely, as she now presides at our domestic boards, or stands in a quartette at church, or electrifies the house from the stage like a Siddons or a Jenny Lind.

Miscellaneous.

A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents; or, The New York House of Refuge and its Times. By B. K. PEIRCE, D. D., Chaplain of the New York House of Refuge. 8vo., pp. 384. New York: Appleton & Co. 1869.

It was about fifty years ago that James W. Gerard, a young lawyer of New York, having defended a young culprit really guilty of larceny, was led to reflect on the awful dilemma in which his little client, with a large class of similar cases, was involved. If acquitted, as he really was, he was likely, as he really did, to become emboldened by impunity, to engage in a career of crime; if condemned, he was associated with criminals in prison of the hardest depravity and became equally hardened. Mr. Gerard was already associated with a body of men whose names are enrolled in the records of New York philanthropy in a Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, and he brought before that body a report upon the subject of juvenile reform which his family preserve as a permanent memento of a great fact. The Society gradually entered upon the enterprise of constructing an institution in which should be blended in due proportions the elements of prison, family, school, work-house, and church, all which elements were to co-operate for a reconstruction of the juvenile character.

By favor of Congress they purchased, at a reduced sum, the National Arsenal at the fork of the Bloomingdale and old Boston Post roads, and so refitting it as to accommodate a large number of occupants, placed the establishment under a wise superintendence, and made a most successful experiment. Entirely apart from politics, the men who were engaged in the enterprise, attracted by no selfish ends but inspired with an unpaid philanthropy, were purely self-selected, and were of the true elect. In due time the population extending up town, and streets threatening to cut across the grounds, our institute, like Daniel Boone, was compelled to seek refuge in a place remote from encroaching civilization, and the

spot they abandoned became a centre of social splendor, the residence of "Flora M'Flimsey of Madison Square." They obtained possession of the hospital called Bellevue, looking down upon the East River, but the same overflow of population compelled another move. Our institute at last took flight beyond Hell Gate, and landed on an elysian isle—transformed from crude nature by the hand of art into elysian—in the East River, Randall's Island, where it stands forever a prison yet a palace.

Dr. Peirce says:

> Few sites are more charming now than the noble buildings, surrounded with their handsomely-arranged grounds and fruitful gardens—a very happy symbol of the work upon which the Society for half a century has been engaged. Her grounds have been recovered from stony wastes, and from low and unwholesome marshes, and are now both beautiful and useful. The inmates of her houses have been often the hardest and most unpromising children of the land, taken from the lowest haunts, and themselves noxious members of the community. Many of them are now an honor to her culture, and to the State that has generously offered the means both for the physical and moral changes which have been wrought out here.

Apart from the benevolent tenor of his topic, Dr. Peirce's pages are fascinating as a romance. The volume presents a beautiful advance of successful history; it abounds with portraitures of noble character, men memorable in our best New York history, and it is interspersed with anecdotes so blending humor and pathos as to compel at once the laugh and the tear. The institute, by its pure benevolent character, and the most scrupulous wisdom of its management, has won the heart wherever it has approached. Men who have not the spirit to enter the enterprise find the soft side of their nature touched when it comes in contact with them. When it comes into court the stern judge flings all the presumptions of law into its favor; and when its prerogatives are in question, successive State governors of different parties screw their own powers to the narrowest dimensions to give it a wide berth. Above all, it is exempt from that fearful anomaly that threatens the ruin of our republic, the appointment of its officers, not for their moral fitness, but for their services to a political party.

With the history of this institute Dr. Peirce has happily blended notices of cognate philanthropic effort from the time that Howard was inspired to start upon his divine mission to the present day, so as to render it a true manual of humanitarianism. And it is a humanitarianism of a soft, silent, dewy nature. It stands in beautiful, modest contrast to that fierce and fiery humanitarianism bequeathed us by the terrible yet necessary antislavery battle, which now "raves, recites, and maddens through the land," costing nothing but vociferation, unpacking itself in satires and invectives, and

leaving us in doubt whether the philanthropy is any thing more than a cloak for the infidelity. The volume opens histories and expands views into which it becomes every Christian minister to enter. And we could wish that the book could be so abridged, by omission of its appendix and other less necessary parts, as to furnish a very cheap edition for wide spread circulation.*

The Symbolism of Free-Masonry: Illustrating and Explaining its Science and Philosophy, its Legends, Myths, and Symbols. By ALBERT MACKEY, M.D., Author of "Lexicon of Freemasonry," "Text-Book of Masonic Jurisprudence," etc., etc. 12mo., pp. 364. New York: Clark & Maynard. 1869.

The profoundest secret in masonry—one, indeed, unknown to itself—is the origin of its own existence. Its claim of descent from the Ancient Mysteries, or from any of the esoteric institutes of antiquity, is, of course, transparent "bunkum." There, however, is no doubt that Sir Christopher Wren was grand master of an association of which the present body is a descendant. And Wren's association was probably slenderly connected with the associations of architects which existed in the Middle Ages, by whose genius and labor the grand piles of Christian antiquity were erected. To these associations of artisans the highest dignitaries of Church and State were connected in an honorary way, so that in those ages it possessed both a manual and an intellectual class of members. Gradually it lost its actual connection with the manual trade, and became purely a theoretical institute, a mutual-aid society.

No sensible man supposes this association to possess any heritage of profound truth unknown to the rest of the world. Taking for its fundamental principles the existence of God and the immortality of the soul, it seeks to impress by significant symbols the lessons of a perfect morality upon the mind, and to require its average practice in its members; so that, without denying a revelation, it is a sort of human Church of natural religion.

* The "Princeton Review" thus very justly characterizes the book: "The lifelong experience of Dr. Peirce, his intimate personal knowledge of the growth of the House of Refuge in New York, and of the reasons which have led to the methods pursued there and elsewhere, and of the comparative merits of each, have given him qualifications for such a work as few possess. The persons, scenes, incidents which he describes, give it much of the charm of romance. The discussions in regard to the "congregate system," which masses large bodies of fallen youth together in reformatories, as compared with the contrary system; the comparison of different systems of training; the views presented as to location, architecture, along with the drawings of the admirable structures on Randall's Island and elsewhere; the summation of the laws, statutes, and judicial decisions on a multitude of points that have emerged in the development of this great charity, with much other valuable matter, render this work an important aid in the solution of some of the more difficult questions in sociology, legislation, and Christian philanthropy."

The immense number of its members who are too wise not to understand what is right, and too just to flagrantly violate it, seems a voucher that it contains nothing atrociously wicked. We could never see any need, certainly, of its binding its members by ferocious oaths to keep its secrets, for it has no immutable secrets to keep. The secrets revealed to-day could be substituted by new-made secrets to-morrow. Ceremonials, trappings, symbols, and signs are pretty much all of secrets it can possess; and these, with its showy externals to impress the popular imagination, and its mutual aids and general benevolences and morals, are all there is to it. Without advising any young man to join a "secret society," and recognizing the liability of every permanent organization to be abused to wrong ends, we see no reason to doubt that as a whole masonry is a beneficent institution.

Dr. Mackey seems at the present time to be the great expositor of Masonry. He writes in a clear, terse, ringing style. For both the outsiders and the insiders this, and a catalogue of masonic books by the same author and publishers, are doubtless standard instructors.

Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of the Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York, and Accompanying Documents, for 1868. Argus Company. Printers, Albany, N. Y.

In our July number for last year the question of the reformation of criminals in our penal institutions was considered, and reference was made to the very valuable contribution of Doctors Wines and Dwight to the material facts and principles involved in the solution of this problem in their volume entitled "Prisons and Reformatories in the United States and Canada," prepared at the instance of the Prison Association. This Association, of which Dr. E. C. Wines is the Corresponding Secretary, has now issued a volume of even greater value in the form of its twenty-fourth annual report. From the cultivated pen of its able Secretary, from the highest authorities upon the subjects discussed in England, France, Denmark, and Russia, and from the most intelligent wardens of prisons and practical writers in our own country, papers have been collected in this volume bearing upon all the related questions of prison discipline, the recovery of criminals from a life of crime, and the reformation of juvenile delinquents. It forms an octavo volume of nearly seven hundred pages, and is a thesaurus of information upon these topics unsurpassed by any American or European treatise. There is a gen-

eral conviction among students in social science that the period has been reached for some radical changes in the administration of criminal law, and for more positive measures to secure the recovery as well as the punishment of those who have become the foes of society by entering upon a life of crime. In almost every civilized nation this question is urging itself upon the consideration of thoughtful men. Perhaps no paper in this volume will give a more grateful surprise to the reader than the elaborate and original discussion of the problem of prison discipline by Count W. Sollohub, of Russia. He will marvel to find such advanced and generous opinions promulgated, and even embodied, in an institution in this Empire. In no country can these well-considered theories of reform in the treatment of crime be more readily tested than in ours; the criminal class has not yet become with us formidable in numbers, or a hopelessly sunken and emasculated body of pariahs, as in the metropolitan cities of Europe, and our mobile form of government easily adapts itself to radical changes. We are now hardly abreast of the advanced experiments in this direction on the Eastern Continent, while our true place is at the head of the column of social reformations. This volume, we trust, will be an efficient aid in securing for us this position, and we commend its admirable and interesting pages to the thoughtful perusal of all in any way connected with the administration of public affairs or the management of prisons and reformatories.

The Wedding Day in all Ages and Countries. By EDWARD J. WOOD. 12mo., pp. 299. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

"Bolingbroke says that marriage was instituted because it was necessary that parents should know certainly their own respective offspring; and that as a woman cannot doubt whether she is the mother of the child she bears, so a man should have all the assurance the law can give him that he is the father of the child reputed to have been begotten by him." This being the natural basis of marriage, the numerical equality of the two sexes, secured by some unknown but established law of nature, demonstrates that polygamy is a crime against nature. And the deep connection of marriage with the individual existence, temporal and eternal, of every member of the race, profoundly suggests a religious sacredness in the formation of the union.

Mr. Wood's book is one of the most entertaining and not least valuable of that class of books which trace a single subject through the changes of human history and the varieties of the race.

Five Acres Too Much. A Truthful Elucidation of the Attractions of the Country, and a Careful Consideration of the Questions of Profit and Loss as involved in Amateur Farming, with much Valuable Advice to those about Purchasing Large or Small Places in the Rural Districts. By ROBERT B. ROOSEVELT. 12mo., pp. 296. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

A clever satire on cockney farming.

The Gospel Treasury and Expository and Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in the Words of the Authorized Version. Having Scripture Illustrations, Expository Notes from the most Approved Commentators, etc., etc. Compiled by ROBERT MIMPRISS. Two volumes in one. 12mo., pp. 519. New York: M. W. Dodd.

Much valuable matter in small space.

The Life and Epistles of St. Paul. By Rev. W. J. CONYBEARE, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and Rev. J. S. HOWSON, M.A., Principal of the Collegiate Institution, Liverpool. The only complete and unabridged edition. Two vols in one. 8vo., pp. 556. New York: Charles Scribner & Co. 1869.

Kathleen. By the Author of "Raymond's Heroine." 8vo., pp. 183. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

That Boy of Norcott's. By CHARLES LEVER, Author of "The Bramleighs of Bishop's Folly," etc. With illustrations. 8vo., pp. 73. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

He Knew He Was Right. By ANTHONY TROLLOPE. With illustrations by Marcus Stone. 8vo., pp. 172. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Virginians. A Tale of the Last Century. By WM. MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, Author of "Vanity Fair," etc. With illustrations by the Author. 8vo., pp. 411. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Breaking a Butterfly; or, Blanche Ellerlie's Ending. By the Author of "Guy Livingstone," "Sword and Gown," etc. Illustrated. 8vo., pp. 139. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

The Dodge Club; or, Italy in 1859. By JAMES DE MILLE, Author of "Cord and Creese." With one hundred illustrations. 8vo., pp. 133. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Vanity Fair. A Novel without a Hero. By WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERAY, Author of "The Newcomes," "Pendennis," etc. With illustrations by the Author. 8vo., pp. 332. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

The Sacristan's Household. A Story of Lippe Detmold. By the author of "Mabel's Progress." With illustrations by C. G. Buch. 12mo., paper cover, pp. 158. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

The Victorious. A Poem on the Assassination of President Lincoln. By M. B. BIRD, Wesleyan Missionary, Port-au-Prince, Hayti. 12mo., pp. 57. Kingston, Jamaica: M. De Cordova, M'Dougall & Co. 1866.

Malbone. An Old Port Romance. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON. 12mo., pp. 244. Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869.

Three Seasons in European Vineyards. Treating of Vine Culture; Vine Disease and its Cure; Wine Making and Wines, Red and White; Wine Drinking as affecting Health and Morals. By WILLIAM J. FLAGG. 12mo., pp. 332. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Fishing in American Waters. By GENIO C. SCOTT. With One Hundred and Seventy illustrations. 12mo., pp. 484. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1869.

Broken Reeds; or, the Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren shown to be Contrary to Scripture and Reason. By Rev. EDWARD HARTLEY DEWART. 24mo., pp. 34. Toronto: Wesleyan Conference Office.

On the Dynamics, Principles, and Philosophy of Organic Life. By Z. C. M'ELROY, M.D., President, Zanesville, Ohio. 8vo., pp. 38. St. Louis: P. M. Pinckard. 1869.

The Case of Cuba. With a Letter from John D. Sherwood, Esq., on the Right of Recognition. 8vo. pp. 28. New York: Sold by the American News Company. 1869.

Livingstone in Africa. His Explorations and Missionary Labors. By Rev. S. A. W. JEWETT. With illustrations. 16mo., pp. 301. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

METHODIST QUARTERLY REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1869.

ART. I.—MEMORABILIA OF JOHN GOODWIN.

THE name of "John Goodwin, the Arminian," the world should "not willingly let die." Barlow could write to him: "I always find in the prosecution of your arguments that perspicuity and acuteness which I often seek and seldom find in the writings of others." John Owen was compelled to say of him: "My adversary is a person whom his worth, pains, diligence, and opinions, and the contests wherein on their account he hath publicly engaged, have delivered him from being the object of any ordinary thoughts or expressions. Nothing not great, not considerable, not some way eminent, is by any spoken of him, either consenting with him or dissenting from him." Puritan and Churchman alike acknowledged his learning, talents, and power. Though devoted to profound theological studies, he so influentially participated in the political discussions of his times, that at the Restoration parliamentary vengeance coupled his books with John Milton's in the sentence of burning by the common hangman; and, while his life was spared, he was held to be of sufficient consequence to be forever incapacitated from all public employment. Oblivion or obscurity is not the rightful portion of such a man. Baxter, Howe, and Owen could fall into disgrace and suffer ejection from their pulpits only to shine with greater splendor in succeeding ages. The University of Oxford burned Milton's political works; but the philosopher and statesman of to-day

find in his pages some of their profoundest lessons of wisdom. So time, that often reverses the decrees of the past and finds the world's truest heroes among the men most deeply covered by the prejudices of their own age, has lifted the vail that for a century and a half rested upon the fame of this noblest of the old Puritans.

John Goodwin had the honor of co-operation with the great men of his time who struggled and suffered for the liberty of England, and in the cause of religious liberty he was an eminent leader. He had the misfortune, however, of holding sentiments so obnoxious to one party or another, that when he fell at the Restoration, he stood so alone that no party was concerned for the rescue of his name and works from eternal reproach. As an advocate of the fullest religious toleration, he had opposed the pretentious claims of Episcopacy and Presbytery alike, and could not expect favor from partisans of the restored Establishment. He had defended the sentence pronounced by his judges against Charles as just, right, and necessary for the liberty and safety of the State; and no royalist, however ready he might be, because of his opposition to the extravagances of the Parliament, to exempt him from the penalty of death, would subject his own loyalty to suspicion by any eulogium upon him. He was the most outspoken Arminian of his day; and Calvinists, who would rally around Owen and Howe, perpetuating their influence and renown, in those days of uncharitableness and hardness were more likely to rejoice in the downfall of their stoutest antagonist than to give him honor. The Episcopal clergy were mostly Arminians; but they were loyalists as well, and the stigma of disloyalty, which rested upon Goodwin as truly as upon Cromwell or Hampden, was too heavy a burden for them to lift for the sake of the theological creed held in common with them by one who was hostile to the intolerant Church. Had he been either a loyalist or a Calvinist, he would have stood in the world's judgment pre-eminent among the men of his generation: being a Puritan and an Arminian it was inevitable that the public censure which fell upon him should have crushed him, leaving but a precious few, unknown and uninfluential, whose self-interest did not require forgetfulness of him and his works except for purposes of defamation and misrepresentation. But the truth

is, he was more nearly right than they all; and the free thought of the nineteenth century, which has less respect for the *jus divinum* of kings than for the rights of the people, and calls no man master except as he nobly holds and fearlessly teaches the truth, is proving the Nemesis which awards to John Goodwin his rightful place among the loftiest names of the period of the Commonwealth.

The solution of the sole mystery in his history and fortunes is in the fact that he was no time-server or parasite, but unvarying in his fidelity to God, truth, and man. It was impossible for a London minister to be neutral in the struggle which gave supremacy to the Parliament, abolished Episcopacy, established Presbyterianism, and cost the King his head. Had he rolled along with the popular wave, he might have ridden upon its summit into a place of honor and power. He would have denounced all who dissented from the prevalent Calvinistic sentiments as heretics, Pelagians, and blasphemers, and called upon the civil magistrate to punish them with his strong arm. He might thus have won the distinction of being frequently called to preach before the Parliament, where he could have skillfully dodged all allusion to inconvenient topics, though all England was shaking with them; he might have become the right hand of Cromwell as one of his "triers" in settling the pulpits of the realm, and have sat in the vice-chancellor's chair in the university. Or, if ambition's voice could not thus lead him, worldly wisdom and a regard for his own quiet would have bade him meekly bow before the storm which he could not control. But the rights of conscience were in peril, and, the first of his order who had the penetration to discover and the courage to utter the great truth, he openly and constantly proclaimed the inalienable right of every man to freedom of opinion and worship, undisturbed and uncontrolled by any earthly power. It was a doctrine as unpalatable to the Presbyterian party, then in the ascendant and clamoring for the divine right of their system and the forcible suppression of all dissentients, as it had formerly been to Laud. His advocacy of it was enough to provoke their bitterest wrath; but to this was added the fact that he was already accused of Arminianism, a crime for which sympathy or tolerance was a sin. Those days of wrongs performed in the name of religion, and by the

authority of a Parliament that was contending for liberty, present nothing more shameful than the repeated examinations and final ejection from his vicarage of this minister of more than fifty years of age, fitted by his piety, his learning, his eloquence, to adorn the loftiest pulpit of the realm, administering a cup prepared only for malignants to one of the best friends and warmest advocates of the Parliament, without assigning the reason why he must drink it.

An Arminian Goodwin was not at this period. Indeed, he had just concluded a series of sermons in which he had, as he conceived, set forth the peculiar doctrines of Calvinism in an unanswerable light, and, as his friends asserted, "cut the hair between other divines and Arminians." An exception taken to an incidental passage in one of them by a youth of more fire than brains, led him to a reinvestigation of the entire system, the result of which was, its absolute rejection and the adoption of that of Arminius. From that day to the close of his public ministry he was the chief mark for the most fiery darts of his theological foes, from the author of the ponderous volume to the petty pamphleteer. Where argument could not demolish, ribaldry, invectives, scoffs, falsehoods, and appeals to the authorities to crush him by civil power, were employed against him and his cause. It seems to have been only Cromwell's interposition that at one time saved his life. He was, says his biographer, "an object of general reproach: a sort of scapegoat, on whose head were laid, by his Calvinistic brethren, nearly all the errors, heresies, and mental follies of human nature."*

Only the sturdiest nature could have stood erect in the furious storm of calumny and persecution, and only one imbued by divine grace could have stood meekly. Of passion he had little, of modesty much; but for the truth he could be bold and suffer. He says:

> They who have known me from my youth up, until some few years past, very well know, that however I was encompassed about with infirmities otherwise, yet did I never either deserve or bear the blame of *boldness*, but always the contrary. Only since God was pleased to call me out of the retirement of my unprofitable bashfulness, he hath made me, as Jeremy of old, an iron pillar and brazen wall. †

* Jackson's Life of Goodwin.

† Triumviri, Preface.

And he said truly: he stood like an iron pillar and brazen wall against his antagonists, not defiantly, but for the truth. He wrote: *

The serpentine hissing of tongues and pens against me is now no strange thing, and so no great trial. From my youth up I have conflicted with the viperous contradictions of men; truth having acted me in full opposition to my genius and spirit, by making me a man of contention to the whole earth. But I can willingly and freely say, Let truth handle me as she pleaseth; deprive me of all things; yea, of that very being itself of which I am yet possessed, upon condition that she herself may reign. . . . The most intemperate zeal of men against my person, name, or books, is a temptation of a very faint influence upon me to turn me out of any way of truth, or to make me their enemy. Only when the truth is offended I confess I burn; and in case I find any strength in my hand to redress the injury done to it, I have no rest in my spirit until I have attempted the vindication. By truth, I do not mean mine own opinion; for that which is no more than so, I shall neither trouble myself nor any other man about it: but I mean a doctrine or notion which I am able to demonstrate, either from the Scriptures or clear principles in reason, to be agreeable to the mind of God.†

At another time he said:

I am resolved, God assisting, not to be ashamed of any of Christ's words, nor to forbear, upon occasion, the freest utterance of them, before what generation soever; and hope that neither friends, nor estate, nor liberty, nor life itself, which have not betrayed me hitherto, will ever prove a snare of death to me, or hinder me from finishing my course with joy. If I fall in any of my standings up for the truth, the loss is already cast up by Luther's arithmetic: I had rather fall with Christ than stand with Cæsar. ‡

The most important theological work of Mr. Goodwin is the "Redemption Redeemed," § the first systematic presentation in the English language of the Arminian doctrines, and more powerful than any previous dissent from the then popular theology. Other pens had attacked one or more of the peculiar

* Exposition, Preface. † Cata-Baptism.

‡ Scourge of the Saints Displayed.

§ The modernized title of the London edition of 1840 is as follows: "Redemption Redeemed: Wherein the Most Glorious Work of the Redemption of the World by Jesus Christ is Vindicated against the Encroachments of Later Times. With a thorough Discussion of the great Questions concerning Election, Reprobation, and the Perseverance of the Saints. By JOHN GOODWIN, M.A."

features of Calvinism, and during the Commonwealth several prominent theologians adopted more or less of Arminian views; but so marked was the ability and so formidable the character of this work, that others were lost sight of, so far at least as to seemingly justify the erroneous statement that "John Goodwin must be mentioned as a solitary but brilliant exception to the general character of those times." * Brilliant, indeed, but not solitary. The work was dedicated to "Dr. Benjamin Whichcote, Provost of King's College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, together with the rest of the Heads of Colleges and Students in Divinity in that University." It would be easy to interpret this act as the presumption of arrogance, or the defiance of the trampled but unconquered and haughty controversialist, were it not for the candor and nobleness of the dedicatory address itself. He says:

The oracles consulted by me about this dedication were neither any undervaluing of you nor overvaluing of myself or of the piece here presented to you, nor any desire of drawing respects from you either to my person or any thing that is mine, much less any malignity of desire to cause you to drink of my cup, or to bring you under the same cloud of disparagement which the world hath spread about me. Praise unto His grace, who hath taught me some weak rudiments of his heavenly art of drawing light out of darkness for mine own use, I have not been for so many years together trampled upon to so little purpose as to remain either ignorant or insensible of mine own vileness, and what element I am nearest allied unto, or so tender and querulous as either to complain of those who still "go over me as the stones in the street," or to project the sufferings of others in order to my own solace and relief. My long want of respects from men is now turned to an athletic habit, somewhat after the manner of those who, by long fasting, lose their appetites, and find a contentedness of nature to live with little or no meat afterward. I can, from the dunghill whereon I sit, with much contentment and sufficient enjoyment of myself, behold my brethren on thrones round about me. . . . The discourse, such as it is, with all respects of honor and love, I present unto you, not requiring any thing from you by way of countenance or approbation otherwise than upon those equitable terms on which Augustus recommended his children to the favor of the Senate—*si meruerit.* Only as a friend and lover of the truth, name, and glory of God and Jesus Christ, and of the peace, joy, and salvation of the world, with you, I shall take leave to pour out my soul in this request unto you, that either you will confirm,

* Bogue and Bennett's History of the Dissenters.

by setting to the royal signet of your approbation and authority, the doctrine here maintained, if you judge it to be a truth, or else vouchsafe to deliver me and many others from the snare thereof by taking away with a hand of light and potency of demonstration those weapons, whether texts of Scripture or grounds in reason, wherein we trust. Your contestation upon these terms will be with me more precious than your attestation in case of your comport in judgment with me; though I shall ingenuously confess that for the truth's sake even in this also I shall greatly rejoice.

He requests that in any reply they may make they will not throw their strength against the weaker passages or particular expressions, but against the main points of his argument, and declares his freedom from any apprehension that they will be influenced by "those mormolukes or vizors of Arminianism, Socinianism, Popery, Pelagianism, with the like, which serve to affright children in understanding out of the love of many most worthy and important truths." Such was the spirit of this address, in which, with eloquence and dignified courtesy, the hunted divine laid his offering at the feet of his alma mater.

The volume, originally (in 1651) a folio, is in its modern form a stout octavo, in solid type, of seven hundred and forty pages. The preface, after the fashion of those days, is lengthy, containing forty-two pages. It is an address to the reader, first briefly stating how the author came to adopt the sentiments here advocated, and next showing with great fullness and power of argument, 1. The danger of error and misapprehension in the things of God; 2. The necessity lying upon all, without exception, who are endued with reason and understanding, to engage those noble faculties to the utmost about the things of God and matters of salvation; and, 3. "The innocency and inoffensiveness of the doctrines maintained in the present discourse in respect of those vulgar imputations which, by way of prejudice, are laid to their charge." The almost playfulness with which he tells the story of his abandoning the "bread" which he had "found ever and anon gravelish in his mouth, and fretting in his bowels," is followed by those grave and solid discussions in which a gigantic mind deals with the mightiest truths as easily and familiarly as men of common mold do with those of every-day life. One can hardly help asking if he be not putting forth his greatest strength in the

preliminaries to his main task; a query that is forgotten long before the opening chapter is finished. It is his purpose, not only to prove the doctrine of universal redemption, but to so prove it that no other can have any possible foundation left. He, therefore, begins at the very bottom, in the metaphysics of theology, and shows in the first chapter that there is no created being, or second cause whatsoever, but depends upon the First and Supreme Cause or Being, which is God; and that in its motions and operations as truly as in its simple existence. In the second chapter he shows, that although there is as absolute and essential a dependence of second causes upon the First in point of operation as of simple existence, yet the operations of second causes are not (at least ordinarily) so immediately or precisely determined by that dependence as their respective beings are. In other words, the inquiry is, "How far and after what manner the motions and actions of second causes are determined or necessitated to be, both when and where and what they are, by that essential dependence which they have upon God." The question lies at the point of divergence of the Calvinian and Arminian systems, and is met with a fullness of view and an accuracy and delicacy of discrimination not easily surpassed. Second causes are of three kinds—natural, animal, and rational or voluntary. They all have such a dependence upon God that "none of them can move into action without a suitable concurrence from him, yet are not their actions or motions thereby determined ordinarily, or necessitated to them." Of the first class, fire, for instance, burns, not because of God's presence or concurrence when it burns, but because of natural properties given it by the law of creation; of the second, a lamb runs to its dam because of its natural sympathy; of the third, a man's "actions are not determined, that is, made rational and voluntary (much less are they necessitated) by the conjunction or presence of God with him when he acts or moves, but by his own proper and free election of what he acts or moves unto." Then naturally arise the questions of necessitation growing out of providential interposals of God, the effect of permissive decrees, the relation of foreknowledge and necessity. The third chapter treats of the knowledge and foreknowledge of God, and the difference between these and his desires, purposes, intentions, and decrees,

and the distinctions of these one from another. The fourth presents the perfection of God in his nature and being, together with his simplicity and actuality, and his goodness in decrees as deducible from this perfection. It shows that what we call his attributes, separately or collectively, are only his single, simple, and pure essence, and that that essence being infinitely perfect, he can as he pleases give forth himself in all the variety of action indicated among men by the terms wisdom, knowledge, love, and the like; that love, hatred, etc., are matters not of affection, but of dispensation; that God acts in eternity, and not in time; that no act of his necessitates free causes; that "his counsels and decrees of election, reprobation, predestination, etc., concerning men, relate to them, not as individually or personally considered, or as such and such men by name, but in a specifical consideration, or as persons so and so qualified, or of such or such a condition;" and, finally, that "if God in his nature and essence be absolutely and infinitely perfect, then can he act, order, decree nothing to the prejudice or hurt of any creature whatsoever, but only in a way of righteousness and equity, that is, upon the consideration of some demerit or sin preceding."

Thus, beginning with the First Cause, the argument proceeds step by step, carefully considering objections at every point, until it reaches the conclusion that a rejection of any man from eternity is inconsistent with the nature of God and the relation of a Creator to his creature.

The author is now prepared for the Scripture argument, in which he finds four "great veins and correspondences," namely: 1. Those texts which present the gift and sacrifice of Christ as for *the world;* 2. Those which declare the ransom of Christ and the will and desire of God as to salvation, to be for *all men* and *every man;* 3. Those that speak of salvation as offered to *him* and *whosoever* will believe; 4. Those which teach that Christ died for men who may, and actually do, perish. Not only is the exposition of the passages adduced complete, but no erroneous interpretation, no gloss, objection, or cavil known to him from his extensive reading is suffered to escape without a confutation. At this point he takes up the doctrine of perseverance, making probably the most full and thorough argument upon the subject ever written, and so perfect, that it

called out in reply the pen of Dr. John Owen, the great Calvinian champion of that day, in an octavo of three times as many pages.

The subject of universal redemption is then resumed, and continued to the close of the volume. Additional scriptural and other arguments are presented, showing that Christ's death was intended, and was actually suffered, for all men without exception; and finally, for the sake of those who are afraid to believe any thing but what other men have believed before them, Mr. Goodwin furnishes extracts in their own words of the faith on the subject in debate of many of the Christian fathers in the purest age of the Church, as Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Chrysostom, Athanasius, Hilarius, Cyril of Jerusalem, Eusebius, Arnobius, Didymus, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Tertullian, Origen, Cyprian, and many others; he quotes from Calvin, Peter Martyr, Bucer, Pareus, Gualter, and a dozen others of the most eminent opponents of the views advocated. He says of these testimonies:

> My intent in citing Calvin with those other late Protestant writers whom we have joined in the same suffrage in favor of the doctrine of general redemption, is not to persuade the reader that the habitual or standing judgment, either of him or of the greater part of the rest, was whole and entire for the said doctrine, or stood in any great propension hereunto, (though this I believe concerning sundry of them,) much less to imply that they never, in other places of their writings, declared themselves against it, but only to show, 1. That the truth of this doctrine is so near at hand; and, 2. That the influence of it is so benign and accommodatious unto many other truths and doctrines in Christian religion, that it is a hard matter for those that deal much in these affairs not to assume and assert it ever and anon, and to speak and to argue many things on the authority of it; yea, though *extra casum necessitatis* on the one hand, and *incogitantiæ* on the other, they are wont to behold it as God doth proud men, "afar off."

It was proposed in a second volume to answer all the objections to the doctrines of this treatise known to its author. Twenty-three are specified. The doctrines of personal election and reprobation, infant damnation, and universal grace, he intended to formally discuss; and also to include in the volume an exposition of the ninth of Romans. The controversies in which he became involved prevented the accomplishment of his purpose, which would have rounded out this great work to

the manifest advantage of the world. Nevertheless, the Exposition, as we shall see, was published in a separate form, and Mr. Goodwin's views on the questions of election and grace are so fully stated in his various published works that we are left in ignorance of them on no important point.

In what sense Goodwin maintained the doctrine of universal redemption he clearly and guardedly declares. He says:

When, with the Scriptures, we affirm that Christ died for all men, we mean that there was reality of intention on God's part, that as there was a valuable consideration or worth of merit, in the death of Christ, fully sufficient for the ransom or redemption of all men, so it should be equally, and upon the same terms, applicable to all men in order to their redemption, without any difference, or special limitation of it to some more than others; that God did only antecedently intend the actual redemption and salvation of all men in and by the death of Christ; but consequently the redemption and salvation only of some, namely, those who shall believe; that there is a possibility, yea, a fair and gracious possibility, for all men without exception, considered as men, without and before their voluntary obduration by actual sinning, to obtain actual salvation by his death; so that in case any man perisheth, his destruction is altogether from himself, there being as much, and as much intended, in the death of Christ toward procuring his salvation as there is for procuring the salvation of any of those who come to be actually saved; that he not only put all men without exception into a capability of being saved, as, namely, by believing, but he also wholly took off from all men the guilt and condemnation brought upon all men by Adam's transgression, so that no man shall perish or be condemned but upon his own personal account, and for such sins only which shall be actually and voluntarily committed by him, or for such omissions which it was in his power to have prevented; that by his death he procured this grace and favor with God for all men without exception, namely, that they should receive from him sufficient strength and means, or be enabled by him, to repent and to believe, yea, and to persevere in both to the end; and that Christ by his death purchased this transcendent grace also and favor in the sight of God for all men without exception, that upon their repentance and believing in him they should be justified and receive forgiveness of all their sins, and that upon their perseverance in both unto the end they should be actually and eternally saved. The imputation, from the guilt whereof we desire in special manner to wash our hands in innocency by this explication, is, that as we hold universal redemption, so we hold likewise universal salvation, or that all men shall be saved by Christ. Such an opinion as this is no consequent of the doctrine maintained in this discourse. To me it seemeth not a little strange how any man professing subjec-

tion of judgment unto the Scriptures should ever come to a confederacy with such an opinion.*

The theory of the atonement, as held by Goodwin, is perfectly apparent from numerous passages:

Being *θεανθρωπος*, *God* and *Man*, or man subsisting in the human nature personally united to the Godhead, by the willing offering up of himself as a Lamb without spot in sacrifice unto God the Father, he made atonement for sinners. The death of a person of that transcendent worth and dignity was judged by the unerring understanding and wisdom of God a valuable and equitable consideration why he should actually, and without any other thing intervening, pardon the sin of the world, that is, the sin of Adam as imputed or communicated in the guilt of it to all his posterity, together with all the actual sins of all such of his posterity as should believe in him. . . . The fullness of Christ's satisfaction is not to be estimated by the will of God about the application of it, or the actual communication of its benefit to particular men, but by the proportion which it bears to the sin to which it relates in the nature of a price, ransom, consideration, or satisfaction. If it be of that nature, consequence, and consideration that God may, with the sufficient demonstration of the glory of his justice, or perfect hatred of sin, or wisdom, etc., pardon sin without any thing added by way of satisfaction or punishment, it is in reason to be judged a sufficient satisfaction, although, upon some other account, he suspend the benefit or actual application of it to particular men, upon reasonable requirements of them otherwise. †

Further:

Christ is said to have made an atonement for the sins of men, because he hath so far pacified and reconciled God to the world, that he is willing, notwithstanding their great sin, and affront put upon him, to offer terms of life and peace; yet so that they who will not condescend, or rather that will not ascend, to the terms offered by him, that is, that will not believe, shall have no further benefit by any thing he hath either done or suffered for them. Nor will it follow that they for whose sins Christ hath satisfied, must needs, by virtue of that satisfaction, be presently justified and saved; or that God otherwise should be unjust, if, having received satisfaction, he should condemn men for those sins for which he hath been satisfied. The reason is, because the satisfaction of Christ being an ordinance of God for the justification and salvation of men, merely arbitrary, and depending upon his will and pleasure, as well in the operation as in the being of it, it cannot be conceived to extend any further, nor to produce its effects upon any other terms, than his will and pleasure is that it should produce them. Now the Scriptures are very clear in this, that the sufferings of Christ do not save any man simply, or by themselves, but through a man's

* Redemption Redeemed, page 562. † Banner of Justification, page 30.

believing. Notwithstanding the love of God and the gift of Christ, without believing there is no escaping eternal death, because that love and gift, being voluntary, justify and save no further, on no other terms, than the will and good pleasure of God is they should.*

The relation of faith to the atonement is set forth by him with a remarkable clearness:

Christ alone justificth by way of merit, and as he that hath purchased with a valuable price, the laying down of his life, the grace of justification for men. Faith justifies instrumentally, or subserviently under Christ, namely, as a conditional act required by God of men in order to their actual investiture with that grace or benefit of justification which Christ, by the merit of his death, purchased for them; yet with this reservation or proviso, that the actual communication of the said benefit or grace unto particular persons, of years capable of believing, should be suspended until it should be desired by them, and sought for by believing.†

The commercial theory he thoroughly rejects, and asserts the value of the atonement to be not in its calculable worth, as though just so much suffering had been endured for just so much sin, but in its demonstration of the divine justice, so that God as a righteous sovereign can offer pardon upon such terms as his infinite wisdom may be pleased to dictate. That Christ died sufficiently and intentionally for all men he argues over and over again, against objections urged this day with as much confidence and pertinacity as though they were newly discovered or had never been answered. But he likewise insists that in the eternal punishment of the unbeliever, God does not exact a second satisfaction:

That satisfaction which Christ made for the sins of any person who dies in unbelief was never accepted by God in the nature of an appropriate, particular, or actual satisfaction for their sins, but only as a potential satisfaction; that is, as of value enough to have made a particular and actual satisfaction for such a man's sins, as well as for the sins of those who believe, and which he fully intended to accept for such a satisfaction on his behalf in case he had believed. . . . Christ neither desired nor intended to make satisfaction by his death for the sins of unbelievers any otherwise, nor upon any other terms, than that God the Father should, upon the account thereof, justify such persons from their sins in case they should have believed; and, in this sense, he doth accept it as a satisfaction for them, being more ready and willing to pardon all the sins of all men, as well theirs who never will believe, in case

* Divine Authority of the Scriptures, page 195. † Exposition, page 136.

they should believe, as well as theirs who shall believe and be actually justified thereupon. So that God, in compelling unbelievers to suffer for their sins, does not exact a second satisfaction, but only puts them upon payment of their debt themselves, who despised his grace.*

Equally clear and sharply drawn are his statements of predestination and election. He remarks:

God is asserted to have predestinated or purposed so many of them, be they fewer or be they more, as should truly believe, unto life and glory; and the residue, be they fewer or be they more, namely, all those who should not believe, being capable through years of believing, and otherwise competently rational, unto destruction. Such a predestination of men from eternity as this the Scriptures clearly and frequently hold forth; and without controversy such a predestination as this is fairly and fully consistent with the glory of his wisdom, and highly magnifies all his attributes, without the least disparagement of any. Whereas that doomful preterition, that blood which many wring out of the Scriptures instead of milk, hath no rational or intelligible comport at all with any of them, but casts a kind of spirit of obscurity and contristation upon them all. †

There is no election or reprobation from eternity, but decrees of election and reprobation only. There is no reprobation of persons, because it is impossible there should be any persons from eternity. But the decrees of God being nothing but God himself, to deny such decrees from eternity is to deny God. But this is that which I deny: that these decrees respect persons *personally* considered. They only respect *species* of men. The decree of election from eternity was, that whosoever believes should be saved; and, on the contrary, that whosover lives and dies in unbelief should be condemned: this is the decree of reprobation. There is no other decree of election and reprobation from eternity but this. ‡ The tenor of God's law or decree of election, which was from eternity, is this: whosoever shall believe in my Son Jesus Christ, whom I purpose to send into the world, shall hereupon become a man of that species, sort, or kind of men whom I have chosen from among all other men or sorts of men in the world, and designed for salvation. That men cannot, in propriety of speech, be said to be elected from eternity, is evident, because they had no being from eternity, nothing having been from eternity but God himself alone.§

No Calvinist ever more highly exalted divine grace than did John Goodwin, unless it be in its alleged irresistibleness, which, in his view, absolutely destroys its very nature as free grace.

* Banner of Justification.

† Redemption Redeemed, page 124

‡ Debate with Simpson.

§ Redemption Redeemed, page 334.

For its office is to aid and bless men; but if it necessitates their believing, it renders their faith unrewardable:

No law, no rule of justice or equity, provideth any reward for such actions, to the performance whereof the doers are necessitated by a strong and irresistible hand. There is more reason of the two why merely natural actions, as eating, drinking, speaking, walking, etc., should be rewarded by God, than any such actions whereunto men are necessitated by a power extra-essential to them.*

All ability to faith, he taught, is of grace; and no man exercises that ability without the immediate assistance of grace:

The act of believing, whensoever it is performed, is at so low a rate of efficiency from a man's self, that, to help apprehension a little in the case, suppose the act could be divided into a thousand parts, nine hundred and ninety-nine of them are to be ascribed unto the free grace of God, and only the remaining one unto man. Yea, this one is no otherwise to be ascribed to man, than as graciously supported, strengthened, and assisted by the free grace of God. I attribute as much as possibly can be attributed to the free grace of God in the act of believing, saving the attributableness of the action to man himself, in the lowest and most diminutive sense that can well be conceived. For certain it is, that it is the creature man, not God, or the Spirit of God, that believeth; and therefore of necessity there must so much, or such a degree, of efficiency about it be left unto man, which may with truth give it the denomination of being his. And they that go about to interest the free grace of God in the act of believing upon any other terms, or so that the act itself cannot truly be called the act of man, are injurious in the highest manner to the grace of God at this main turn.†

While he held that no person, without the assistance of grace, has any power or disposition to will any thing good, or to repent or believe, he most strongly taught the freedom of the will, as restored through Christ:

All persons, without exception, are put into an actual possession of the favor of God by his grace in the gift of Jesus Christ, which possession they keep during infancy, and until the commission of actual sin; [and] all men living to years of discretion, and more especially while they have not yet foully corrupted or wretchedly hardened themselves by long continuance in ways of known sins, are, by the same grace, put into a good capacity of salvation; so that if they be not wanting to themselves, they may, by the grace vouchsafed to them, come to repent and believe, and persevere believing unto salvation."‡

* Agreement and Distance of Brethren. † Redemption Redeemed, page 53.
‡ Agreement and Distance of Brethren.

The full exposition of his doctrine of the liberty of the will we have lost by his failure to complete the "Redemption Redeemed;" but in the volume given us he argues at considerable length the proposition that God has vouchsafed to all men a sufficiency of means (inclusive of power) to be saved; showing that otherwise God deals with men more severely under the covenant of grace than he did under the covenant of works, and also than he does with the devils themselves; that far the greater part of men will be damned for what is no sin, that is, for not doing what they cannot and never could do; that our Saviour's wonder at the unbelief of men was without the least ground; that only by the gift of adequate power to believe can the unsaved be left without excuse, and the mouths of the wicked be stopped; and that

> If God, knowing that an ungodly man is in the utmost danger of perishing forever, and withal, that he hath no power to repent and believe, shall yet vehemently and affectionately urge, press, and persuade such a man to repent and believe, that he may not perish, such an application as this can bear no other construction than as derisory, and proceeding from one who doth not simply delight in the death of a sinner, but to make the death of such a miserable creature as full of gall and bitterness as he well knows how to do. He rather insults over him in his extremity of weakness and misery, than really intends any thing gracious and of a saving import to him.*

We have thus presented some of the leading features of Goodwin's theological system. The universal and absolute depravity of the race, the Godhead of Christ, the personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit, the infallibility and inspiration of the Scriptures, the atonement by the death of Christ, its availability upon the sole condition of faith, and the necessity of the aid of the Holy Spirit in order to repentance and holiness, are doctrines which he unwaveringly held, and upon which he employed his vigorous pen. But it is rather his views on the points in debate between the schools of Calvin and Arminius which have occupied our attention, and we have found him soundly and thoroughly Arminian. While some of the followers of Arminius would say that God elected from eternity certain persons to eternal life in view of their foreseen faith and holiness, Goodwin denied any personal elec

* Redemption Redeemed, page 655.

tion whatever from eternity, and admitted only the broad decree that a certain *sort* of persons should receive eternal glory, and another certain sort should receive eternal death. We think him right. It is certainly difficult to answer his argument, and we know of nothing in the Scriptures that, rightly interpreted, conflicts with his view. It was in the study of the Scriptures rather than of the metaphysics of the question that he found the key to the system which he subsequently advocated with so great power. Christ Jesus, he read, tasted death for every man; and around that, as the central point, all the doctrines of his theology must stand. Whatever is inconsistent with this fundamental truth he unhesitatingly rejects however precious it may have previously been held; and whatever accords with it, however unpalatable before, is heartily accepted. There was, therefore, nothing to conceal, nothing held as truth which he could not openly and freely declare. As is the case with all true Arminians every-where, he had no doctrines which he could not proclaim to the world at any time, and which must be kept in shadow only as they might be safely delivered to the ears of the initiated few on select occasions.

It was very easy for his enemies to charge Goodwin with Socinianism and Pelagianism; but only the bitterness and rancor of men bent upon his ruin could have accused him of the former in view of his published words, while the apology of ignorance of either Arminianism or Pelagianism, and perhaps of both, may suffice for the latter. It is true that many theologians, in both Holland and England, who rejected the *horribile decretum* of the Genevan master, were therefore classed as Arminians, although on the questions of original sin and justification by faith they dissented from the views of Arminius and Calvin alike. They were Arminians in no proper sense; and yet, for the sake of them and their successors, the genuine followers of Arminius have been compelled to bear the reproach of Pelagianism. But Goodwin did not hesitate to retort the charge upon his opponents, and with reason; for the main question between Augustine and Pelagius was "whether Jesus Christ be truly the mediator of all men," as he could not be if, as the latter alleged, men are not fallen in Adam, and may attain holiness without the aid of divine grace. If infants are sinless,

they need no atonement, and the doctrine of universal redemption is false. In original sin Pelagius did not believe, and it cannot be shown that he held the universality of the atonement. Nevertheless, Arminius, Goodwin, Wesley, and the Methodists have been to this day stigmatized as Pelagians by a species of theological quackery that was bad enough in the seventeenth century, but is intolerable and inexcusable in the nineteenth.

Ecclesiastically, Goodwin, though an Episcopalian until the abolition of Episcopacy, was an Independent. Indeed, he could under the circumstances hold no other position consistently with his opinions respecting liberty of conscience. His advocacy of the Congregational system was based upon the conviction that only by its prevalence could a true religious toleration prevail, and was therefore more a protest against an authoritative Presbyterianism than an assertion of Independency as the only system that is in harmony with the Scriptures. "I know that I am looked upon," he observed, "as a man very deeply engaged for the Independent cause against Presbytery. But the truth is, I am neither so whole for the former, nor against the latter, as I am generally voted to be." For the purposes of building up himself in holiness, and the promotion of spiritual religion, his choice was for those times wisely made; nevertheless, it is not difficult to see that were he living in our day, a day of the fullest recognition of the rights of conscience, his true place would be found under another standard.

Only a well-balanced mind could have retained its equanimity and avoided all expression or indulgence of bitterness when exposed to the suspicions, the harassings, the conspiracies the public assaults, the published defamations, the incessant controversies, and the attempted destructions that dogged his path for more than a quarter of a century. Never the original assailant, except in the single instance of his attack upon Cromwell's Triers and Ejectors of Ministers, he was yet almost continually involved in controversy. But it was not to his taste, however admirably his great learning and logical powers fitted him for it. He wrote nothing in self-defense until he was openly charged with heresy and blasphemy. In the reply to one of the most abusive and scurrilous attacks ever made upon him he said:

The great Searcher of hearts knoweth that if himself would discharge me of the service of contradicting and opposing men, and dispose of me in a way of retirement, were it never so private and obscure, where I might only contest with my own weakness and errors, he should give me one of the first-born desires of my soul. As for revenge, my thoughts hardly suffer me to conceive of it as consisting with those things that accompany salvation. I wish it were as easy for others to forbear injuring me, as it is for me to neglect and pass it by when they have done it. Whosoever burden me with the crimes of ambition and revenge, certain I am that they are strangers to my spirit and converse.

To the low personalities, the coarseness, the vituperation, that so sadly disfigure most of the controversial writings of that day, and, with scarcely an exception, those of his antagonists, he never descended; he rather pressed his points with bold statement, strong argument, sharp analysis, keenness in detection of a fallacy, and great facility in exposure of an absurdity. He was a gentleman, as well as a scholar and a Christian. Nevertheless, it must not be thought that he never sharpened his pen to a point. His scathing analysis of Dr. Owen's style of reasoning in his reply to the "Redemption Redeemed" might be read to-day with profit by the admirers of the Magnus Apollo of the Calvinian orthodoxy. He could be witty as well as sharp. "As for passion," he says, "I am not conscious of writing by it, unless haply it be when I meet with Ignorance riding in triumph upon Confidence's back;" and then he could be terribly severe. His catholicity was in marked contrast with the bigotry around him, reminding us not unfrequently of the great Arminian of a century later, his successor to vials of theological wrath as well as to the work of theological reform. As a preacher, he was clear, eloquent, spiritual, and well fitted to shine among the most brilliant pulpit orators of his age. Multitudes thronged his church and hung delighted upon his lips. But his eminent abilities, whether of pen or speech, were consecrated first of all to his work as pastor. In this he especially delighted, rightly esteeming the spiritual growth and unity of his flock as of higher moment than the more public tasks to which he was providentially called.

In exposition of Scripture, Goodwin's excellence is quite as marked as in theological argument. Rejecting the peculiar method of many of his contemporaries, which assigned a meaning to insulated texts with no regard to the sense in

which the original writer used the words, a practice by which the greatest aburdities may be maintained—and which, by the way, has not yet been entirely abandoned—while he lays sufficient stress upon the import of the words, he always considers the passage in hand in connection with the argument of which it forms a part. What he says of his "Exposition of the Ninth Chapter of the Epistle to the Romans," is equally true of the numerous expositions of briefer passages scattered throughout his works. "I have not willingly wrested any phrase, word, syllable, or letter; but have with all simplicity of heart, and as in the sight of God, followed the most genuine ducture of the context and scope from place to place, consulting, without partiality, all circumstances which occurred, and which I could think of, in order to a due steerage of my judgment in every thing." The Exposition of the Ninth of Romans, extending through three hundred and sixty octavo pages, is one of the most valuable of his publications. It rests upon the theory that St. Paul is, in that chapter, vindicating against real or supposed objections of the Jews his doctrine of justification by faith, for the willful rejection of which their own rejection was nigh at hand, and that he is not asserting any absolute and personal election and reprobation of men from eternity. Thoroughly acquainted with the interpretation then commonly received, he successfully meets it at every point; while he also beautifully expounds the chapter upon his own theory, and finally, from its closing verses, demonstrates that he has correctly stated the Apostle's meaning. As a part of the promised second part of the "Redemption Redeemed," the "Exposition" merits a high place in theological literature, as well as for its own intrinsic worth.

Goodwin's political, or rather his politico-religious writings, originated in his profound convictions in behalf of religious liberty. He was no revolutionist. He believed in a strong, stable government that would protect the rights of the people; and the government *de facto* was that which he conscientiously served. "From first to last," he says of himself, "I have stood by the Authority for the time being, and have contended for a universal subjection in all things lawful unto it. When there were two Authorities conflicting, that of the King, and the other of Parliament, I joined that which I judged best

pleadable, and most promissory of *civil and religious happiness.*" He defended the parliamentary cause by his pen, and endeavored to restrain it from self-destruction by opposing its projects of Presbyterian supremacy. He sustained Cromwell in the Commonwealth, and wrote severely against his measures for only a limited toleration. "My great design in giving to Cæsar," he says, "that which I know to be Cæsar's, is, that thereby I may purchase the more equitable liberty to deny to Cæsar that which I know is not his. And if Cæsar, whoever he be, careth not to be served upon such an account, he must wait for relief till I am dead." The Parliament rewarded him with expulsion from his vicarage, and Cromwell with only protection from personal violence. Honors and emoluments were not for him who demanded the most unrestricted freedom for conscience, and was at the same time an Arminian.

Art. II.—WUTTKE ON PRE-PLATONIC ETHICS.*

Christian ethics cannot be understood apart from its history, nor the latter apart from the history of the systems that preceded or lay outside of Christianity; but the history of ethics presupposes a knowledge of the historical development of the ethical consciousness in general, of which ethics itself is simply the scientific fruit. The one-sidedness of the more recent ethics is largely due to inattention to its history.

MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND ETHICS OF HEATHEN NATIONS.

I. Though the majority of heathen nations have had collections of moral, semi-religious life-rules, yet, until the golden age of Greek philosophy, they lacked systems of ethics proper. The ground-character of all heathen ethical consciousness and of heathen ethics is this: the origin and goal of the ethical is not an infinite spiritual Being, but either an impersonal natural, or a merely individually personal. The origin is not the

* This article is a free translation from the Introduction to Professor Wuttke's "Handbuch der Christlichen Sittenlehre," of which a notice may be found in the Methodist Quarterly Review, January, 1865.

infinite Spirit, and the goal not the perfecting of the moral personality in a divine kingdom based on the moral perfection of its members, and in the communion of the individual with the infinite personality of God; but always simply a limited good, whether a merely earthly civil perfection, with the ignoring of an extra mundane goal, (the Chinese,) or the entire renunciation of personal existence, (the Indians,) or a merely individual perfection, apart from the idea of a divine kingdom raising individuals into becoming its living members, (the Egyptians, Persians, Greeks, Germans.) Throughout there is lacking a recognition of true moral freedom: either it is expressly denied, or ascribed only to a few specially-gifted ones; while the rest of mankind are, as barbarians, incapable of moral freedom and perfection. There is, therefore, entirely lacking, also, a recognition of humanity in its entirety, as called to the accomplishment of a moral life-task. It is always simply a single nation, or an aristocratic section of a nation that is ethically active. The slave is incapable of true morality.

Where, however, humanity itself is called to morality, (the Buddhists,) there the life-task is essentially negative, and directed to the annihilation of personal existence. Throughout there is lacking a recognition of the moral corruption of the natural man, and consequently of the need of a new birth; morality is not so much a struggle as rather a simple development. There is noticeable, it is true, a consciousness of immoral states of mankind, even of natural incapacity for good; but the former are generally attributed to mere civic and individual degeneration, and the latter confined to barbarians and slaves. The idea of the highest good, however, is either only negatively embraced or referred to earthly weal, or left entirely in doubt, or at best sought in mere individual perfection.

But more in detail. The heathen moral consciousness can of course be understood only in connection with the religious consciousness upon which, for the time being, it rests. That we have, of the majority of heathen nations, only loosely joined moral maxims, proverbs, etc., but no ethical systems, is, for our comprehension of their moral consciousness, no loss, since such systems are always stamped more or less with the subjectivity of their authors; whereas maxims, proverbs, etc., are an objective, unclouded reflection of the moral consciousness of a nation.

As it is the essence of heathenism to conceive of God as in some way limited, so is its moral consciousness correspondingly defective. Is God viewed as an unspiritual nature-deity? Then is morality stamped with un-freedom, and is either a passive submission to the general, eternally uniform course of nature and of civil authority, (the Chinese,) or a renunciation of the human personality to nature conceived as a divinity with whom human freedom is inconsistent, (the Indians.) Is God conceived as limited and individual, and consequently as plurality? Then is the human soul viewed as not in absolute moral dependence on him, but as relatively coeval with him, and as not having the divine will as its unconditional law. Morality is, in the main, subjective and variable; the self-love and selfish pride of the vigorous individual appear as the justifiable master motive of the moral life, (Western Asia and Europe.)

With such views the goal of moral striving, the highest good, can appear only as something limited. Among naturalistic nations (the Chinese and Indians) it is devoid of positive character, and looks only to the greatest possible merging of personality into impersonal nature. In China the moral spirit can attain to nothing which did not already from nature, that is, necessity, always exist. The task is not to create a moral kingdom, but only to preserve and passively subordinate one's worthless personality to the (independently of all personal action already existing) eternal kingdom of necessitated order. In India, both among the Brahmins and the Buddhists, where the consciousness of the personal spirit is awakened to a much higher degree, the moral struggle assumes a truly tragic character, in that the entire direct antagonism of the personal spirit with the therewith hostile nature-God comes to clear recognition. The highest goal of the soul is not only not a positive one, not even the preservation of the eternally uniform order of nature, but the absorption of personal being into unconditioned nature; the highest good is complete self-annihilation through moral activity. Among western Indo-Germanic nations human personality is not extinguished, for there the divine is conceived of as personal. But as the divine is conceived as a limited personality, or at least only in the esoteric heights of philosophy, as infinite, the certainty of the moral goal is shaken. The personal spirit expects not to

vanish in the tumult of the great world-organism, as in China, or to sink into the nameless unconditioned Brahm or Nervana, as in India, but, on the contrary, to attain a positive result. For this, however, it finds no unshaken basis. As the individual here sinks tragically, a victim of fate or of envious deities, so also is his recompense in the world to come entirely doubtful. Achilles longs to return from the state of the departed, even in the position of a servant. Socrates is not certain that for his philosophic virtue he will have the pleasure of converse with the eminent dead. At best, doubting hope looks only for a merely individual well-being; and the idea of an actual divine kingdom, with its roots in man's earthly moral life and its crown in its post-mundane perfection, and whose essence is the history of humanity, is unknown even to the most enlightened heathendom. True, moral freedom is actually denied only by a few of the more consistent philosophers of India, though in no case is it thoroughly admitted. In China it is stifled under all-regulating imperial law; among the Brahmins it is admitted only in a very limited degree, and all personal initiative regarded as unjustifiable, or rather, as mere illusion. Impersonal Brahm is the only real existence. The Greeks, even in their highest philosophy, ascribe moral self-determination not to mankind, but only to the free Greek. The barbarian is only a half-man, incapable of true virtue, and called not to moral freedom, but only to unfree service under the free Greek. A universal human morality is not recognized even by Aristotle.

Among the chief imperfections of heathen ethics is the total lack of the idea of humanity. Buddhism, the sole system that breaks over the barriers of nationality, does so only because of its negative character, because in its conviction of the nullity of all being even the differences of race also vanish; but this morality does not aim to build up a spiritual kingdom of ethical reality, but contrarily, to free the soul from all reality, even its own personal existence.

Human depravity finds in heathendom only faint recognition. For the Chinese all reality is good. The sea of existence is mirror-smooth; and if, perchance, a slight ripple plays on its surface, a moment's calm suffices for its vanishment. For the Indian all existence is equally good and equally bad—good as a form of God; bad, as transient or deceptive. The guilt is

with God, with the universe. Man suffers from the falseness of the world, but has not occasioned it.

The Persian comes nearer the truth. Mankind, in his view, is really morally depraved; and that because of moral guilt, because of a fall from the good; and man must morally struggle against the evil and for the good. But the fall lies exterior to the sphere of human action and guilt—lies in the sphere of the divine. Not the rational creature but a god has fallen. The divine exists as a hostile duality, the Good Being in contest from the beginning with the Evil. The world, both moral and natural, is the work of both these antagonistic beings. The moral weakness of this system lies in the fact that, throwing the guilt back upon the divinity, it deprives man's moral efforts of their true and strongest motive; but with the Greeks even this partial truth of the Persians is thrown into the background by the notion of an inner actual harmony. That which in Christianity is the moral goal is here conceived as an already and necessarily existing reality; so that in order to the attaining of this highest good, man has only to develop the essentially faultless germ of his actual spiritual being. Of a positive struggle against the might of an actually indwelling evil even the greatest philosophers have no conception; and what of manifest evil did force itself upon their sounder practical judgment was by their intense self-complacence sought not in man himself, but beyond him, either in the sphere of the gods, who, even in the hands of the more moral poets, appear as morally stained and justly reproachable, or beyond the god-sphere, in irrational fate, or in non-Greek mankind, who as barbarians are morally degenerated. By far the highest heathen conception of morality and guilt is found among the ancient Germanic nations.

II. The moral notions of savages lie outside the field of history. The gentler of the half-civilized peoples, the Mexicans, and especially the Peruvians, brought social morality to some perfection; but it appears to have been a thing rather of deep-rooted custom than of clear consciousness. The moral consciousness of the Chinese, though sharply developed as to the merest minutiæ of life, and contained in numerous holy-esteemed writings, is, without higher ideas, merely empirically comprehensible, purely civic, and looking only to an external

fitness. The essence of this morality is a quiet conformance to changeless order, a preservance of the happy mean, without any consciousness of a lost and to-be-regained perfection of the race. It presupposes entire goodness of human nature, perfect harmony of reality and ideal. It looks not to the sanctification of an unholy reality, but to the modeling of the individual after purely human patterns.

The bright point in Chinese morality is obedience in family and state; its chief trait is a passive remaining in the movement of the whole, an even pulse-stroke whose meaning is not in a goal but in the movement itself.

But more fully. The religion of the Chinese is a practical and consistent naturalism, and is rich in moral maxims. It was reduced to system about 600 B. C. by Confucius. Universal life, even in its spiritual phrase, bears here a naturalistic stamp; there is no notion of a morally-attainable spiritual goal, but only of an eternally self-repeating course of nature; morality looks not forward, but only backward upon what has been and ever shall be; and all amelioration of an unfortunate present is mere return to the previous better. The moral goal is not progress, but preservation of, or return to, the past.

The ideal is not yet to be attained, but properly has already, with only transient beclouding, always been possessed. Humanity is, without development, already perfect. Morality aims not to produce something that was not, but only to heal a slight disturbance of what already was. The highest good is not a goal and aim, but mere existence itself. The paradise into which nature first placed man has never been lost; at furthest, only a few inconveniencing thorns and thistles have crept in, which, however, are easily rooted out. Man is not to help to shape the course of world-history, but simply to flow on with it, to work as a passive wheel in the eternal clockwork. The highest symbol of morality is the natural sky with its eternally uniform movement. As the actual world is the mutual interpenetration of the two primitive principles, heaven and earth, and holds the equilibrium between them, so is morality the preservation of equipoise—the middle way is always the best. Morality is, therefore, not exacting, aims at nothing high, but is mild, temperate, and practical. Man needs

not to deny himself, to counteract his heart, but only in all things to be moderate. Man, that is, the Chinaman, is naturally able to fulfill all morality; and there have been, therefore, absolutely sinless men. Virtue is easy, as it meets hostile evil neither in the heart nor in society, and as it excites, every-where, not hate, but love and esteem.

As morality is the mere expression of natural order, it stands in relation to the course of nature. Keeping the right mean preserves the equipoise of nature; and every disturbance of the same by sin re-echoes through the whole—especially when the sinner is the vicar of Heaven, the emperor, who is called by office to be a pattern, a moral ideal. Drouth, famine, overflows, pestilence, are not so much penalties inflicted by a personal god as the immediate natural consequences of the sins of the emperor, and of the people in imitating him. Instead of an historical connection, a working of sin on coming generations, we have here a natural connection, a working of it on present nature and on the present generation. According to this conception, man's sins have not only to do with himself, they react also disturbingly on the universe, and on its highest manifestation, the Celestial Empire; all sins are, therefore, crimes, and hurtful to society at large.

The center of moral life is the family; in it is revealed the divine life, consisting in the antagonism of the male, or active, and the female, or passive, (spirit and matter,) and in the union of the two. Family life is a living divine service, and family duties the highest. Filial obedience yields to no other. What heaven is to earth, that is the father to his children, and reverence to parents is a religious virtue. Marriage is, therefore, a moral duty which the virtuous cannot neglect. The celibate breaks the succession of the family and outrages his ancestors.

But a fully realized morality appears only in the State, which is simply the perfected family. The emperor, as son and vicar of Heaven, and as ruling, not arbitrarily but by eternal laws, is the father and educator of the people, not only protecting right, but also, as pattern of virtue, guiding and conserving the morals of his people. In China the State is every thing, and every thing is the State. Between civil and moral law there is no distinction.

III. The Indians, both Brahmins and Buddhists, consistently

with their extreme pantheism, conceive of morality in an essentially negative form. Human personality is delusive and unjustifiable, and, therefore, the essence of morality is self-denial, world-renunciation, passive suffering. The moral goal is not a personal possession, not a realization of, and contribution to, a moral kingdom of persons, but the giving up of personality. All finite reality is evil, not by man's fault but in itself; needs not redemption but annihilation: but pure pantheistic Brahminism derives the world and humanity from the divine substance, and, therefore, admits a substratum of divinity in every thing. Buddhism annihilates even deity itself, and makes morality to consist in a patient, hopeless contemplation of the nullity of all things.

But to particularize. The Brahmins have, in their sacred books, ancient and rich collections of ethical teachings. Of divine origin, and almost equally esteemed with the Vedas, are the Laws of Manu, of which portions belong to different ages, though the most recent are anterior to the fourth century B. C. Moral maxims are yet unseparated from religious and civil.

The Brahmin regards the real world as neither necessary nor justifiable, but as a sort of dreamlike emanation from Brahm, which after a temporary and purposeless continuance will vanish back into the bosom of the All. Personality is an evil. Continued existence in soul-transmigration is punishment, not reward. All reality is, as individuality, evil, and only in its general divine basis, good. The moral subject is not man *per se;* there is no human individuality, but only closer or remoter circles around the divine center-classes (castes) of men, essentially different by nature, and of which the lower are inferior to many beasts, and utterly incapable of morality. To teach the Vedas or the Laws to such, is the greatest crime. Only for the three higher castes is true knowledge and morality possible. Even among them are moral capacity and duty very different. An Indian speaks of the duties, not of men, but of castes. Brahmins alone are capable of the highest morality, and morality is not a positive shaping and developing of reality, but a contemptuous turning away from the same in order to verge personality into the impersonal All. The highest virtue is renunciation, not merely of sensual pleasure, of earthly comfort, but of personal consciousness, in order that Brahm alone may exist. The

highest good is to become one with Brahm, not in moral likeness, but as a drop loses itself in the ocean. As in deepest sleep man is nearer deity than when awake, so the goal of virtue is the eternal sleeping of the personal soul, the evaporation of the drew-drop that trembles on the lotus leaf. Holding fast to personality is the root of all evil. Naught should exist but God, for whom, indeed, the existence of the world is at best but a dream-phantom, a transient hallucination.

The Brahmin looks sadly at the present, with indifference into the future, and with contentment only on the past, when naught was but Brahm, and into that future which will again realize this past. A Brahmin's morality is less a working than a sacrificing, and is identical with his worship, of which the essence is simply self-torture. What nature does for her products by decomposition man must do for himself by morality. The fearful self-tortures of the Indian are not penance for sins, but highest acts of sanctity. He has no consciousness of guilt; the evil that exists is not his, but God's. The evil that is associated with all finite reality is inherent in the same, and has no remedy but its sinking back into the infinite. All morality is mere self-denial; the true sage needs not only do no positive works, he avoids them from principle, for they belong only to the realm of vanity.

For man even, as an object of moral action, has the Indian no concern; he has a higher love for nature, as this stands nearer the deity. In nature he sees his mother, and lovingly reverences her as the most immediate revelation of Brahm. The same Brahmin who can coldly see a *pariah* famish, without even reaching out his hand to help, shudders at the thought of breaking a grass-blade or swallowing a gnat, and will not, without cause, break the least earth-clod. Marriage and the family life in general can be only a transition stage for the morally imperfect. The enlightened Brahmin must forsake father and mother, wife and child; must die to the world and to himself; and live only in solitary contemplation of Brahm, standing for years on the same spot emotionless as a tree, and seeking or accepting only the scantiest food. So every thing finite must become utterly indifferent, until, fading away like a plant, he attains the longed-for death. For society and politics those of the lower castes only have concern. Brah-

mins care naught for these things, and higher than the warrior-hero or the dominating prince is the crown-despising hermit.

Stronger still is the ethical consciousness of the Buddhists, whose wide-prevailing religion—an offshoot of the Brahminic, and founded in the sixth century B. C. by the Indian prince Sakya-Muni—is the only heathen one that ever sent out foreign missions. Within a few centuries it spread itself through all middle, southern and eastern Asia as far as into Japan. The sacred books of the Buddhists are chiefly of moral contents, as their religion itself is, in the main, morality.

Going a step beyond the unconditioned Brahm of the Brahmins, the Buddhist regards this undetermined base of all things as nonentity itself—Nirvana. All being sprang from nonentity, therefore every thing is in essence nonentity, and in annihilation finds its true goal. Such only is the goal of man and of all moral aspiration. All is vanity in heaven and earth—heaven and earth themselves are vain; and over the vanishing ruins of a falling universe sits eternally enthroned the infinite void. The morality of this atheistical religion is in striking contrast to the lustful pleasure-seeking atheism of modern times, and consists in this, that the Buddhist is truly in earnest with his comfortless dogma; that he presents the God-forsaken world to himself as really such, denies himself all enjoyment of the same, and considers deep grief at the emptiness of all being as the height of human virtue. Unable to conceive of a personal God, he rejects an impersonal one as worse than none. His religion in its pure form is a religion of despair; and with it his ethics correspond, differing entirely from the Brahminic. Here, there is no divine center of the universe around which privileged classes are grouped, humanity being simply a vast sea of uniform sand-grains. Here, no divine fatality controls human action; but moral activity aims at no positive goal, only at annihilation. The Buddhist strives not, but only suffers. The world's history is one vast tragedy. The height of wisdom is deeply to feel and to compassionate its terrible catastrophe. Suffering and sympathy are the sole sentiments of the sage; his main aspiration is to escape out of this life of woe. In a world without God he is homeless, restless, comfortless, without future, without joyful present. His world-renunciation is less active, virile, self-torturing than that of the

Brahmin, but, as it were, passive, feminine, quietly suffering, submissively waiting, till existence falls away of itself. Man must despise the world, not in hope of a better, but because misery is inseparable from it. The pious should live as a homeless wanderer, or as a hermit in forest or desert, in beggar garb, possessing nothing, solitary, indifferent to pain or pleasure, dead to all emotions. Wedlock, as producing new existence, and, therefore, in itself evil, he must absolutely avoid. Such self-denial the older, purer Buddhism required of all men, and it is only a deteriorated form of later times that conceded to a portion of the population a less rigid severity.

Buddhist ethics is mainly negative. "Thou shalt not," is the prevailing form of command. An important precept is, to avoid increasing the unhappiness of either man or beast. Hence is here found, hand in hand with the highest contempt of the world, the greatest gentleness toward all living creatures. Nothing may be hurt, nothing killed. To alleviate the pain of another, man should even take it upon himself. And as an historical fact, the Buddhists have been the gentlest of all heathens. But this gentleness is not so much active love as mere compassion.

IV. The moral consciousness of the Egyptians and of the Semitic nations, especially the Assyrians and Babylonians, is, as yet, very imperfectly known. Thus much seems certain, that among these nations, which form a sort of link between the Pantheists of east Asia and the Theists of west Europe, the moral destiny of man and the personality of God came to a partially correct recognition.

But more in detail. Egypt stood on the dividing line between the naturalistic and the personally-spiritual-world theory. True, the divine is, at base, only a nature-force; it struggles up, however, into spiritual personality. The presupposition of morality is an inner moral-world-antagonism. The personal good divinities are opposed by evil in the form of a being who, though less spiritual, is likewise divine and mighty. Man in his moral life is involved in this antagonism, and is called to determine himself for the good and against the evil. Man's self-determining power is conceived under a higher form than in China or India. Here, therefore, more warlike historical characters have been produced. The goal of

life is the victory of the good over the evil by the personal spirit.

It was among the Egyptians that the personality of the soul came first to full recognition. Spirit is other and higher than nature, and is called to victory over it, to moral self-determination, and to personal immortality. But this calling to victory over nature does not realize itself in the earthly life. As Osiris succumbs to the evil Typhon, so must man finally succumb to unspiritual nature—only, however, to come to the enjoyment of full spirituality in the future state. The morning of spiritual freedom has dawned in Egypt, but it is not yet day. Only through struggle, suffering, and dying is the soul made free both in the world of gods and of men. Osiris becomes a real ruler only in the lower world; so, also, man a real man. Only out of death springs life and victory. The moral life of the Egyptian, though brighter than that of the Indian, is still overspread with a dusky vail, a melancholy breath. Though eventuating in fruition, it is here full of sorrows. Though not yet free, he becomes so after death, if he here bravely battles; and he is conscious of full responsibility for his state after death. His lot is not assigned by fate but by him who first vanquished nature and death; by Osiris, who is king of the next world, in which true life first begins, and who judges all human conduct by the scale of righteousness. With Osiris the just live on in communion and bliss. Osiris, who is the highest representative of the spiritual godhead, the pattern and earnest of immortality, the first-born of those who live after death, is also the highest representative of Egyptian morality, the chief trait of which is persistent battling for righteousness.

But perfect righteousness is attained only in the next world; on earth the evil powers have irresistible sway. Therefore the Egyptians, contrary to the Chinese, direct all their love and concern to the future life. The dwellings of their living were mostly paltry huts, whereas those of their dead were monuments of the highest art, and of an unparalleled architectural zeal. The catacombs and the royal tombs, the pyramids, number among the wonders of the ancient world, and defy the ravages of time. The present life is, as in India, lightly esteemed; not, however, because of the vanity of all being, but

as compared with an immeasurably higher, richer future life. Mementoes of death attended the Egyptians every-where, and mummies or images of the deceased served as such even at their banquets. "The Egyptians," says Diodorus, "esteem the time of this life as very unimportant; they call the dwellings of the living, inns; but the graves, eternal dwellings."

The heathen Semitic nations, especially the Assyrians and Babylonians, base religion and morality on the ground of the subjective mind, the isolated personality. The vague unity of naturalism they have abandoned, but they have not yet attained that of the infinite Spirit. Spirit appears only in the multiplicity of individuals. In religion, as in morality, is there here manifested, for the first time, the independency of bold, rude, subjective spirit on any absolute objective power, whether natural or spiritual; an arbitrariness of individual volition, daring deeds, sustained savageness of will and passion, powerful movement without end or purpose. Man as individual steps forward as highest authority. Morality lacks a firm basis and norm. It is the era of the great heroes, tyrants, and God-despisers; from Nimrod, who began to be a mighty hunter before the Lord, to Nebuchadnezzar, who openly revolted against him. A rude, egotistical, moral consciousness is stamped with the defiance of the haughty subject toward all objective or divine authority. Cruelty and sensuality characterized even the worship—much more the moral life. Nineveh and Babylon reached the highest form of godless, pleasure-seeking, luxurious life in the pre-Christian world.

V. To a higher stand-point than the earlier nations, though not to a higher development of it, rose the temporarily world-historical Persians. The sharp moral antagonism of the two divine principles calls here to earnest combat against god-born evil. Moral personality is more highly esteemed. The moral calling is more earnest, and has the assurance of victory over evil not merely in the next world, but within the sphere of history itself. Morality has here, for the first time in heathendom, a positive historical goal—the realization of a kingdom of good on earth. The Persians are the sole heathen nation which has, for the basis of its moral aspiration, a definite prophecy. The essence of Persian morality is a hope-buoyed, conscious combat against mighty evil, which is viewed

not as a natural, but as a moral and thoroughly abnormal corruption. It looks to a purification of man from evil through volitional resistance to an evil deity.

But more explicitly. The Persians were not able, in the brief period of their historical glory, from Cyrus to Alexander, to develop their ethical consciousness to a ripe scientific form. Our chief source of information, the Avesta, is far inferior to the profound sacred books of the Indians, though the moral stand-point is higher. The real world is no longer a divine substance, but a product of creative act. God is higher than, and rules over, nature, though not as a perfectly free omnipotent Creator. The material world is not hostile, but friendly, to virtue. Man begins to feel at home in it, and regards his highest good as here realizable. His goal, moreover, is attained, not by natural development, but by constant, earnest battling against positively existing evil. This evil inheres not in nature, but was guiltily caused by the fall of a divinity from good. This view approaches nearer Christianity than any we have thus far met. The Chinese, in ignoring evil, and the Indians, in regarding it as a necessity of finite reality, deprive morality of its highest motive. With the Persians, all evil comes of personal act, though not human but pre-historical and divine. The godhead *per se*, however, cannot do evil; but there is another equally personal god, who, having freely chosen evil, interpenetrates the good world with his own, is concerned in all actual evil, and is therefore called Angra-Mainyus, (Ahriman,) the "evil-disposed," the originator of death, falseness, impurity, and all hurtful creatures.

Though casting the guilt of evil from himself back on the god-world, still the Persian conceives his own moral destiny and duty in regard to actual evil much more clearly than the earlier nations. Man stands with full freedom between good and evil, and has, as moral calling, to come into constantly closer communion with the good Being, and into ever greater antagonism to the Spirit of Evil. Morality is a contest, and is based on the definitely-revealed will of Ormuzd. Thus morality is no longer naturalistic, but purely spiritual; and the subjective arbitrariness of the Semitic nations being overcome, an objective moral norm is attained. The revealed holy Word is the mightiest weapon against Ahriman. The moral struggle

is here more earnest than in Egypt, for it is buoyed up by hope of victory in this world. Osiris has been virtually banished from this world into the future, but Ormuzd maintains against evil, even here, a hopeful contest. The Persian, holding himself for a champion of God, has in his moral strife a high object—to defend God and his work; a high goal, redemption of the world from evil; and a high hope, for Sosiosch, the Helper, will finally come to perfect the victory. It is not without reason that the Persians, who were hostile to foreign religions, especially to the grossly idolatrous, showed constantly a high esteem for the Jews, for in their higher God-idea they found a similarity to their own.

The morality of the Persians is, in harmony with their theology, mainly of a denying character, directing itself destructively against the manifestations of the evil Ahriman. Purification from whatever comes in real or symbolical contact with evil, death, or corruption, the killing of poisonous or hurtful animals, and the like, are not only moral duties, but also acts of worship, and the Avesta abounds in minute directions on such points.

But also the positive morality of the Persians is much higher than with earlier nations. Persians stood, in the eyes of their contemporaries, in favorable moral contrast to the luxuriousness of the Semitic nations. They were sympathetic and active. Indolence is from Ahriman; labor, especially land culture, material amelioration, etc., are holy requirements of Ormuzd. The moral bearing of man to his fellow is delicate and noble. High respect for personality is the basis of social virtue. Honesty, truthfulness, and high personal honor distinguishes Persian morality very widely from the east Asiatic.

Only where evil is viewed no longer as a mere abstract incident of reality, but as a concrete, guilty, personal actuality, does moral resistance against the same become really earnest. The Chinese labors quietly, busily, mechanically; the Indian patiently endures; the Egyptian mourns and longs for the next world; the Shemite prances and enjoys; but the Persian battles in manly, moral earnest. The chief error in his moral consciousness is, that he assigns evil to the god-sphere, and does not recognize it in his own heart.

The ethical consciousness of the Greeks is very different from

that of the Persians. Though developing itself more widely than this, it seems to approach less nearly the stand-point of Christianity. The heathen mind could not long hold fast to the Persian dualism; the Greeks seek the reconciliation of the world-antagonism by placing it in the past, and regard the present as an unbroken continuance of the world-harmony which was obtained at the outset of human history by the victory of the personal Spirit over hostile nature-forces. The dualism of hostile antagonism is lost in a dualism of love. No evil god and no unspiritual nature-power opposes the ethical activity. Morality is not contest, but normal development of the essentially good and pure human being. Man, by following his naturally harmonious disposition, by enjoying the beautiful actuality of the world, by ennobling sensuous enjoyment through spiritual culture, and by unfolding equally all phases of his sensuous and spiritual life, attains to the harmonious perfection of his personality, the highest goal of ethical aspiration. The beautiful is, *per se*, the good. In enjoying and creating the beautiful is man moral. The battle is not to destroy a world of evil, nor to realize an ethical ideal, but simply to develop the full heroic personality. The Greek battles for the sake of battling—finds in battle enjoyment, heroic sport. The Greek ideal is the vigorous, youthful personality; in the god-world, the young Apollo; in the hero world, Achilles; until, at the close of Grecian ascendency, Alexander realized it in an historical form. But all ideality inheres in the transcendent individual. An enduring world-historical, ethical reality, however, the Greeks could not create. The positively perfect goal was lacking. Alexander's conquering deeds looked toward, and could only glorify, his own heroic person; had to pass away at his death; and the Greeks became an easy prey to a nation which, with zealous persistence, aimed at the positive goal of a unified world, and held the individual in absolute subordination to their purpose. To the Greek the ethical idea is more an object of æsthetical enjoyment than of moral realization. For the actual basis of the higher moral life, the family, is his ethical consciousness extremely defective; and the idea of humanity *per se*, he does not possess: only the Hellene, not the barbarian, is held for a truly moral personality. Slavery is the indispensable basis of a free State.

But to take a closer view. The earlier world-antagonism, of which all heathen nations have been conscious, though not perfectly overcome by the Greeks, is yet resolved into a sort of harmony, which, however, as viewed from a Christian standpoint, must be regarded as delusive. The consciousness of such an antagonism is expressed in myths concerning ancient struggles between spiritual deities and Titanic nature forces. The former remain victors, and the actual world manifests the reconciliation of the antagonism. Every-where, in heaven and earth, are nature and spirit in harmonious union. All power hostile to personal mind was already conquered in the prehistoric period, and the Titans are thrust into Tartarus. The basis of Grecian morality is, therefore, delight in actual existence—love as bliss. Man is not to sacrifice his desires, but only to heighten and indulge them so far as they bear the stamp of harmony and beauty. He is not, as the Indian, to renounce the world, but to enjoy its inexhaustible beauty in peaceful satisfaction; nor as the Persian, to combat its evil-permeated actuality; but to pluck its joy-bringing fruits. Grecian morality is that of one who, without severe inner struggle, is complacently satisfied.

The Hellene has, on the one hand, in his conviction of world-harmony a strong motive to virtue. Glad to preserve this harmony, he is in general kind, open, honorable, and shows respect for the moral personality of, as well as some degree of generosity to, his enemies; but he has in it, on the other hand, a tendency to superficial morality—believing that without any contest he possesses the good already, and that his natural desires are right. He is inclined to indulge himself even in excessive lusts if they only wear the tinge of the beautiful. The beauty of the manner excuses the sin. The worship of Aphrodite gives to sensuality even a religious countenance. Grecian effeminacy and luxuriousness, to which the Spartans alone were an exception, became proverbial among the Romans. Also for the darker passions, hate and revenge, the Greek had little blame; he took no offense at the horrid abuse of the heroic Hector. The most virtuous were not respected, but banished; the flatterers were honored, the friends of truth hated or killed.

Exquisite taste for the beautiful elevates the Greek to a high

conception of moral beauty, and the poets sketch moral ideas with masterly hand; but their ideals are more for esthetic contemplation than moral imitation. Morality becomes, therefore, a mere spectacle; and in no heathen nation is the contrast between the ideal and real life so great as in that one which conceived the ideal the highest. The moral requirements of practical life were different from those of poetry. The same people who on the stage admired, and in song heard, with rapture, such female ideals as Penelope, Antigone, and Electra, placed in actual life woman, marriage, and general domestic life much lower than the Chinese and the ancient Germans; and even accomplished concubines enjoyed, not only in the condemned taste of the more corrupt circles, but also in the moral judgment of the most cultivated, (especially after the time of the notorious Aspasia, who is associated in history with Pericles, and was also honored by Socrates,) higher regard than simple housewives, and became the real guides of female culture and the ideals of female grace. In Sparta the family was destroyed by express legislation, and the penal laws against bachelors, which soon became necessary, are but a proof of how popular those laws hostile to domestic life really were. Solon found it necessary to the well-being of the State to protect, with penal sanctions, the simplest natural duties of the marriage state—a proof of how great already, in his day, was the general aversion to wedlock—a state which, though forming the basis of all true morality, was regarded in the brightest age of Greece as little better than a necessary evil. Abortion and the exposing of new-born children were a parental right which was not only protected by laws, but also justified by the most esteemed philosophers. The depravity, not only of actual life, but also of the general moral consciousness, shows itself most unambiguously in the unnatural lusts which even philosophers stooped to gloss up into respectability. Paul's dark picture (Rom. i) not only of Grecian morals, but also of the moral consciousness of the Greeks, is perfectly confirmed by actual history. In our modern attempt to improve Christian philosophy by "classic," these facts ought not to be left out of sight. The heathen Germans stand, in this respect, far above the Greeks.

But high as, indeed, was developed the idea of the sacredness

of personality, still this sentiment was indulged only for the free Hellenes, who formed but a small minority of the Greek population. (At greatest prosperity Attica contained 400,000 slaves, and Corinth 460,000.) Barbarians and slaves have no right to personal liberty. Freedom without slavery is absurd. The general mild treatment of slaves was more an expression of natural kindness and personal interest than of acknowledged justice. Spartan slave-murdering was an unquestioned right of State and citizen. Even Plato and Aristotle are unable to imagine a free State without the personal unfreedom of slavery. This "humanitarian" race limits freedom to the possessors of slaves. And the higher the right and might of the free rise, so increases their power over their slaves. That the latter were only rational domestic animals was a general opinion, and admitted by the sages.

Though the practical opinions and actual morals of the Greeks are in some respects far below those of other heathen nations, yet is their speculative morality higher. That which in Christianity forms the presupposition of all truly moral life, the reconciliation (at-one-ment) of contradiction and antagonism in the actual world, and the higher right and power of personal spirit over unfree nature, is by the Greeks recognized in a higher though distorted form than by earlier heathens. As in Christianity only he who, through an historical atonement, is made free from natural sinfulness and raised to true moral liberty can realize true morality, so also the Hellene lays at the basis of his ethics a prehistorical reconciliation of nature and spirit. Of course he could come to such a conception of the atonement of the world-antagonism only by ignoring personal guilt for it, by placing its reconciliation in the pre-historic ages among the gods, and by regarding man as now enjoying this world-harmony, and as having nothing more to do with the ancient antagonism, but esthetically to reproduce it in art and poetry—in mock Titan battles on Olympic plains, and in Promethean tragedies. Still the basal thought in this is important: that only man, as made free and placed in harmony with the universe, is capable of true morality. That the carrying out of this thought is very defective; that the Greek, through his fables and tragedies, does not rise to true moral earnestness, is a mere result of his heathen surroundings. And

even in the fact that to the Hellene morality seems so easy, there is a presentiment of the true thought, that to the morally-emancipated the moral law appears no longer as a yoke, a burden, but rather as the immediate, unconstrained, bliss-inspired, normal life of the sanctified man. To no other heathen nation is morality so easy a task as to the Hellenes. The Greek recognizes for the moral subject no absolutely binding objective law; even the moralizing philosophers confine themselves, in sharp contrast to the Chinese, Indians, and Persians, almost exclusively to the mere generalities, seldom giving minute precepts. Free man bears the law in himself, and bows to none that is external. And this is but a heathen distortion of the *per se* true thought, that for the spiritually-regenerated the law of God is written in the heart; that his yoke is easy and his burden light. If Chinese and Persian ethics remind us of Jewish, so do Grecian of Christian. That among the Greeks the resembling phase rested on a false basis, and in application wrought pervertingly, leading to frivolity, and in some respects to a lower morality than that of the Orientals, proves not the perversity of the theory, but the perversity of the natural man, who turns the truth which he possesses to the service of sin, and thus confirms the declaration that only whom the Son makes free is "free indeed." He who is spiritually unfree while imagining himself free, is in greater danger than he who, being unfree, knows himself such. The Greek is more responsible and more guilty than other heathens, for he has a higher knowledge, and the Apostle's condemnation of the heathen (Rom. i) strikes the Greek more severely than others.

VII. It was through Socrates that the moral consciousness of the Greeks first approached a philosophical form. Before him we find little but isolated practical maxims. Socrates, speculating less on ontology than on "the good," not only bases the ethical on philosophical knowledge, but finds therein its essence and perfection. Knowing is the highest virtue, and out of it flow immediately and necessarily all others. A contradiction between knowing and willing is inconceivable. Ethics realizes itself practically in the subordination of irrational desires to rational knowledge, especially in obedience to civil law. Without consciousness of the might of evil in natural man, Socrates finds the moral, mainly, only in a common-

sense calculation of external fitness. His significance for ethics lies in his having indicated rational knowledge as the fountain of the ethical and objective, though imperfectly defined, good, as the goal of rational life.

More definitely. The Greeks speculated very early concerning the moral, and the most ancient sages were chiefly moralists; but it was long before the isolated practical maxims were reduced to systems. Philosophy proper was purely speculative, and the moral views of the philosophers were but loosely connected with their systems.

Socrates, it is said, first brought philosophy from heaven to the earth. With him it becomes essentially moral. Even as to God, it is the moral rather than the ontological that interests him. To know the good is for him the essence of philosophy. But as ethics is derived exclusively from philosophy, so in it the element of knowledge overbalances that of emotion. With Socrates ethics is coldly rational, and has not, as in Christianity, an historical basis, but is *a priori* discoverable. Man is by nature totally good, and has in his freedom a decided natural tendency to the good, as in his reason he has a natural thirst for truth. Evil does not spring from a bad will, but solely from error. The judgment may err, and the consequent act is evil; and it is absolutely impossible that man should not will that which he recognizes as good. If, therefore, men are only led to a knowledge of the good, they will surely act virtuously. The motive to morality is not love, but knowledge. To instruct is to render better. The philosopher is the virtuous—he only can practice true virtue. The ignorant is also unmoral. "Know thyself" is the presupposition of all morality; not, however, in the sense of knowing the evil nature of the natural heart, but in the sense of knowing the mind in its logical processes. In his dialogues Socrates does not aim to show men their moral guilt, but to convince them how little they know. His ethics is a one-sided knowledge. There is really only the one virtue of wisdom, that is, knowledge, other virtues being only forms of this one.

The chief practical outgoing of wisdom is self-mastery, subordination of passions and feelings to knowledge. Man must in all cases walk by the light of knowledge, preserve self-consistency, and not yield to his instincts. And as knowledge

cannot be stolen, and as changes of feeling are subordinate to it, so has man, in its fixedness, also happiness; the sage is necessarily happy within himself. Herein is the freedom of the wise. Knowledge, virtue, and happiness are essentially but different sides of the same thing. In thus identifying the good with knowledge Socrates rescues it from the arbitrariness of the individual, as truth is objective, and not in his control. The good is, therefore, independent of the individual, and all rational men must recognize it. The ethical idea has, therefore, obtained a universal positive meaning, and Socrates recognizes its objective validity in ascribing true wisdom to God alone.

These general thoughts of Socrates form the basis of the systems that follow him. He does not develop them. When he aims to give them a more specific meaning it is by adverting to civil law, in obeying which man becomes moral. His morality is, therefore, only Greek civic virtue—has no higher ideal prototype. Obedience to civil law is the sum of all duties. "Just" is synonymous with "legal." To do good to friends and evil to enemies is a moral requirement, though it is better to suffer wrong than to commit it. Injury inflicted on enemies is not injustice, but righteous retaliation.

The general spirit of Socrates is a dry, prosaic utilitarianism. His moral views, except as developed by Plato, lack ideal inspiration. In his own life he rises not above ordinary Greek morality, and it is only our modern deistical charlatanism that could have placed Socrates, as a moral ideal, by the side of Christ.

In Plato's *Symposion* Socrates rivals all others in drinking, and outquaffs, without getting intoxicated, the whole company, and yet is this Platonic Socrates considerably idealized. In Xenophon (Mem. iii, 11) he goes with a friend to a public woman and teaches her the art of fascinating men. The effort to justify this is by no means successful. If in such a case Socrates thinks of nothing better than indulging in logical gymnastics his moral judgment of the thing is evident enough. His bearing otherwise to Grecian licentiousness (Mem. i, 3, 14, 15) manifests deep obscurity of moral consciousness even in the philosopher. Of moral and domestic love has Socrates, so far as we know, scarcely a dream. When, after his condemnation

to death, his wife with her child comes to his prison to take leave of him, Socrates merely remarks dryly to his friends, "Let some one take the woman back to her home." She is led out by a slave, and in his last long farewell to life he does not find place for a single word for wife or children.

VIII. From Socrates went forth several schools whose differences were mainly ethical. The Cynics (Antisthenes) give, in its practical application, a one-sided prominence to the Socrates' doctrine of the ethical significance of knowledge. Knowledge creates the good immediately; virtue, resting exclusively on knowledge, is man's highest goal. Its chief trait is battling against irrational desires; freedom from desire is highest virtue. Opposed to these the Cyrenaics (Aristippos) emphasize the other side of the wisdom-life, happiness. Happiness is the highest good—the goal of morality. Virtue is but a means to this end. But happiness consists in the feeling of pleasure—enjoyment. Enjoyment is, therefore, the goal of morality. By it man becomes free, for it puts to rest his disquieting desires.

More specifically. Both of these schools seek an objective basis for morality; but in fact both are thoroughly subjective, the Cynic beginning with subjective knowledge and the thereby-determined will, and the Cyrenaics with feeling. Both are one-sidedly Socratic. If knowledge, virtue, happiness are essentially identical, then it is indifferent whether we say virtue consists in unconditional obedience to knowledge, or in seeking after happiness. The Cynic is, therefore, consistent when he says, I need only follow knowledge, indifferent as to pleasure or pain, for true happiness must spring from virtue, and whatever feeling may contradict this is to be despised as illusory. The Cyrenaic is also consistent when he says, I need only follow my pleasurable feelings, indifferent as to philosophical knowledge, for since happiness must spring from virtue, I have, in my sensation of pleasure, the certainty that I practice virtue —that I comprehend the good rightly.

According to the Cynics there is for the good no other distinguishing trait than knowledge. A knowledge of the good, and a therewith-accordant conduct, are the only things worth knowing. Only the good in this sense is beautiful, and only the bad is ugly. Whatever else may seem pleasant for the

senses or feelings is perfectly worthless. True freedom is perfect indifference to every thing exterior to the mind itself. All evil is error—arises from false impressions and conceptions, but not from the heart. By virtue of his knowledge the sage is free from all sin.

In this system the independence of the individual mind is pushed to an absurd extreme, both in its disdainful indifference to all objective reality, and in its presumptuous reliance on its own very imperfect subjective knowledge. It leads to complete contempt of the world, and of social and civic customs. Whatever of half truth Cynicism may have, its practical application leads almost necessarily to mere caricatures of humanity—to a Diogenes. The school, as a whole, gives free scope to the pride of easily-contented self-righteous ones.

The Cyrenaics go to the other extreme. A happiness that is not felt as pleasure is none at all. If virtue makes happy it must be through the feelings. Whatever is truly good evinces itself as such through the feelings; and conversely, whatever excites pleasure must be good, otherwise there would be a happiness that did not spring from virtue. Between manifold pleasures there is no essential moral difference, and the pleasure-sensation is a perfect guide in the sphere of morals. The chief object of practical wisdom is, therefore, to procure the greatest amount of pleasure. Reflection must do this work. By reflection, for example, I find that temperance is a virtue, for intemperance produces pain. True wisdom consists, therefore, in finding the just limits of each pleasure, but not in a knowledge of general principles. Each pleasure has a different measure, and this can be discovered by experience alone. This brings us down to Plato.

Art. III.—SAUL'S INTERVIEW WITH THE WITCH OF ENDOR.

I SAMUEL XXVIII, 3-20.

The practice of witchcraft and necromancy is of ancient origin. We trace it back through the mists of antiquity as far as to the patriarchal age, and even then its beginning reaches on into a remoter past. But whatever its origin, and

whatever the real nature of its mysteries, it is every-where treated with sternest denunciation by the law of God. "Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live." Exod. xxii, 18. "Regard not them that have familiar spirits, neither seek after wizards, to be defiled by them." Lev. xix, 31. "There shall not be found among you any one that maketh his son or his daughter to pass through the fire, or that useth divination, or an observer of times, or an enchanter, or a witch, or a charmer, or a consulter with familiar spirits, or a wizard, or a necromancer.* For all that do these things are an abomination unto the Lord, and because of these abominations the Lord thy God doth drive them out from before thee." Deut. xviii, 10–12. In this last passage a necromancer is distinguished from a consulter with familiar spirits, but one person might practice many forms of witchcraft, so that a consulter with familiar spirits might also be a necromancer. Accordingly we find the Witch of Endor pretending to hold intercourse with the dead, though she is called a woman that had a familiar spirit. The primary sense of the Hebrew word (אֹב) translated *familiar spirit* is a *skin-bottle*, and is so rendered in Job xxxii, 19. The Septuagint renders it by εγγαστρίμυθος, *a ventriloquist*, in reference, perhaps, to the manner in which persons of this craft uttered their responses. Hence Fürst defines the word as "the hollow belly of conjurers, in which the conjuring spirit resides, and speaks hollow, as if out of the earth."

Saul's interview with the Witch of Endor has ever been regarded as a subject beset with peculiar difficulties. Justin Martyr and Origen held that, by the incantations of the Witch the spirit of Samuel actually appeared and conversed with Saul. Modern Spiritism has also affirmed that the Witch was a medium through whom the King of Israel received communications from the Prophet's spirit. But the majority of the older expositors, and some few moderns, believing it absurd to suppose that a holy prophet could be made to rise from the dead by the ministry of witchcraft, regard the supposed apparition as Satan personating Samuel.* "It was not till the seventeenth century," says Keil, "that the opinion was expressed that the apparition of Samuel was merely a delusion produced

* For a thorough etymological discussion of these terms, see Kitto's new Biblical Cyclopædia, or M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopædia; article, *Divination*.

by the Witch, without any real background at all. After Reginald Scotus and Balthazar Bekker had given expression to this opinion, it was more fully elaborated by Antonius Van Dale, (1683;) and in the so-called age of enlightenment this was the prevailing opinion, so that Thenius still regards it as an established fact, not only that the woman was an impostor, but that the historian himself regarded the whole thing as an imposture." The prevailing opinion of modern divines is, that not by the magic arts of the Witch, but contrary to her expectations, and by the express permission and command of God, the Prophet Samuel actually appeared and spoke to Saul.

On the moral character of witchcraft there can be no controversy. It has ever been associated with venality and fraud, and bears the condemnation of God's holy law. We are driven, therefore, to adopt one of two conclusions. The mysteries of divination are certain psychological phenomena not yet fully explained by thorough scientific investigation, but of which Satan has taken advantage to deceive and lead captive the souls of men; or else, they are wrought by the immediate supernatural agency of Satan and his angels. This latter alternative we are slow to accept. We gather from the Holy Scriptures that the evil spirit is so limited to a certain definite sphere of operation that he is never allowed to use supernatural power to mislead where there is only human capacity to resist. Much more plausible, therefore, is the supposition that the marvelous feats of magic and witchcraft have a physiological and psychological basis in the human constitution.

Careful and continued investigations in *Clairvoyance* have, within the last century, shed much light on the mysteries of magic. We know that men have charmed serpents and serpents have charmed men. Why, then, should we doubt that man can charm man? We cannot doubt it, for the thing has often been done, and it has been shown beyond successful contradiction that, in accordance with certain laws of our being, one person can so fascinate another, and place himself in such electrical rapport with his soul, as to become sensible of what he feels or imagines. This power, however, exists in different degrees. Some persons it seems impossible to mesmerize at

all, or at most only by long-continued efforts on the part of the operator; others are highly susceptible to mesmeric operations, and are easily thrown into a clairvoyant state. Others, again, have the rare power of spontaneously inducing upon themselves the clairvoyant state, and then seem to revel at pleasure amid the things that belong to the spiritual world. In this state some, with their eyes closed and bandaged, will accurately describe persons and places that are far away, and that could have been known to them at the time only by some inner sight. Now by coming in direct sensational contact with the soul of another, the superior clairvoyant becomes cognizant of the emotions that are agitating there. By the power of an inner vision he sees in that soul the images and impressions that are deeply wrought on the imagination and memory.

The limits and design of this dissertation preclude any attempt at a physiological and psychological explanation of clairvoyance.* But the facts by which the above statements may be sustained are all but innumerable, and will not be questioned by those who have given the subject a proper examination. These facts cannot be without cause, and there must be some clew to the mystery that surrounds them. We believe that the only successful way to refute and put to silence the pretensions of witchcraft is, not by denying her well-authenticated facts, and in the spirit of Popish bigotry persecuting all attempts at their scientific investigation, but by showing that all her lying wonders in the past are traceable to a foul and unholy use of powers peculiar to certain constitutions, but which were not at the time understood. It fell not within the province of divine revelation to communicate scientific instruction on this or any other subject, and therefore we are not to look to the Bible for an exposition of any problem in nature which it is the proper province of science to explain. But between the revelations of the Bible and of

* Those who wish to examine this subject should not fail to consult Dods' Lectures on "Electrical Psychology," and on the "Philosophy of Mesmerism." Also, "Psychology: or, the Science of the Soul considered Physiologically and Philosophically," by Dr. Haddock. See also "Fascination, or the Philosophy of Charming," by John B. Newman, M. D.; and Delitzsch's "Biblical Psychology," Part IV, sections 12 and 17.

science there can be no real antagonism, for they are both offspring of the everlasting Father.

We understand that the Witch of Endor was a clairvoyant of extraordinary power; that she could spontaneously place herself in sensational intercourse with the souls of those who came to inquire of her; and that with this power she united the practice of lying and deceit as she found occasion to serve her own dark purposes. We hope to show by fair and worthy criticism, that, upon this hypothesis, the narrative before us is capable of a happy and consistent explanation; and at the proper places in the course of the discussion, we shall urge what we regard as insuperable objections to the commonly received interpretation, which assumes an actual appearance of Samuel.

A preliminary question, worthy of a passing notice, is, How did the writer of this book of Samuel become acquainted with the facts which he has here recorded? There are two supposable ways. He could have received his information by immediate revelation from the Holy Spirit, or from the testimony of eye-witnesses. There are things recorded in the holy Scriptures which could have been learned only by direct revelation from Heaven; but where the things recorded are of such a nature as not to need a miraculous revelation to communicate them, we have no sufficient reason to believe that such a revelation was given. We therefore conclude that our author received his information originally from the two men (verse 8) who accompanied Saul to Endor, and were undoubtedly eye and ear witnesses of all that happened to him there.

The sacred writer introduces the narrative by reminding his readers of a fact already recorded in the previous history, that Samuel was dead and buried. He also informs us of an act of Saul's reign not recorded elsewhere, by which all persons addicted to the divining art had been driven out of the land of Israel. This had been done in accordance with the law, (Exod. xxii, 18; Lev. xx, 27,) and perhaps by the advice of the Prophet Samuel at an early period of Saul's reign. The deadly persecution had caused all witches that could escape to flee from the land, or else hide themselves in dark places of the wilderness. One female necromancer had concealed herself in the caverns

at Endor,* and her dark retreat was known to some of Saul's servants.

In order to appreciate the wretched and abandoned state of Saul at the time of his intercourse with the woman at Endor, we should glance back for a moment over the misfortunes which befell him after his first transgression at Gilgal. Chap. xiii. At that time the Prophet announced to him that his kingdom should not be established in his posterity, but be given to one who had a better heart than he. And yet in the war with Amalek another fair trial was given him, and again he showed himself stubborn and rebellious. Chap. xv. Then Samuel uttered against him the final oracles of judgment: "Because thou hast rejected the word of the Lord, he also hath rejected thee from being king." And as the venerable Prophet turned to leave him, Saul, seized by sudden fear and trembling, violently grasped the skirt of his mantle, and it rent in his hands. Using the imagery thus afforded, Samuel immediately said to Saul, "The Lord hath rent the kingdom of Israel from thee this day, and hath given it to a neighbor of thine that is better than thou." This was the last interview with Saul that Samuel ever had; (verse 35;) for though Saul afterward came into Samuel's presence at Ramah, (chap. xix, 24,) and prophesied † before him, they had no intercourse with each other.

From the time of Samuel's last interview with him the Spirit of the Lord departed from Saul. Chap. xvi, 14. The divine influences of which he had been made a partaker at the beginning of his career, (see chap. x, 10; xi, 6,) were withdrawn from him, and God no longer inspired him to noble enterprises. Then "an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him." A demon, sent by command of the Almighty, like those so often mentioned in the New Testament, entered into him, and took posses-

* Endor, the modern *Aindur*, lay about seven miles northeast of Shunem, where the Philistine army encamped, so that to reach it from the heights of Gilboa Saul and his two men must have partly compassed the enemy's camp. The modern village is overhung by a declivity which is full of caverns. See Thomson's "The Land and the Book," vol. ii, p. 161.

† Saul's prophesying at Ramah was probably an ecstatic utterance of blessings upon David. He was seized by an unseen, irresistible power, which caused him to fall down, and, Balaam-like, predict his neighbor's royal destiny, though in his heart at other times he would gladly have cursed him. Compare his words at a later time, chap. xxiv, 20; xxvi, 25.

sion of his soul. But while he thus became possessed by a supernatural evil power, it is very likely that a mental disease, bordering on insanity, was the substratum on which the evil spirit worked. After Samuel's last words of judgment the King could not be happy in his kingdom. The more he thought upon his doom the more it harrowed up his soul. It was, perhaps, his highest ambition to be the father of a race of kings, and to have this hope suddenly dashed from him was to have darkness settle over all his life. "The Hebrew mind," says Kitto, "so linked itself to the future by the contemplation of posterity, that it is scarcely possible to us, with our looser attachment to the time beyond ourselves, to apprehend in all its intensity the deep distress of mind with which any Hebrew, and much more a king, regarded the prospect that there would be

'No son of *his* succeeding.'"

Saul's future thus became full of ghostly images, and when, disengaged at times from the excitements of war and the cares of government, he sat down to think over his darkened fortunes, his mind and heart, forsaken of all divine influences from Jehovah, became an easy prey to foul suspicions and gloomy fears—a most inviting state for demoniacal possession. The evil spirit, entering and reveling amid these mental disorders, carried him at times to the wildest height of madness and derangement.

We need not linger to trace onward the successive misfortunes of the unhappy Saul. They thoroughly convinced him that his own reign must soon terminate, and he knew that David would succeed him. Chap. xxiv, 20; xxv, 25; compare also xxiii, 17. When now he saw the mighty host of the Philistines assemble and encamp at Shunem, armed and equipped for a most desperate battle, there fastened upon his soul the dark presentiment that his end was nigh. Fearful indeed must have been his emotions as the darkness of that last night gathered around him on the heights of Gilboa. All the dark past comes up before him, and the last solemn words of the departed Samuel seem to ring again upon his ear. Again in memory he stands at Gilgal, and again the image of the aged Samuel, wrapped in his mantle, rises up before him. What shall he do to relieve his burdened spirit? His physical

strength is departing from him, for all day and all night thus far he has taken no nourishment. He calls around him the most distinguished of Samuel's school of prophets, but they can give no comfort, for neither by vision nor by dream (Num. xii, 6) has Jehovah given them any message for Saul. One more resort for him is to inquire by the urim on the ephod of the high priest, a priest whom he had probably himself appointed in the room of the slaughtered Ahimelech. Chap. xxii, 18. But how could he expect an answer from that source when the blood of eighty-five priests was on his soul? To him all holy oracles are dumb, and he realizes the awful truth that he is God-forsaken. "I am sore distressed," he cries. "The Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more." Whatever dim and visionary hopes he may have cherished hitherto, all now are crushed, and the foul spirit that had formerly been driven from him by the magic power of David's harp again hovers about him and fills his imagination with ghostly specters. What shall he do? With fell purpose, and that impulsive rashness which was ever his easily-besetting sin, he resolves to take counsel of one who pretends to hold communion with the dead. Swept down by the raging cataract of accumulating woes, he still, like a drowning man, grasps at a straw. Surely no necromancer ever wished for a better subject to impose upon than was Saul when he approached the Witch of Endor.

Saul so carefully disguised himself that the woman did not recognize him when he came into her presence. Nothing could have been further from her thoughts than that the King of Israel, at that dark hour of midnight, and when the Philistine army lay between his camp and Endor, was presenting himself to inquire of her. The King made known his errand in language such as one who inquired of a necromancer would naturally use: "Divine unto me by the familiar spirit, and bring me up whom I shall name unto thee." Her suspicions were at once aroused, and she charged him with laying a snare for her life. But Saul sware unto her by Jehovah that no harm should befall her; and when she asked him whom he would consult, he said, "Bring me up Samuel." What magic arts or incantations she proceeded to make use of we are not told; but the next utterance we have from her is one of excite-

ment and alarm: "Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul."

How did the woman learn so soon that her guest was Saul? To this question the advocates of the common interpretation have failed to give any satisfactory answer. Some say that she inferred it from the venerable appearance of Samuel. But how could this be? There is no evidence that she had ever seen Samuel before; and even if she had, we fail to see how his mere appearance on this occasion could have convinced the Witch that it was Saul who inquired of her. Others say that she learned it from something that Samuel said. But as yet Samuel had not spoken. Rabbi Abrabanel supposes that when Samuel appeared he reverently bowed to Saul, from which the woman inferred that her consulter could be no less a person than the King of Israel. This supposition, however, is too absurd to need any refutation. But understand that the woman was a clairvoyant, and the answer to this question becomes easy and simple. This is acknowledged by Keil, the recent commentator, though in his exposition of the passage he teaches that Samuel actually appeared. He says, "Her recognition of Saul when Samuel appeared may be easily explained if we assume that the woman had fallen into a state of clairvoyance, in which she recognized persons who, like Saul in his disguise, were unknown to her by face."

But the writer says, "The woman saw Samuel." Yes, we reply; the clairvoyant of real power (and our interpretation assumes that the woman of Endor was such) can place herself in such electrical or sensational rapport with another's soul as to become cognizant of what is imaged there, and in this way the woman of Endor not only learned who her distinguished consulter was, but she saw prominent among the images that were pictured on his excited imagination the venerable form of the mantled Samuel. She saw him just as he appeared to Saul the last time, and just as his stern and threatening form had haunted that monarch's soul for many years.

The mass of interpreters have strangely assumed that the woman's alarm and outcry must have been caused by the sudden and unexpected appearance of Samuel. She saw Samuel, indeed, and the manner in which she saw him in Saul's excited soul was one means of her recognizing Saul. But her own

words most clearly show that her alarm was not at the sight of Samuel, but at finding that the very monarch of Israel had himself detected her in her sorceries. We understand that the alarm of the woman was so great at her recognizing Saul that she came out of her clairvoyant state. What she had now seen in that one vision of Saul's soul was a sufficient basis for her to devise and utter the responses which follow, and which pretend to come from Samuel.

The King was convinced that she had seen some marvelous sight, and after quieting her fears, he asked her what she saw. She replied, "I saw gods ascending out of the earth." The word אֱלֹהִים, *gods*, is somewhat indefinite, and by it she may have meant one thing and he have understood another. But did she see gods? We must remember that these words are the sayings of a witch, and she alone, not the writer of them, nor the interpreter, is responsible for their truth. Whether true or false, we regard them as a part of the devices by which she sought to terrify and impose upon Saul and his servants. But we have every reason to believe that at the moment she became clairvoyant Saul's soul was full of ghostly fears. Dark specters haunted his imagination, and he expected every moment to see some strange apparition start up in horrid reality before him. As she looks in upon this disordered state of his soul, and sees these ghostly pictures pass like so many shadows, over his wild imagination, she aptly describes the sight as that of gods coming up out of the earth.

Then Saul asked, "What is his form?" He uses the singular תָּאֳרוֹ, *his form*, though the Witch had spoken in the plural, of *gods*. She probably alluded to the ghostly specters which she saw in his imagination, of which the image of Samuel was the most prominent; but he, expecting to see the dead Samuel arise, or hear him speak, conceived in his soul the image of that Prophet as he last appeared to him. The clairvoyant having seen that form altogether prominent in his imagination proceeds to describe the god. "An old man cometh up, and he is covered with a mantle." The King could not conceive of Samuel except in connection with that mantle whose skirt he laid hold of and rent when the Prophet uttered against him the last bitter oracle of judgment. 1 Sam. xv, 27.

"And Saul perceived that it was Samuel." Observe, it is not said that Saul saw Samuel. He formed his opinion entirely from the woman's words. She described the form of Samuel exactly as he appeared at Gilgal—an old man wearing a mantle—and from this description, not from actual sight, he *knew* (ידע, Sept. ἔγνω, Vulg. *intellexit*) that it was Samuel. So overpowering was the impression thus made upon his mind, and so awe-struck was he with the thought of the Prophet's presence, that "he stooped with his face to the ground and bowed himself."

"And Samuel said to Saul." Did, then, Samuel actually speak? We understand that as the Witch did all the seeing for Saul, so also she did all the speaking to him. She was the medium both of sight and sound. The Septuagint version calls her a ventriloquist, and she may have caused her voice to sound from some dark corner, so that Saul and his servants believed it to be the voice of Samuel. But it is not necessary to suppose this. Saul unquestionably believed that the woman was holding intercourse with the real Samuel, and reporting to him what Samuel said. And so any one, who sought unto the dead in this way, though he saw and heard the necromancer utter the communication with her own lips, if he believed that it came from the person sought would naturally speak of it in this way. So when Saul's servants afterward reported this interview they would naturally say, "Samuel said to Saul;" not "the woman said to Saul;" for they undoubtedly believed that the communication came from Samuel.

It should here be observed how perfectly non-committal the sacred historian is in recording this mysterious transaction. He records the whole matter precisely as it was reported to him by the two eye-witnesses, and these witnesses reported it precisely as it appeared to them. We believe that Saul's servants were imposed upon and deceived. They believed that Samuel had spoken to their King; but the sacred writer expresses no opinion in the case. He may have believed their report as they did, but he does not say so. And in this respect the sacred writers are all in striking harmony. They never commit themselves to any explanation of the mysteries which they record. They represent the magicians of Egypt as working miracles in opposition to Moses, but they make no attempt

to indicate or explain the nature of those miracles. Nor need we suppose that they themselves had any settled opinions in the case. They recorded many things which they did not understand, and though they may have inquired and searched diligently into their nature, the Holy Spirit has signally preserved them from expressing their own conclusions.

Thus far, then, we find no evidence that Samuel actually appeared. The words "Samuel said to Saul" necessarily imply at most only that Saul and his two servants believed and reported that Samuel had actually spoken. Who can show that the words must necessarily mean more? The narrative also very clearly teaches that Saul himself saw nothing. He believed from the woman's representation of her vision that Samuel was there, but he saw him not. We have also observed that the woman's alarm was caused by her recognition of Saul, not by the appearance of Samuel. But while we find no evidence of an actual appearance of Samuel, there are several considerations which convince us that that holy Prophet had no personal connection at all with this affair at Endor. First, the *manner* of his appearance. He is represented as an old man, coming up out of the earth, and covered with a mantle. If now he really came from Paradise, it is passing strange that he should have appeared in this way. Can we well believe that a sainted prophet would return from the world of glory, bearing the marks of decrepitude and age, and wearing again the cast-off garments of his mortality? And is it not more natural to suppose that he would have appeared, not as coming up out of the earth, but as coming down from above? Another more weighty consideration is the *time* and *occasion* of his appearance—*after Jehovah had refused to answer Saul by urim and by prophets, and apparently through the medium of a witch!* It has often been said that Samuel appeared at the command of God, and not by any instrumentality of the Witch, but this statement is utterly destitute of support from the narrative. The woman herself confessed that her alarm was at recognizing Saul, not at seeing Samuel. We have also noticed that she did all the seeing. She saw the gods ascending; she saw the old man with the mantle; and it was only after she told her vision that Saul *knew* (not *saw*) that it was Samuel. Therefore, they who affirm that

Samuel appeared to Saul, or that he came contrary to the woman's expectations, and not by her sorcery, have the whole narrative against them. Consider then the utter absurdity of maintaining that, after the law had uttered its heaviest execrations against all forms of witchcraft, and after Jehovah had refused to answer Saul by urim, by prophets, and by dreams, the Holy One then sent Samuel from heaven to answer him through the agency of a miserable witch!

Still another consideration at war with the supposition that Samuel actually appeared and spoke on this occasion, is the nature of the communication itself which pretends to come from him. A careful examination of his words will show that he uttered nothing worth calling a saint from heaven to tell, nothing which the woman might not, under the circumstances, and having the excited soul of Saul unvailed to her inner sense, have most naturally devised to awe and terrify the King, and perfect upon him her imposition. Let us examine the language.

The first utterance is unworthy of a holy prophet sent on a mission of God from the land of the blest: "Why hast thou disquieted me to bring me up?" The Hiphil of the verb רָגַז, in every place where it occurs,* signifies to *disturb*, *disquiet*, or *alarm*. In Job xii, 6, it is rendered *provoke*. The common interpretation affirms that Samuel rose from the dead by special permission and express command of God. How, then, could the Prophet truthfully say that Saul had *disturbed* him? Can it be aught but a pleasure for any of the saints in light to obey Jehovah's orders? Or if the order be supposed to involve a painful duty, would it not be rebellion for the servant to complain? How absurd, in the light of Christian truth, to imagine the sainted Samuel coming at the command of God from the world of spirits, and angrily complaining to Saul that he had disquieted him! Surely the question savors more of the theology of heathenism than of Holy Scripture, and is explicable only when regarded as a device of the witch to awe and subject to her own will the soul of Saul.

We pass to the next utterance: "Wherefore dost thou ask of me, seeing the Lord is departed from thee, and is become thine enemy?" It required no prophet to rise from the dead

* Job ix, 6; xii, 6; Is. xiii, 13; xiv, 16; xxiii, 11; Jer. l, 34.

to suggest this question to the God-forsaken King; and if we regard it as any thing more than another device of the woman to increase Saul's terror, we involve ourselves in the absurdity, already presented above, of supposing that after Jehovah had in his law condemned all seeking unto necromancers, and after he had refused to answer the King by urim and by prophets, he nevertheless disturbed a holy prophet from his rest in heaven, and suffered him to rise from the dead apparently as if forced up against his will by the arts of witchcraft!

If, now, the reader will turn to chapter xv, which contains the account of Samuel's last interview with Saul, he will find that the following words are in substance a repetition of verses 18, 26, and 28 of that chapter: "The Lord hath done for himself* as he spake by me; for the Lord hath rent the kingdom out of thine hand, and given it to thy neighbor, even to David; because thou obeyedst not the voice of the Lord, nor executedst his fierce wrath upon Amalek, therefore hath the Lord done this thing unto thee this day." Now we submit whether any expositor has ever shown or can show a worthy reason for Samuel's coming from Abraham's bosom to repeat these words to Saul, who already had them deeply imprinted on his memory. If Lazarus could not revisit the world to warn the living of their danger because they had Moses and the Prophets, (Luke xvi, 31,) still less can we suppose that a sainted prophet would be permitted to return and repeat to an incorrigible transgressor the very oracles of his earthly ministry.

Next follows the only utterance of all this pretended communication of Samuel that seems to indicate superhuman knowledge: "The Lord will also deliver Israel with thee into the hand of the Philistines, and to-morrow shalt thou and thy sons be with me; the Lord also shall deliver the host of Israel into the hand of the Philistines." If there is any thing in the entire passage that looks like a communication from a supernatural source it is here. But where, in this prediction, is there involved any conceivable object of sufficient importance to Saul or to any one else to call Samuel from the spirit-world to tell? Dr. Clarke says that "Samuel did actually appear to

* Thus the margin properly renders לוֹ, *to him*; that is, for the accomplishment of his own purposes. The Septuagint and Vulgate have thought to correct the text by reading לָךְ; σοι; *tibi*; *to thee*.

Saul; and that he was sent by the especial mercy of God to warn this infatuated king of his approaching death, that he might have an opportunity to make his peace with his Maker." But there is no shadow of evidence that Samuel actually appeared to Saul at all; and if such an unusual effort had been made by the mercy of God to secure Saul's conversion before his death, is it not passing strange that no intimation either of its success or failure is anywhere given us in the word of God? Then we may observe that the words "thou and thy sons shall be with me" are somewhat open to suspicion. It is usually understood that the words *with me* refer to the state of the dead generally, and were spoken in accordance with the ideas of that age; but we submit whether a holy prophet, fresh from Paradise, who must have known that in that world there was a great and impassable gulf between the righteous and the wicked, (Luke xvi, 26,) would have expressed himself in this way. If Saul died in his sins, as we have every reason to suppose, how was he, a vile transgressor, to become at once associated with the sainted prophet? Jesus said to the dying thief, "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise;" but we have evidence of the thief's repentance and conversion, none whatever of Saul's. In 1 Chronicles x, 13, we read, "Saul died for his transgression ... and also *for asking by a familiar spirit to inquire*" (לִשְׁאוֹל בְּאוֹב לְדָרוֹשׁ.) How could this be according to Clarke's opinion? Punished with death for inquiring at a source whence he received revelations which enabled him "to make his peace with his Maker" before death, and attain to everlasting life!

Finally we ask, what is there in this prediction more wonderful than what many a second-rate fortune-teller of modern times, under the same circumstances, might have told? The woman saw all Saul's despair and terror. He himself had said in her presence, "I am sore distressed: for the Philistines make war against me, and God is departed from me, and answereth me no more." She knew that the Philistines had every probability of victory on the morrow, and it is highly probable that Saul had the dark presentiment of his own death mirrored in his soul. This presentiment a clairvoyant might have seen. She might have discerned in the tendencies of Saul's emotional nature a settled purpose to commit suicide rather

than fall a living prey into the hands of the uncircumcised Philistines. She might also have seen in that soul-picture the image of the monarch's sons. For them he trembled as well as for his kingdom, and the bitterest drop in his cup of sorrows was the prospect that his name and lineage would be cut off. Chap. xxiv, 21. She might have been persuaded that warriors like Jonathan, Abinadab, and Malchi-shua were no more likely to survive defeat than their father. Look now at all these things which the woman had before her, and where is there aught exceedingly wonderful in this announcement? In such a crisis as was sure to come upon the morrow, Saul's own death could hardly be uncertain. This had possibly become a foregone conclusion in his own mind, and had driven him in such madness of despair to inquire of one that had a familiar spirit.

We conclude, then, that this pretended communication from Samuel contains nothing worth calling a sainted prophet from heaven to declare, and some parts of it are unworthy of such an origin. It contains nothing which the woman might not, under the circumstances, have told, and it is most easily explicable when regarded as a part of her devices to awe and terrify the King.

We need not linger to comment on the events that followed this interview, or on the overwhelming effect that it had on Saul. We have endeavored to give a more satisfactory solution of the difficulties of this portion of Scripture than the common interpretation affords us, and we apprehend opposition only from those who scoff at the words *Clairvoyance* and *Mesmerism*, and without proper examination deny all their alleged facts and wonders, and cry them down as delusion and deviltry. That there has been any amount of fraud practiced by the devotees of Mesmerism is a fact abundantly well known, but that there are also numberless facts, put beyond all question by hundreds of careful and most inquisitive witnesses—facts as mysterious and wonderful, if not as celebrated, as this interview of Saul with the Witch of Endor—no intelligent person, who has carefully examined the subject, can deny. Indeed, what a tremendous power have the mysteries of divination exerted over the human heart in all the ages past. How large a chapter of

human history would it require to record them all! To affirm that these are all the immediate works of the devil, and not in any form to be meddled with by men, is in one sense to surrender to the Evil One and pay him reverence. If the mysteries in question lay beyond the sphere of human history and experience, the Christian might indeed be content to let them alone; but since they are interwoven with human experience in every age, it is exceedingly important that their real nature be shown. They who cry down all attempts to explain these mysterious phenomena are helping on the triumphs of the devil. They say, in effect, that here at least Satan has all the advantage, and we must sound a retreat before him. But if we show that these mysteries of witchcraft have their explanation in peculiar physiological and psychological phenomena of the human constitution, which have been hitherto misunderstood, we at once gain a noble triumph over our ancient foe, and drive the Prince of darkness from a throne of power over the human heart, where he has too long held undisputed empire.

Art. IV.—WHITE'S MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW.

[Second Article.]

In a former article we examined the portion of this history which traces the growth of Protestantism in France down to the outbreak of the civil or religious wars. The next division of the work is taken up with a faithful, and, in the main, eminently judicious, delineation of events which can scarcely be narrated or read without feelings of the most profound sorrow. It is always painful to see a Christian man, or an assemblage of men that make profession of devotion to the Christian faith, resorting to the sword to settle their grievances. But it is still more a ground for regret, when the holy names of truth and religion are invoked to justify recourse to the most desperate method of redress. It is certain that nothing was further from the intention of the French reformers than to

counsel armed resistance to oppression, and that, so far as their influence was felt, it was consistently, and from the very beginning, on the side of a submission to the constituted authority, which might by the malevolent be mistaken for pusillanimity far more easily than construed as favorable to revolt. True, the moment that the reformation began to reach entire populations, or very considerable portions of the community, some symptoms of restiveness under the most galling persecution began to manifest themselves. But so long as the authority that inflicted the penalties of the terrible code for the punishment of those who presumed to differ from the religious views countenanced by the Crown was undoubtedly legitimate—that is, while it was a king that chose to imbrue his hands in the blood of his own subjects, and not a subject by no means of the most exalted rank, or the most intimately concerned in the lasting prosperity of the kingdom, who had fraudulently usurped the royal prerogative to cloak his own ambitious designs—the disturbances were rare and inconsiderable. They scarcely amounted to more than the occasional rescue of some martyr for the faith from the hands of the guard that was conveying him to trial before blood-thirsty judges, or to an inhuman execution. Even these acts of insubordination were evidently the fruits of the inconsiderate zeal of young and thoughtless persons, whom the current of religious fervor which surrounded them had swept along with it, but whose connection with the reformation was not the result of deep-seated convictions, and promised little to be either strong or long-lived.

But the case was far different when, first under Francis II., and then under Charles IX., the severities exercised against the Huguenots passed out of the realm of law into that of usurpation. It was not now a Valois that instituted fires for burning heretics on the squares of Paris, moved, it might be presumed, by religious zeal, but it was Charles of Lorraine, who wished to further his own private ends, perhaps to pave his way to the papal chair, by sacrificing countless victims to the all-devouring flames. And it was still worse when a triumvirate of powerful nobles made a secret compact to prevent the initiation of any plan of toleration for Protestants; or, when that plan had been adopted by a formal vote of the deputies of the three orders, banded themselves to rob the Reformers of all its benefits.

In point of fact, the option between peace and war was scarcely offered to the Huguenots. They were merely called upon to decide whether they would allow themselves to be butchered, without even a struggle to protect their lives and those of their wives and children, or whether they would vindicate their rights as Frenchmen against persecutors, the foremost of whom were foreigners from Lorraine and Italy. Mr. White observes:

It may be said that if ever there was a time when Christians were justified in resorting to the sword it was the present. The laws in favor of the Huguenots were constantly and systematically broken. The massacre at Vassy was only the first of a series of outrages equally barbarous. At Sens in Burgundy, a Huguenot having insulted a Catholic procession, the tocsin was rung, and there was a general onslaught upon the Reformed, without regard either to age or sex. The bodies of the victims, stripped and fastened to planks, were thrown into the river and floated down to Paris, twenty leagues distant. The fanatic populace destroyed every thing, even rooting up the vines in the Calvinist vineyards. For three days the hideous carnival of murder went on, and ceased only from want of victims.*

We need not follow the writer in the revolting catalogue of atrocities committed by the Roman Catholic populace upon the Protestants. "All over France, from the Channel to the Mediterranean, similar ferocious outbreaks occurred." † In every case the occasion or the pretext that served to call forth the violent passions of the people was so trifling, that under ordinary circumstances it would have been utterly inadequate to produce such wonderful effects. What, then, was the cause of the universal fermentation? It was to be found in the seditious teachings of the Romish clergy, exasperated beyond endurance by the enactment of the "Edict of January," which placed the reformers under the protection of law, and recognized them as possessing certain rights to life, property, and religious worship. The pulpits resounded with denunciations of the patrons of heresy, who had consented to a compact the most pernicious to true religion, it was asserted, that had ever been entered into by Christian princes. Charles IX. did not escape obloquy. But it was his mother that was attacked with the least reserve. Bibles long unused were searched for the names of supporters of the false prophets of Baal. Garrulous

* White, p. 199. † Ibid., p. 200.

Claude Haton tells us that for a long time there was not a sermon preached in which Catharine de Medici and Antoine, King of Navarre, did not figure as Jezebel and Ahab; albeit his reader may find it difficult to understand to what "persecutions" of the orthodox he alludes in drawing his historical parallel, unless they consisted in the Roman Catholics not enjoying the unchallenged privilege of persecuting their neighbor.* The same writer, himself a bigoted priest, quotes with evident approbation the sermon of a Franciscan friar, Maître Barrier, which may serve as a specimen of the homiletics of the period. He had just read the royal ordinance of toleration in his church of the Holy Cross in Provins. He said:

Well now, gentlemen of Provins, what must I and the other preachers of France do? Must we obey this order? What shall we tell you? What shall we preach? The Gospel, Sir Huguenot will say. And pray, saying that the errors of Calvin, of Martin Luther, of Beza, Malot, Peter Martyr, and other preachers, with their erroneous doctrine, condemned by the Church a thousand years ago, and since then by the holy Œcumenical Councils, are worthless and damnable, is not this preaching the Gospel? Bidding you beware of their teaching, bidding you refuse to listen to them or read their books; telling you that they only seek to stir up sedition, murder, and robbery, as they have begun to do in Paris and numberless places in the realm, is not this preaching the Gospel? But some one may say, "Pray, friar, what are you saying? You are not obeying the King's edict; you are still talking of Calvin and his companions; you call them and those who hold their sentiments heretics and Huguenots; you will be denounced to the courts of justice, you will be thrown into prison; yes, you will be hung as a seditious person." I answer, "*That* is not unlikely, for Ahab and Jezebel put to death the prophets of God in their time, and gave all freedom to the false prophets of Baal." "Stop, friar, you are saying too much; you will be hung." "Very well, then there will be one gray friar hung! Many others will therefore have to be hung, for God by his Holy Spirit will inspire the pillars of his Church to uphold to

* Mémoires de Claude Haton, vol. i, p. 211. In fact, Catharine seemed fated to have her name associated with that of the most infamous queen in the Jewish annals. A Huguenot poet, writing after the massacre, with more show of justice, it must be admitted, institutes a studied comparison between the two, which terminates with the disadvantageous assertion, that even the dogs will decline to touch the Medicean queen's remains!

"Mais la charogne de Catherine
Sera differente cuce point,
Car les chiens no la vouldront point." Ibid., vol. ii, app., p. 1110.

the end the edifice, which will never be overthrown until the end of the world, whatever blows may be struck at it." *

It is not surprising that such constant appeals to the passions of the multitude bore speedy fruit in bloody massacres of all that bore the name of Protestant. After chronicling these popular excesses, Mr. White remarks:

All comment on these things would be superfluous. Is it wonderful that in such a state of lawlessness the Reformed nobles and gentlemen armed in self-defense? With indignant eloquence, Agrippa d'Aubigné vindicates the rebellion in which the Huguenots sought to protect themselves: "So long as the adherents of the new religion were destroyed merely under the form of law they submitted themselves to the slaughter, and never raised a hand in their own defense against those injuries, cruel and iniquitous as they were. But when the public authorities and the magistracy, divesting themselves of the venerable aspect of justice, put daggers into the hands of the people, abandoning every man to the violence of his neighbors, and when public massacres were perpetrated to the sound of the drum and of the trumpet, who could forbid the unhappy sufferers to oppose hand to hand, and sword to sword, and to catch the contagion of a righteous fury from a fury unrestrained by any sense of justice.†

The Huguenots have so often been condemned for resorting to the sword, and the bloodshed that characterized the history of the latter part of the sixteenth century has so often and so unjustly been attributed to their culpable precipitancy, that Mr. White's discussion of this matter (pp. 201–203) is worthy of a careful consideration. He shows conclusively that they were forced to a course diametrically opposed to the theory and practice of their most respected religious teacher by the inexorable logic of events. Their only choice "lay between extermination, hypocritical conformity, or rebellion. They were contending against intolerable oppression; the laws were no protection to them; and in such circumstances they believed resistance to be justifiable. Why should they apostatize or be burned while they had strength to wield the sword, especially as the letter of the law was in their favor?" ‡

However justifiable the course of the Huguenots in taking up arms to repel their assailants, it cannot be denied that the necessity was an unhappy one. War injured them externally

* Mémoires de Claude Haton, vol. i, p. 212.

† White, pp 200, 201. ‡ Ibid., p. 202.

and internally. It alienated many whom they might otherwise have gained over; it gave their adversaries the handle they desired to represent them as the fomenters of disorder and strife. What was still worse, it lowered the standard of piety in their own ranks. Their campaign began with a discipline wonderfully pure and exact. Gambling, and even its implements dice and cards, disappeared. Theft, profanity, licentiousness, were unknown. Prayer and singing of psalms pervaded the camp. But this exemplary goodness was as ephemeral as Admiral Coligny had, from the beginning, predicted that it would prove. The Huguenots learned to plunder as well as the Papists. Thirst for retaliation begot cruelty, in some cases not falling much behind that displayed by their opponents. There is, however, this difference to be noted, that whereas the Protestant ministers were always foremost in denouncing and opposing not only all acts of cruelty, but even the iconoclasm in which the troops were wont to indulge, the Romish priest was as uniformly the instigator of the inhuman passions of the mob. It is not surprising, therefore, that the most frightful atrocities laid to the charge of the Protestant soldiers were almost all directed against priests and friars; nor that frequently the clerical dress or tonsure was sufficient to insure immediate execution for a prisoner that fell into their hands.

The first civil war, after lasting about twelve months, came to an abrupt termination in March, 1563. The event which brought about the unexpected peace of Amboise had so direct a connection with the history of the causes of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew that it deserves special mention here. Of the four principal leaders of the Roman Catholic faction, three had been providentially removed within a few months from the beginning of the war. Navarre had been mortally wounded at the siege of Rouen; St. André had been killed, and Montmorency taken prisoner in the battle of Dreux. Guise alone remained at the head of the army, and was on the point of capturing Orleans, the Protestant stronghold, when his life was cut short by the pistol-shot of an assassin. The misguided youth who committed the deed, though bold in action, was craven enough after his arrest; and, when put to the torture, accused Coligny, Soubize, Beza, and others of having instigated

him. Now the accusations were, in part, absurd—Beza, for instance, had never even seen the man, so far as he knew—and, in part, retracted by the assassin himself as soon as he was released from the rack. Indeed, the miserable creature was so conscious of his weakness, that he warned his judge that when again subjected to the rack he would doubtless confess any thing he was desired to. His admissions, however, were so acceptable to the Court that his retraction was unheeded. Catharine de Medici was eager to weaken Coligny's influence, and nothing could serve her purpose better than to have him believed guilty. In vain did Coligny write and pray that the murderer should be reserved, in order that he might be able to confront him. The Queen was resolved to preclude the possibility of any such judicial purgation, and the very day before she made peace with the Huguenots caused Poltrot to be executed with every refinement of cruelty. The alleged complicity of Coligny in the murder of Francis of Guise became the occasion of a lasting feud between the Châtillons and the Lorraine family—a feud which Henry of Guise pretended to avenge nine years later on the bloody Sabbath of August.

Had Coligny contented himself with a simple denial, his well known character for veracity would probably have overborne the accusations of his enemies. His excess of frankness led him to make a defense so outspoken and manly in its declarations that it has been easily distorted and misrepresented by those who have wished to prove him guilty, while many of a more fair turn of mind seem to be unable to appreciate its merit. Miss Freer writes:

The character of the Admiral, in the opinion of his contemporaries, never recovered from the stain of his having been privy to the assassination of the Duc de Guise. If, in reality, the Admiral had been endued with that chivalrous probity and unsullied honor with which he has been invested, he ought to have repulsed the suspicion of so atrocious a deed with the indignant energy which his position and repute as a Christian man and a cavalier demanded. But what was Coligny's conduct at this juncture in repelling the suspicion—the source of the future misfortunes which befell him—when, as a loyal subject and a valiant knight, France awaited his vindication from the charge? In reply to the memorials presented by the princes of Guise to King Charles, to Catharine, to the Parliaments of Paris, Bordeaux, and Toulouse—memorials which were dispersed not alone over the realm, but throughout neighboring States, and in which the Admiral was

plainly accused of connivance in the foul assassination, Coligny addressed three letters to Catharine de Medici, and published two memorials, in which not only does he not deny categorically the charges preferred against him, but unblushingly proceeds to prove that, whoever might have been the instigator of the crime, he deserved well from God and the King.*

Even Mr. White, who has weighed the whole transaction in a calmer spirit, remarks:

It must be acknowledged that the Admiral's conduct and language were not altogether satisfactory. . . . This leaves no doubt that Coligny assented, if he did not consent to the crime. He was not unwilling to profit by it, though he would do nothing to further it. This may diminish the lofty moral pedestal on which some writers have placed the Protestant hero; but he was a man, and had all a man's failings, though he may have controlled them by his religious principles. Nor was assassination considered at all cowardly or disgraceful in those days; not more so than killing a man in a duel was until very recently among us.†

Now both of these writers do great injustice to a man whom, while we cannot claim for him a perfection beyond that which is human, was far removed above the age and court in which he lived. Coligny's statements bear the unmistakable impress of truth. They were freely made, in spite of the opposition of his friends, who feared, with good reason, that the enemies of his house and of his faith would do their utmost to distort and pervert them. He chose voluntarily to enter into minute particulars, which a guilty man would have suppressed, that he might be able to protest, "in the sight of God and his angels," that he had given no instructions to Poltrot other than those he indicated in his letters. To doubt his unequivocal assertions, vouched for by an unimpeachable reputation for truthfulness, is to set a premium on insincerity and duplicity. It is an excess of unfairness to employ his manly and fearless admissions as a convenient basis for advancing further charges which he indignantly repudiates. From the Admiral's clear exposition of all the circumstances, it is established: *first*, that Poltrot, who had come to him recommended by Soubize, was employed by him in the capacity of a spy in the camp of the Duke of Guise, at that time pressing the siege of Orleans; *secondly*,

* Henry III., His Court and Times, by Martha Walker Freer. Three volumes Vol. i, p. 97. London: 1858.

† Massacre of St. Bartholomew, pp. 222, 223.

that Coligny paid him first twenty, and afterward one hundred, gold crowns to defray his expenses, and particularly to enable him to purchase a horse, and held out to him the expectation of still greater rewards if he brought him important intelligence, especially respecting a question about which the Huguenot general was extremely solicitous, namely, whether Guise would pursue him in his expedition into Normandy; *thirdly*, that Coligny had from time to time been apprized of plans or threats to assassinate the Duke of Guise, but had strongly dissuaded all persons from engaging in them, although considering Guise as the most prominent enemy of God and his cause in France; *fourthly*, that a few months before the siege of Orleans, he had received intelligence of plots instigated by Guise and St. André against the lives of the Prince of Condé, his brother d'Andelot, and himself; *fifthly*, that, from this time forth, while taking no part in retaliatory plots, he deemed himself no longer bound to interfere by his remonstrances in order to shield so treacherous an enemy; *sixthly*, that Poltrot, so far from having been instigated by Coligny to the murder of Guise, had repeatedly, and in the most imprudent manner, announced his design to Soubize and others, long before being introduced to Coligny; *seventhly*, that although he spoke of such a thing to the Admiral, the latter paid no attention to it, believing it to be an idle boast, and considering Poltrot to be very unlikely to intend undertaking, or to be able to execute, so hazardous a deed: nor was this strange, for such threats of personal vengeance upon the leaders of the enemy are common in every war; never, perhaps, more so than in our own late war.

Such seem to be the simple facts of the case so far as Coligny is concerned. He neither counseled nor abetted the assassination. At the same time he regarded the death of the Roman Catholic general, the "Butcher of Vassy," and the proximate cause of the war, as a blessing to France, to the Church he was seeking to destroy, and to the Chatillon family, which he pursued with envenomed hatred. "But do not imagine," he wrote to Catharine after clearing himself from any participation in the assassination, "that I say this because of any regret I feel for the death of the Duke of Guise, which event I esteem the greatest blessing that could have befallen this kingdom, the Church of God, and more especially myself and al

my house;" and he added, that if improved, it might be the means of securing rest to the kingdom. We cannot agree with Mr. White that "this leaves no doubt that Coligny assented, if he did not consent to the crime," and "that he was not unwilling to profit by it," except so far as Christian men have ever been glad to profit by the death of eminent persecutors of the Church.

The belief that the massacre of August 24, 1572, had long been determined upon, and even its minute details elaborated with scrupulous exactness, although rejected at the time by many of those who were best informed, was generally accepted as an incontrovertible fact. It was commonly supposed that the plan of the wholesale destruction of the Protestants was first suggested by the Duke of Alva at the celebrated conference of Bayonne, in the early part of the summer of 1565, and that the scheme was there agreed upon by Catharine de Medici and her fellow-conspirators. Indeed, it is strange that a persuasion of the formation of a compact to this effect should have spread almost instantly among both Protestants and Roman Catholics upon receipt of intelligence that such an interview had been held by Charles IX. and his mother on the one side, and Isabella, Queen of Spain and daughter of Catharine, and the Duke of Alva, on the other. In spite of the efforts of Granvelle and others to persuade the public that the meeting had no ulterior design, and that its sole object was to afford a mother and daughter who had, for five or six years, been separated, the opportunity to see each other again, or, perhaps, all the more on account of their protestations, the majority of men persisted in being convinced of the very reverse. A characteristic saying of Alva, for which the best proofs of authenticity were claimed, was soon current and in all mouths. "For one incident of the conference," says Mr. White, "we are indebted to Prince Henry of Navarre, who was allowed to visit Bayonne because, said Philip, 'he is still a child, whom God will not allow to remain in ignorance.' One day when the Duke of Alva and Catharine were conversing together, the former, putting Tarquin's gesture into words, advised her to get rid of the Huguenot nobles, after which all would be easy work. 'Ten thousand frogs,' he said, 'are not worth the head of one salmon.' Henry overheard him, and

the words struck him so much that he repeated them to Soffrey de Calignon, one of his attendants, by whom they were transmitted to the Queen of Navarre. They soon became known to the Huguenot leaders, and aroused a suspicion which it would have been well for them had they never laid aside. The words produced a deep impression upon Catharine, and more than once she tried to act upon them, until at last she succeeded but too well." *

Now, however, since the secret papers of the prime actors in this important period of history have been rescued from the repositories which so long sheltered them from the inspection of the people, we have something better than mere surmise or hearsay testimony upon which to ground our belief. In the correspondence of the Cardinal of Granvelle, published in nine large volumes by order of the French Government, (the last volume in 1852,) there is a detailed account of the conference, in letters written from Bayonne by the Duke of Alva, between the fifteenth of June and the fourth of July, 1565; besides numerous allusions to its character in the letters of Granvelle and others. Mr. White sums up the whole matter in these words: "It is certain that nothing was settled at the Bayonne meeting, Catharine being steadfast in her purpose to maintain her power by holding the balance between the two hostile parties. 'She has promised to do wonders,' wrote Granvelle, (August 20, 1565,) 'but will do nothing of any service.'" †

The documents undoubtedly prove that the meeting at Bayonne was not a mere interview for the purpose of gratifying the affection of a mother and her daughter, and cementing more closely the friendship between the French and Spanish courts. Besides the gorgeous display of costly dress, besides the splendid pageants and games, the storming of enchanted castles, and tournaments between the supporters of the respective claims of Virtue and Love,‡ there were less ostentatious, but more real passages at arms in which neither love nor virtue were very much displayed. Alva had come commissioned to press Catharine and her son to adopt more decisive measures for the eradication of heresy. Before assailing his royal hosts, he thought it appropriate to sound the dispositions of the swarm of French nobles that accompanied them; and

* White, p. 255. † Ibid., p. 256. ‡ See White, pp. 250-252.

he had reason to be satisfied with the devotion which some of the highest rank and largest influence professed to entertain for his master, the Most Catholic King. The weak Cardinal of Guise, younger brother of the Cardinal of Lorraine, whose convivial proclivities earned for him the title, strange to churchly ears, of "*le Cardinal des Bouteilles*," was overcome with emotion, and implored Philip, by the love of God, to pity a kingdom whose religion was fast going to ruin. Montpensier declared himself ready to be rent in pieces in his behalf, protesting that in case this were done the name of "Philip" would be found written on his heart. The barbarous Blaise de Montluc, after being duly flattered by the embassador, avowed sentiments after Alva's own mind, and pointed to his former relentless cruelty as proof that he was opposed to the display of false humanity. But with Charles IX. and his mother the wily Duke's suggestions of the necessity for the employment of violent measures against the Huguenots met with but a cold reception. To the bare insinuation that God was reserving him for the execution of a good work in the punishment of offenses against religion in France Charles promptly replied: "O, to take up arms does not suit me; I have no disposition to effect the destruction of my kingdom, which was begun in the past wars." The Duke perceiving, as he noted to his master, that the young King was but repeating a lesson that had been taught him by others, contemptuously dismissed the topic.*

The matter was treated at far greater length with Catharine de Medici, and the Duke of Alva's letters present her in a very different light on this occasion from that in which contemporaries, who were not well informed respecting the occurrences at the Bayonne conference, have painted her. Instead of welcoming, we find her repelling Alva's suggestions. The topic of persecution, in fact, is one that she manifestly desires to avoid touching upon at all. She had plenty of bitter reproaches for her daughter, whom she accused of having allowed herself to become a thorough Spaniard, and was not backward in telling Philip's embassador that the distrust his master evinced of Charles IX. and herself would not im-

* Cartas que el Duque de Alba escrivió á su Magestad, Papiers d'Etat du Card. de Granvelle, vol. ix, p. 291. See also White, p. 266.

probably ripen into open war. But the moment that the delicate subject of the treatment of religious dissensions in France was broached—the subject above all others near to Philip's heart, if his protestations are to be taken of any account—the Queen Mother displayed such tact in parrying every thrust, that she earned the admiration of one who was himself no novice in the art of dissimulation. Her circumspection, he declared, he had never seen equaled.* She would make no concessions. She maintained that the Edict of Toleration—referring to the Edict of January as modified by the Pacification of Amboise—was working well. She asserted that the royal proclamations were received with respect and obeyed. When Alva and her daughter attacked her for retaining so notorious a Huguenot at the head of the administration as the Chancellor Michel de l'Hôpital, she calmly replied that she did not consider him a bad Catholic. "Then you are the only person in France," bluntly responded the grim old Duke, "that is of that opinion." Not only did Catharine take the most hopeful view of the present situation, but she greatly shocked the orthodox Alva by announcing that, instead of securing the unqualified acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent, she intended convening a conference of good prelates and learned men to settle matters of dispute. It was evident she had not the fear of the repetition of the Colloquy of Poissy before her eyes. The Spaniard came to the conclusion that *Catharine's sole design was the avoidance of a recourse to salutary rigor.*† What that salutary rigor was Alva only hinted; but, though he declined to tell Catharine, in her manifestly indisposed frame of mind, precisely what Philip would have her do, for fear of committing his councils to one of whom he felt very uncertain, he permits us to see all that is essential in the advice of some "good" Papists, which he reports to his master with every mark of approval. It was in the first place to banish all Protestant ministers from the kingdom, and prohibit utterly any exercise of the Reformed religion. The provincial governors could be relied upon to execute this part of the work. But besides

* Cartas, etc., *ubi supra*, p. 303.

† Parécème que quiere con esta semblea que ellos llaman, remendar lo que falta en el rigor necessario al remedio de sus vasallos. Ibid., vol. ix, p. 318.

this, it would be necessary to seize a few of the leaders of the Huguenots, and to cut off their heads. Five or six, it was suggested, would be all the victims required.* The plan was, in fact, essentially the same as that with which Alva himself, a year or two later, undertook to reduce the Netherlands to submission to Spanish tyranny and the Papal Church. Treacherous arrests of the nobles most suspected of entertaining heretical views—arrests which could scarcely have been confined within such narrow numerical limits as were suggested—with a "*Blood Council*" to complete the work, or with a massacre in which the proprieties of judicial investigation might be less nicely observed—such was the scheme which would have corresponded exactly with the views of Philip and his minister.

So far, then, was the general belief, adopted until lately by the great majority of historians, that Catharine framed at the Bayonne conference, and with Alva's assistance, a plan for the extermination of the Protestants by a massacre such as was put into effect on St. Bartholomew's Day 1572 from being correct, that, on the contrary, she refused, with a peremptory manner that disgusted the Spanish fanatics, every proposition that looked to violence. That we have not read the correspondence of Alva incorrectly, and that no letter containing the mythical consent of Catharine ever reached Philip, is proved by the tone of the letters which passed between the great agents in the work of persecution in the Spanish Netherlands; among others, from that of Granvelle already referred to, from which Mr. White quotes a few sentences. The diplomatists were all agreed that Catharine's plan, if persisted in, would entail the ruin of religion, and the overthrow of her son's throne.†

Two years after the Bayonne conference the war between the Court and the Huguenots broke out afresh. Systematically oppressed, and denied, by interpretative declarations, the rights which solemn edicts secured them, the Huguenots had ample grounds of discontent. "Still," as Mr. White remarks, "the actual rupture might have been deferred but for circumstances connected with the state of the Netherlands." The passage

* Cartas, etc., vol. ix, pp. 296, 297.

† Papiers d'Etat du Card. de Granvelle, vol. ix, p. 481.

of the Duke of Alva with an army of ten thousand picked veterans, along the eastern frontiers of France, from Genoa through Burgundy and Lorraine to Flanders, alarmed the Government, as well as the Protestants. "Catharine, who distrusted Philip, thought it prudent to watch their march, and for that purpose collected all the forces she could muster to form an army of observation. These being insufficient for the purpose, Condé and the Admiral advised the enrollment of six thousand Swiss mercenaries. The Queen, delighted at such an opportunity of raising soldiers without offending the sensibility of the Huguenots, promptly acted upon the advice."* But the Protestants soon had reason to regret the step. The command of the troops was denied to Condé, who was threatened with vengeance by young Henry of Anjou, Catharine's favorite son, if he ventured to renew his application; and the Swiss, instead of being disbanded as soon as Alva reached Brussels, were ordered to approach Paris. The Huguenot leaders thought they saw unmistakable proofs that this force was retained to be employed in overwhelming them. After a series of consultations, in which Coligny appears as the opponent of rash attempts and his brother d'Andelot as the advocate of decisive and prompt measures, they found "no alternative left them but to draw the sword." "It was an unfortunate decision," says Mr. White, "and not justified by the real facts. But the mistake committed by the Huguenot chiefs is patent enough, and they were thought by their contemporaries to have acted very wisely. Languet writes from Strasburg on the twenty-second of October that the Huguenot chiefs knew for certain that the Pope and the other princes who had conspired against the true religion had determined, as soon as it was put down in Lower Germany, to do the same in France, and for that purpose the King had raised a strong force of Swiss."† Whether right or wrong in their surmises, however, the Huguenots failed in the step with which they commenced the war. They had hoped to wrest the King from the counselors by whom he was surrounded, to bring them to justice, and to replace them by men who would better consult for the interests of France,

* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, p. 266.

† Ibid., pp. 258, 269.

But the royal court escaped them; and, what was worse, they incurred the indignation of Charles and the hatred of Catharine, who never forgave them the audacity of having seemed to attempt to take her prisoner.

Three years of bloody warfare now ensued, interrupted only by the truce between the second and third religious wars, which has been called the "Bad Little Peace." Defeated more frequently than victorious, and particularly unfortunate in the two great engagements of Jarnac and Moncontour, the Huguenots had the faculty of rapidly renewing their strength, and never appearing more formidable than just after the reverses which their enemies had hoped would prove fatal. The last achievement of the third war was a masterly march by Admiral Coligny, who, starting first almost as a fugitive, after a brilliant victory of the Roman Catholics, swept up the valley of the Garonne, through lower Languedoc, up the valley of the Rhone, and through Burgundy almost to the gates of Paris, bringing Catharine's dilatory negotiations for peace to a speedy conclusion. So favorable were the terms now granted that many, among others the anonymous author of the "Tocsin contre les Massacreurs,"* have considered the peace as forming merely a part of the nefarious conspiracy which culminated two years later in open butchery. Mr. White discusses this important point at considerable length:

The color given to the next two years of the reign of Charles IX. depends much upon the view we take of the Peace of St. Germains. Was the court sincere, or only playing a part to entice the Huguenots into a trap, and so get rid of them at one blow? This is the opinion of many, and particularly of Davila, who says positively that the peace was a snare. But he is occasionally too subtle: he belongs to that class of historians who think that kings and statesmen regulate their policy by grand schemes of far-sighted calculation, instead of living, as it were, from hand to mouth. The *imprévu*, to use an apt French word, plays a much more important part in human affairs than some historians are willing to believe. The Treaty of St. Germains—and we have Walsingham's express testimony to that effect—was the work of the Politicians, [the party which endeavored to steer between the Papists and the Huguenots,] all

* The title of the original edition is, "Le Tocsin contre les Massacreurs et Autheurs des confusions en France. Adressé à tous les Princes Chrestiens. A Reims, 1579."

good Catholics, like Cossé, Damville, and Montmorency. Walsingham adds that the King had sharply rebuked the mutinous Parisians, and told them that he meant to have the treaty "duly observed." He further explains why Charles would have desired peace: "His own disposition, necessity, pleasure, misliking with certain of the council and favoring of others." Walsingham already saw the small cloud arising that would soon overshadow France: "Monsieur (Anjou) can hardly digest to live in the degree of a subject, having already the reputation of a king."

Languet's testimony is equally decisive as to the pacific disposition of Charles IX. Contarini speaks doubtfully about the treaty, although he says, "Peace was the aim and desire of the King and Queen." Indeed, it was not Catharine's policy to crush the Huguenots utterly: she needed them as a counterpoise to the Guises, who, though at this time rather out of favor at court, were, perhaps, all the more popular among the fanatic masses.

It must be further borne in mind, that, at this turning-point of Catharine's policy, not only the Pope was not consulted, but the Court, in making peace, acted in direct opposition to his remonstrances. In January Pius V. strongly advised a continuance of the war, and when he heard of the Treaty of St. Germains, he wrote to the Cardinals of Lorraine and Bourbon, expressing his "fears that God would inflict a judgment on the King and all who counseled and took part in the infamous negotiations. We cannot refrain from tears as we think how deplorable the peace is to all good men; how full of danger, and what a source of bitter regret." It would have been very easy to quiet the holy father by telling him that the treaty was a snare; but nothing of the kind was done; and, on the contrary, the King and his mother both represented to him the necessity of peace. Pius replied in angry tones, and the Court made answer that the King was master in his own dominions to do as he pleased. In a somewhat similar manner Spain tried to thwart the negotiations; Philip II. even offered to send Charles a force of three thousand horse and six thousand foot, provided he would engage never to make peace with the heretic rebels. But this attempt to prolong the war also failed, and we learn from Walsingham's dispatches that a great coolness sprang up between the two Courts.*

The intense hostility of Rome and Spain to the conclusion of the peace is certainly one of the strongest points in the proof. Both had been firm allies during the recent wars, and had sent material assistance. No one would have welcomed a treacherous treaty with greater avidity. There are difficulties surrounding the matter which may, perhaps, never be fully cleared up; but, as Mr. White remarks:

* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, pp. 315, 316.

If we assume that the Government was sincere, every thing becomes clear for the next two years; if we adopt the contrary opinion, the course of events up to the eve of the massacre is an inextricable maze. True, it is impossible to say whether Catharine accepted the treaty without any *arrière-pensée*—any mental reservation—for she accepted every thing, and was sincere in nothing except her master-passion, to govern France. For this, she not only played one party against the other, but habitually dallied with opposing schemes, intriguing now on this side, now on that, deceiving and betraying all.*

Scarcely less important in an historical point of view is the question of the sincerity of the French Court in the proposed marriages between Henry of Anjou and Queen Elizabeth, and between Henry of Navarre and Margaret of Valois. Mr. White decidedly inclines to believe that the suspicions which subsequent events have thrown upon them are unmerited. Respecting the former, it may be observed that Catharine, acting under the influence of resentment against Spain, because of the indignity which Philip II. had put upon her by persuading Sebastian of Portugal to decline the French matrimonial alliance, was disposed to draw closer to England; not to speak of her desire to secure so bright a jewel as the English crown for her favorite son. Charles IX. gave every evidence of being equally anxious for an arrangement that would free him from the presence in France of a brother whose military reputation he envied, and whose influence over his mother he dreaded. The case was different with Henry of Anjou himself. Independently of his reluctance to leave France—a country that furnished him such opportunities for gayety that all other residences resembled in his eyes a desert—his intimate association with the ultra Roman Catholics made him averse to marry a Protestant queen and become ruler of a country where the Protestant religion enjoyed exclusive toleration. Besides—and this is one of the strongest proofs that the Queen mother and the King were in earnest—the Guises were irreconcilably opposed to the plan. They left no stone unturned to prevent it. They dwelt upon the disparity of the ages of the parties. They not only represented Elizabeth as extremely ugly, but persuaded Anjou that her

* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, p. 318.

moral character was not above reproach.* In his eagerness to prevent the marriage, the Cardinal of Lorraine, it is said, even promised him, on the part of the French clergy, a present of four hundred thousand crowns.† Surrounded by such influences, and flattered as the sole hope of the Roman Catholic party, it is not strange that at the very moment when he was declaring to Elizabeth's embassador his intense admiration for the charms of his mistress, "being, as even her very enemies say, *the rarest creature that was in Europe these five hundred years*," ‡ he was meditating the best means of retiring gracefully from the competition for the hand of the "Virgin Queen." But that Catharine was sincerely desirous of the conclusion of the matrimonial alliance is evident, not only from the threats she uttered in her private correspondence with the French embassador at London against the persons who might have dissuaded Anjou, but also from her prompt substitution of her youngest son, Alençon, as a suitor for Elizabeth's hand and crown.

It is no less evident that the Navarrese marriage was proposed as a means of restoring concord between the two great factions within the borders of France. Again the opposition of the extreme Roman Catholics is proof positive that it was *not* intended as a trap to take the Huguenots at unawares, or, at least, that even the Roman Catholic leaders were cognizant of no such scheme, and did not even suspect its possibility.

It (the marriage) was naturally opposed by the Guises, not, as some write, because the Duke aspired to Margaret's hand, for he had been married some months to Catharine of Cleves, the widow of Prince Porcien, but because it would strengthen the throne, and make the Huguenot influence predominant. The nuncio and the Spanish embassador also opposed the match; but Charles was not to be diverted from his purpose.§

* See Catharine de Medici's letter to La Mothe Fénélon, French embassador at the English Court, February 2, 1571. Corresp. diplom. de La Mothe Fénélon, (Paris, 1838–1840.) vol. vii, p. 179.

† Sohlau, Frankreich und die Bartholomaeusnacht. (Raumer, Hist. Taschenbuch, 1854.) p. 109.

‡ Letter of Walsingham to Burleigh, May 25, 1571, Digges's Compleat Ambassador, p. 101.

§ White, p. 340. Charles IX. wrote to one of his envoys in these hopeful terms: "The most eminent and faithful of my servants agree with me that, in the present condition of my kingdom, this marriage is the best means of ending all troubles."

We agree with Mr. White in thinking, notwithstanding some suspicious circumstances, that Charles IX. was in earnest in his deliberations with Coligny during those critical months when the Flemish war was discussed. Perhaps he is too charitable when he represents Charles as "*anxious to do right*, and in his weakness leaning on Coligny, whom he had learned to trust as a child trusts his father;" while undoubtedly giving the true reason, for the respect which even so corrupt a boy could not help entertaining for the Huguenot chief:

> There was much in the Admiral to attract the King; he was a man of probity and honor, actuated by no mean or selfish motives, but by the purest desire for the greatness of France. Charles had never possessed such a friend before.*

How far back, according to Mr. White, was the massacre planned? With Raumer, Ranke, and Soldan, (whose admirable monograph, "*Frankreich und die Bartholomæusnacht*," is by far the most complete and satisfactory discussion of the subject,) he supposes that even by Catharine and her son Anjou, upon whom the guilt chiefly rests, the determination to murder Coligny was adopted but a few days before the attempt of Maurevel, on Friday the 22d of August. Had the arquebuse shot of this famous assassin accomplished its work, it is the positive statement of the Papal nuncio Salviati, that the wholesale butchery of the Protestants would not have been undertaken.† However much Catharine may have been inclined, in the height of her indignation against Philip II., to join with England in taking advantage of so fair an opportunity as the revolt of the Netherlands afforded for humbling the Spaniard—however much she may have humored Charles's strange intimacy with Admiral Coligny—her mind changed completely when she began to perceive that the King was likely to become emancipated from the tutelage in which she had always retained him; that the influence of his mother and brother promised to be replaced by that of the great Châtillon, and that France was on the eve of being involved in a war with the most powerful prince of Christendom, with but an uncertain support from the English Queen. After the unfortunate rout

* White, *ubi supra.*

† Se l'archibugiata ammazzava subito l'ammiraglio, non mi risolvo a credere che si fosse a un pezzo. Letter of Aug. 24, *apud* White, p. 389.

of Genlis with the French detachment that had started to reinforce the "Beggars" of the Low Countries, and when every thing boded an immediate outbreak of hostilities, the situation of the Queen Mother became in her own eyes more critical.

She was too wise to oppose her son's warlike humor openly, but she so far shook his resolution as to have the whole subject brought before the Council. She was averse to the war on many grounds, but principally because she felt assured that if Coligny carried on a successful campaign his influence would quite supersede her own.

Shortly after this Charles,

that he might enjoy a little quiet, suddenly started for Montpipeau, a pleasant hunting-lodge, intending to remain there until the eve of his sister's marriage. Meanwhile bad news reached the French Court; Catharine discovered that Queen Elizabeth was playing her false, and while pretending zeal for an alliance against Spain, was actually treating with that power. De Foix and Fénélon both wrote from private information that she had been advised to recall her troops from Flanders and not quarrel with Spain. "Whereupon," writes Walsingham on the 10th August, "the Queen Mother fell into such fear that the enterprise must necessarily fail without the aid of England."* The report was untrue, and was probably a mere invention of some of the traitors in the English Council. But it frightened Catharine, and she determined to make one more attempt to recover her ascendency over the King. She hurried to Montpipeau with such impetuous haste that two of her horses fell dead on the road. With tears in her eyes, she accused Charles of ingratitude to a mother "who had sacrificed herself for his welfare, and incurred every risk for his advantage." "You hide yourself from me," she continued, "and take counsel with my enemies. You are about to plunge your kingdom into a war with Spain, and yet England, in whose alliance you trusted, is false to you. Alone you cannot resist so powerful an enemy. You will only make France a prey to the Huguenots, who desire the subversion of the kingdom for their own benefit. If you will no longer be guided by my advice, suffer me to return to my native country, that I may not witness such disgrace."†

The exact date of this interview, in which a mother's tears were successful, is not known; but since, as Mr. White remarks,

* The quotation from Walsingham is somewhat incomplete. His words are: "Whereupon such of his Council here as incline to Spain have put the Queen Mother in such a fear that the enterprise cannot but miscarry without the assistance of England, as she with tears had dissuaded the King for the time, who otherwise was very resolute." Digges, p. 233.

† White, p. 263.

the English embassador refers to it in his letter of the 10th of August, it probably took place in the first week of that month.

That Charles listened to Coligny rather than to his mother "was the Admiral's death-warrant."

"What do you learn in your long conversations with the Admiral?" asked Catharine one day. "I learn," he replied, "that I have no greater enemy than my mother." She saw her power slipping from her, and her son Anjou, her beloved, her favorite son, in danger; for she knew how violent Charles could be when he was once aroused. And all depended upon the life of one man! And when in those days did any body, especially an Italian man or woman, allow a single life to stand between them and their desire? Coligny must be got rid of; then the Queen Mother would recover her influence; then there would be an end of this perplexing Flemish business; and with Henry of Navarre, the head of the Huguenot party, married to her daughter, there would be no cause to fear a revival of internal disturbances.*

Mr. White regards as of doubtful authenticity the narrative of the secret history of the preliminaries of the massacre which Anjou is said to have given to one of the Frenchmen who had followed him into Poland, and which has been published in an appendix to the Memoirs of Villeroy.† But the statements it contains agree so well with the information we get from other sources, that we cannot avoid coming to the conclusion that the attempt on the life of Coligny was first resolved upon as a method of self-preservation by Catharine and Anjou, and was afterward communicated to the Duchess of Nemours. The latter, who was the well known Anne d'Este, daughter of the excellent Renée of France, and granddaughter of Louis XII., was also the widow of the murdered Francis of Guise, and hated Coligny, as the supposed instigator of his assassin, with a relentless malignity, in which her son Henry, the present Duke of Guise, fully participated. It was the Duchess of Nemours and young Guise that caused Maurevel, already an experienced hand in the work of murder, to be placed in the

* White, pp. 364, 365.

† Petitot's Collection of Memoirs, vol. xliv, pp. 496–510. Consult Martin's Hist. de France, vol. x, p. 315. Prof. Sullan (*ubi supra*, p. 153 and pp. 224–227) has, however, shown that the *genuineness* of the document has scarcely been disputed even by Capefigue himself. Albéri tries to disprove its credibility in his quixotic attempt to clear his countrywoman Catharine of the charge of being the prime mover of the massacre, even against the testimony of her son and daughter.

house of Canon Villemur, formerly tutor to Guise, there to watch for the coming of the Admiral.

Contrary to the confident expectation of the conspirators, Maurevel's shot was ill directed. Coligny was wounded, not killed. The King, ignorant of the high source of the plot, but suspecting Guise, uttered fearful imprecations against the authors.

All this time the Queen Mother and Anjou were in a dreadful state of agitation. The blow had failed, and if the victim recovered from his wounds, their participation in the plot could not be concealed. "Our notable enterprise having miscarried," says the Duke, "my mother and myself had ample matter for reflection and uneasiness during the greater part of the day." There was still hope, for the bullets might be poisoned, or the wounds mortal.*

But this hope was destined to be disappointed. Saturday came, and with it the announcement that the physicians pronounced Coligny on the road to recovery. What was worse, the King was more suspicious than ever, since his interview with the wounded Huguenot leader; and Catharine and Anjou had been thrown into fresh consternation by the vigorous demands of the Protestant lords for the punishment of the indignity done them during the nuptial festivities to which they had come, trusting to the monarch's word for their protection. It was then that, convinced—to use Anjou's own words—of the impracticability of employing ruse and cunning any further, Catharine and her younger son resolved upon open action, and determined to bring the King to consent to Coligny's death. Mr. White has described in an interesting manner the thrilling story of the artful harangue in which the Florentine woman excited apprehensions of a Huguenot rising in the mind of her weak son, and brought him to consent to the deed that deluged France with blood, and filled his own heart with lasting remorse, if, indeed, it did not cut short his days. Mr. White's recital of the death of Coligny and of the accompanying and succeeding atrocities is temperate, and free from all exaggeration. He accepts,† as we believe on good grounds, the story that Charles IX. shot at the fleeing Huguenots with an arquebuse from his window in the Louvre, in spite of the skepticism that has recently been expressed in regard to the unkingly and inhuman act.

* Massacre of St. Bartholomew, p. 383.

† Ibid., pp. 426, 427.

The work of butchery was no less horrible in its revelations of human baseness in the provinces than in the capital. Happily, the times also developed some singular and brilliant exceptions. We shall conclude our examination of Mr. White's work with reference to two of the alleged instances of honorable insubordination to the King's bloody orders. The reply which the author places in the mouth of James Hennuyer, Bishop of Lisieux, is unfortunately to all appearances destitute of an historical foundation.* Far from being a prelate of the stamp which this reply supposes, Hennuyer was a pliant courtier, who knew no rule of action but the will of those at whose hands he looked for honors and emolument. Independent of this proof, we have the almost perfect certainty that the Bishop, instead of being in his diocese, was with the Court at the time of the occurrence of the massacre.†

It is more pleasant to be able to establish the authenticity of an equally noble rejoinder, which has been somewhat discredited. Mr. White says: "Viscount Orte or Orthez, Governor of Bayonne, wrote a letter, which one would fain believe to be true, in spite of the discredit recently thrown upon it: 'Sire, I have communicated your Majesty's commands to the faithful inhabitants and garrison of this city. I have found among them many good citizens and brave soldiers, but not one executioner.' [*Bourreau*—hangman.] One thing is certain, that the Huguenots in Bayonne were saved."‡ And in a foot-note: "Capefigue says the letter is a forgery of the age of Louis XIV., but it is published by Agrippa d'Aubigné in 1618. Adiram d'Aspremonte, Viscount d'Orte, (as he is sometimes called,) was a cruel man, cruel to both parties. Even Charles

* The style of the pretended reply to the royal lieutenant itself has a suspicious resemblance to that of the seventeenth century. "No, no, sir, I oppose and will always oppose the execution of such an order, to which I cannot consent. I am Pastor of the Church of Lisieux, and the people you are commanded to slay are my flock. Although they are wanderers at present, having strayed from the fold which has been confided to me by Jesus Christ, the supreme Pastor, they may nevertheless return, and I will not give up the hope of seeing them come back." etc. White, p. 455.

† M. L. D. Paumier has, we think, clearly demonstrated the falsity of the reply of Hennuyer, as well as of that ascribed to Sigognes, Governor of Dieppe, in a paper read before the French Protestant Historical Society. Bulletin of that Society, vol. vi, (1858,) pp. 466, 474. See also vol. xii, (1862,) p. 125, etc.

‡ Massacre of St. Bartholomew, p. 455.

IX. was forced to write to him in 1574 and tell him to be more moderate." The story, as Mr. White indicates, rests on the authority of Agrippa d'Aubigné, and it is worthy of observation, that, at the same time that he records this magnanimous action, he mentions that the Viscount was "*homme violent aux autres choses.*"* D'Aubigné was evidently well informed respecting the circumstances, and he narrates an event, in a subsequent portion of his work, which serves as a most conclusive incidental corroboration of the truth of this anecdote. Some time subsequent to the massacre (in 1577) D'Aubigné himself was in command of a body of Huguenot troops, which, near Sables, (in the present department of Les Landes,) fell in with a Roman Catholic detachment which was conducting to Bordeaux three noble ladies condemned to be beheaded. After a very brief combat the Roman Catholics were compelled to surrender, whereupon it was discovered that about a score were light-horsemen of the Viscount of Orthez, while about as many more were men raised at Bayonne and Dax. The warfare of those days was cruel and sanguinary. Captain and soldiers recalled the infamous massacre of the Protestants in the prisons of Dax. It scarcely needed the order of D'Aubigné to make bloody reprisals upon *twenty-two soldiers* who came from that city. On the other hand, all the Bayonnese were courteously collected, their arms and their horses were restored, and, after their wounds had been carefully dressed at la Harie, they were dismissed with a friendly message to the Viscount their Governor, that his men had seen the different treatment which "soldiers" and "executioners" (*bourreaux*) received. "This," adds the historian, "was in allusion to the answer the Viscount had made to the King when he received the command of the massacre, as we have said in its place." Within a week a trumpeter came from Bayonne, with scarfs and embroidered handkerchiefs for all the company, a token of the Viscount of Orthez's appreciation.† It is evident that an incident so interwoven with the history of the period cannot be the invention of a fertile imagination, and that the manly answer of the

* Histoire Universelle du Sieur d'Aubigné. Maillé, 1618. Vol. ii, p. 28. Book I. chap. 5.

† Histoire Univ. du Sieur d'Aubigné, vol. ii, pp. 291, 292. See a fuller discussion in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Hist. du Protestantisme Français, vol. xi, pp. 13–15, 116, etc., and vol. xii, p. 240, etc.

Governor of Bayonne, although it may have received some coloring from the medium through which it has been transmitted to us, is substantially accurate.

We are glad to see, that while Mr. White finds no reason to believe that either the Pope or the King of Spain was privy to the massacre of St. Bartholomew, he is careful to show that the fearful catastrophe was only the legitimate fruit of the repeated teachings of Pius V. and of the Very Catholic King respecting the necessity of exterminating heresy; and that, on learning of the murder of tens of thousands of innocent men and helpless women and children, the successor of Pius vied with Philip and Alva in expressions of joy. With the two latter, it is true worldly wisdom had perhaps as much weight as devotion to the Roman Church. Philip was forever freed of the danger of an alliance between France and the Protestant Powers.

Multis minatur, qui uni facit, injuriam.

Neither Elizabeth nor William of Orange could ever grasp without a shudder the hand that reeked with the blood of the guiltless.

Art. V.—RELIGION AND THE REIGN OF TERROR.

Religion and the Reign of Terror; or, the Church during the French Revolution. Prepared from the French of M. Edmond de Pressensé, author of Histoire des trois premiers siècles de l'Eglise Chrétienne;" "Jésus-Christ, son temps, sa vie, son œuvre;" "La Pays de l'Evangile;" and editor of "La Revue Chrétienne. By Rev. John P. Lacroix, A.M. 12mo., pp. 416. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

Great events are slowly adjusted to their final place in history. There are so many complications to unravel, so many distortions of prejudice and passion to correct, so many simulations to unmask, that time is indispensable to the perfect clearing up of truth. In nothing, however, is the divinity of truth more strikingly evinced than in the certainty with which, however hindered, it comes to eventual recognition. From whatever bondage truth must break, however intricate the paths it is compelled to travel, or formidable the foes it must smite down, it marches surely on to that ultimate complete apocalypse in whose light history records its irreversible decision.

The instances are few in which truth has been slower in asserting itself than in that of the first French Revolution. We stand removed from that event three quarters of a century. It has been deeply studied; views, accepted once, have been altered or reversed; but the judgment is not yet pronounced which truth will finally confirm. Peculiar causes have conspired to prevent the truth respecting that event from going into history. The French themselves were unprepared at first to estimate it justly. The grand movement, whose opening thrilled them to ecstasy, had borne them in its progress into seas of trouble. While the waves were yet tumultuous Napoleon took control; and when, with armies and police to execute his single, arbitrary will, he had tranquilized the agitation, it was natural that the masses, weary of the chaos of so many years, were more disposed to applaud his achievement than to question his assumptions. Hence, dazzled by the glory or awed by the power of the Consulate and Empire, whoever of them might take in hand to tell the story of the Revolution would manifestly be disqualified to do it fairly. When Waterloo restored the old *régime*, the likelihood was even less that a Revolution whose guillotine had so rudely cut the Bourbon line would be justly weighed or truthfully described. Napoleonic ideas, made supreme again by the *coup d'état* of 1848, were hardly more auspicious for the truth of history. Among other peoples fairness was at first even less to be expected. Everywhere in Europe the privileged classes heard, in the throes of that convulsion, the mutterings of doom for them; and while every-where the unprivileged and oppressed hailed its opening as the dawn of their deliverance, they soon were so appalled by the madness into which it fell that their admiration changed to horror and execration. A movement, therefore, in its nature so alarming to one class, and in its mode so shocking to every other, was little likely to receive impartial treatment at the hands of any. With the lapse of years there came reaction, but truth fared as badly as before. A brood of histories went abroad as indiscriminate in praise as the former were in censure; in particular, intensely eulogistic of the man who composed, indeed, the fury of the Revolution, but did not rest till much of all that was dearest in the struggle was chained to the wheels of his despotic car. Now here, if not always, truth is

in the middle. Assuredly the Revolution was not all good, nor was it wholly evil. If infidel and atheistic lies were there, the dearest truths concerning God and man were also there. If on that dreadful floor blaspheming demons plied the flail, there were threshers, too, in whose esteem the good seed of truth and right were dearer than their lives. To this view opinion has been tending. Investigation, grown dispassionate, has been sifting out the grain. The pendulum of history, unduly swayed at first by prejudice and passion, then carried by rebound to the extreme of fulsome adulation, is settling to the point of ultimate repose.

No other aspect of the Revolution has had to wait so long for just appreciation as the religious. The picture of that tumult which still floats before the common mind is, we apprehend, that of a people suddenly inspired with love of liberty throwing themselves into the arms of infidelity; and then, as if possessed of demons, perpetrating in the name of liberty unutterable crimes; insanely merry even while the death-ax was demanding its daily feast of blood; prating of freedom while the furies of disorder were trampling out its life; but a picture into which, if religion come at all, it is religion as effete and spent, playing no worthy part in the terrible drama, but yielding, in one universal apostasy, to the pressure of that infidel and atheistic storm. Besides the scandal to religion, such a picture is untrue. In fact the great truths which take hold upon the spiritual were at no period of the struggle absent or unfelt. The sorest perplexities and saddest failures of the Revolution were largely the result of the ill-considered attitude it early took, and the policy it afterward pursued, regarding questions of religion. Its treatment of the Church as a creature of the State, and its mad endeavor to bind conscience with the shackles of human law, awakened that resistance which, in turn, provoked those storms of infidel rage whose final fury wrecked so many of its hopes. And even when atheism, in the hour of delirious triumph, was declaring God dethroned, and his worship done away, the inextinguishable religious sentiment was heard protesting the supremacy of God and the freedom of the soul with a voice that soon compelled these votaries of unbelief to unsay their vaunting lies, and cease from their disgusting mummeries. In a word, nothing offered to the wild

spirit of the Revolution a resistance so persistent and invincible as religion; and yet it has been the fashion either wholly to ignore, or at most to treat with inadequate appreciation, its connection with the struggle.

The book whose title stands at the head of this paper aims to supply this defect. Its author reviews the history of the Revolution for a single purpose—to ascertain the actual relations of Church and State during its progress, and to estimate in what degree a false adjustment of these relations in the outset, and the evils consequent on that mistake, caused the noble aspirations of his countrymen to become free and self-governing to encounter defeat. There was assurance in advance that he would do it well. Distinguished rank among the writers of his country, enlightened views on the social questions of the age, taken in connection with extensive studies in the line of Church History, designated him as peculiarly qualified for this particular work. It is little to say that the result equals the promise. He has produced a book not merely of deep and thrilling interest, but replete with lessons, whose importance it were impossible to overstate. It cannot fail to conciliate readers that candor is so manifest on every page. While the author avows, and in every way evinces, the warmest sympathy with the Revolution, he deals in no measured condemnation of its crimes; while he writes in vindication of religion, his page fairly gleams with indignation when the sycophantic pliancy of clerical demagogues and the policies and plots of politico-ecclesiarchs are passing in review. In fact, thorough research, patient study, accurate deduction, and fearless utterance of conviction, are so manifest throughout the book, that we are carried along in its perusal hardly feeling that we dare, seldom that we wish, to dissent from any of its conclusions. The work, moreover, is extremely opportune. At a time when England is seeking peacefully to readjust Church and State relations in a portion of her realm—when Spain is grappling with all the questions involved in the French Revolution—when, in fact, civil and religious liberty are stirring the thoughts of people every-where, it is more than timely—seems in truth a providence—that the rock on which the ark of French liberty was wrecked should be pointed out, and the lessons of their failure made available for others.

The opening of the book is quite Homeric. There is no preliminary unfolding of the plot; no time is spent in depicting the oppressions out of which the Revolution grew. Assuming familiarity with these, the author hurries at once into the midst of the tumult. For readers of his own nation this perhaps is no defect; it may not be a serious one for others, for this movement has made its origin widely understood. It is a true but partial statement, ascribed to Madame de Staël, that the Revolution was "an event which came forth out of the womb of the centuries." In the sense that its provocations were the offspring of centuries this is certainly true. Assumptions and abuses coming down from ages acquiescent in the masterhood of kings, were that which woke at last the spirit of revolt. The yoke it sought to throw off was of mediæval imposition. The chains it rose to break were the forging of feudal times. In this regard its genesis was truly of the ages. But while we must allow that its potential causes were in the arrogations and misrule of past centuries, we can none the less believe that the event derived its peculiar character from the fact that its actual coming forth was from the bosom of French Encyclopedism. The doctrines of Voltaire, Diderot, Rousseau, and their disciples had gradually infected French opinion till the poison was every-where diffused. The best literature of the day was infidel or atheistic. Some of the most brilliant pens of any age were in its service. The result was an almost universal prevalence of religious skepticism. It could not be, therefore, that, born amid such influences, the Revolution would prove an effort merely to achieve political freedom; that opinions such as these pouring from the press, and with which the popular mind was so thoroughly imbued, would not color and control the effort being made to break the power of despotism, and assert the right of self government. Even worse than could have been foreboded came to pass. Religion, treated for a time with patronizing tolerance, as these opinions got control was degraded to a merely servile state. Circled with restraints, and made to suffer wrongs which will be an eternal stigma on the Revolution, it was finally pronounced an antiquated superstition which reason could no longer tolerate. Thus the struggle early assumed, and to the end maintained, a double character. On the one side, it was the effort of a greatly-suffering people

to emancipate themselves from bondage; on the other, of infidel opinion to control the movement adversely to religion.

Lessons of vast concern to nations crowd the history of that unhappy struggle. That Christianity is essential to liberty—that in organizing States the spiritual should be untrammeled by the secular—that the spirit of infidelity is one of merciless proscription—that, as a system, Catholicism is unfriendly to popular freedom—that Christianity is invincible by human or Satanic power, are voicings of that struggle which can never die away. Some of these, as among the more important lessons of the book, we desire to signalize by a special word.

1. That religion is the only stable basis of government is attested by the fact that the empires which have flourished and endured have been built on this foundation. The religion built on may be false, yet, as holding of the spiritual, it has a mastery over men which the merely temporal is unable to exert. A faith which holds, though feebly, the great truths of future existence and accountability is a stay to the social structure which a purely atheistic basis can never be. Cicero, comparing Rome to other nations, accounts for her superiority on the ground that she "excelled all nations and peoples in piety and religion, and in this one wisdom of fully recognizing that all things are ordered and governed by the power of the immortal gods."* Whatever we may think of his Roman partiality, we must allow the sentiment he utters: that not numbers, nor valor, nor policy, nor culture are the real elements of national stability; that only as nations are religious—recognize that over them is an Infinite Ruler, and hold themselves accountable to him—are they strong to overcome the perils which endanger their existence.

Christianity, as the clearest revelation of the future and of our relation to it, gives a sanction to social obligations vastly more potential, and lights the way to an adjustment of social relations vastly more perfect, than are possible to any

* Quam volumus licet, patres conscripti, ipsi nos amemus, tamen nec numero Hispanos, nec robore Gallos, nec calliditate Poenos, nec artibus Graecos, nec denique hoc ipso hujus gentis ac terræ domestico nativoque sensu Italos ipsos ac Latinos; sed pietate, ac religione, atque hac una sapientia, quod deorum immortalium numine omnia regi, gubernarique perspeximus, omnes gentes nationesque superavimus.—*Cic., Orat. De Harus. Responsis.* 9.

other religious system. It enunciates principles and introduces agencies whose tendency and operation are so to mold the individual and to regulate society as to secure, with the least restraint of personal freedom, the greatest social good. It affirms the sovereignty of God, and expressly teaches the equality of men. While, therefore, it claims for God the fealty of all, as between themselves it demands for each the utmost liberty consistent with that social order which it also sanctions. Especially it demands that conscience be unfettered; that thought and speech be free. As, therefore, the great truths in which civil and religious liberty have their root are the inculcation of Christianity alone, rejecting it is fatal to the hopes of any people striving to be free. No sadder illustration has there been than was furnished in the French experiment. It is, in truth, a demonstration for the ages of the impossibility of founding liberty on any other basis than that of Christianity. It was a sublime spectacle which France presented at the opening of the Revolution. A nation that till recently appeared hopelessly decadent had shivered at a blow the chains which centuries had riveted, and, with the flush of youth upon its brow, was standing in the morning light of liberty, looking out, elate with joy, on a future of unbounded hope. It was a scene which neither pen nor pencil can depict. Paris blazed with enthusiasm, and the glow diffused throughout the provinces. No cloud upon the sky, no muttering in the air, gave token of the storms that were to come. The people fancied they were free, and on the road to a destiny surpassing all their dreams. What was their mistake? Why, after such exertion, did they miss the goal? The primal cause, that to which all others may be traced, was the effort to ally freedom with irreligion. That the leaders of the movement were honest in their wish to establish liberty, and, for a time, labored at the task with a patriotic ardor deserving admiration, none familiar with the history will question. But they disallowed the only stone on which the structure could be reared. At first, indeed, not from liking, but in deference to what they counted superstition, they were willing to allow religion a menial part in the work they were attempting; but, when they failed to coerce its service, with boundless scorn they cast it utterly away, and essayed to build on the negation of all that makes liberty possible.

Warned we may well be by the monstrous result. But let it not be counted any fault of liberty that the French nation, starting on its exodus with such glowing promise, lost the way and traveled weary years to reach at last a bondage only less severe than that from which they sought escape. The guides were blind. Other leading must the nation follow that would be free. If the French saw the bloom of freedom wither, it was because infidel hands rudely plucked it from the stem. If the child on which their hope was set proved a monster, it was because godless *accoucheurs* presided at the birth; if its life was sickly and its death untimely, it was because it was poisoned in the nursing.

2. After the foundation, there is nothing, perhaps, of more concern to liberty than a right adjustment of the secular and spiritual in the structure of the State. Within a century there have been two impressive demonstrations of the immense advantage to liberty of that adjustment which leaves religion unembarrassed by any organic connection with the State. When our fathers came to organize the liberty their arms had won, taught by their traditions they resolved in no degree to complicate the temporal and spiritual; to cover religion, in all its forms, with the shield of impartial protection, but neither to assume its support nor meddle with its worship. The leaders of the French movement, on the contrary, swayed in part by ancient complications, and in part by unbelief, began with the purpose to subordinate religion to the civil power, and advanced from step to step till they had compassed its complete enslavement. Both of these experiments—the one in its success, the other in its failure—are conclusive of the right adjustment of these relations. The latter, indeed, utters no distincter voice than that in organizing liberty it is fatal to invade the freedom of the soul.

In order to appreciate what was done affecting religion in the process of framing a constitution for the new nation, it is necessary to have in mind the previous condition of the Church one of the orders constituent of the State. It had long been as the sole legalized religious order of the realm. It was of vast power, and vengefully proscriptive. It oppressed, imprisoned, banished, put to death; in short, employed the utmost power of penalties and pains to silence dissent. It controlled the

education, monopolized the offices, and kept the conscience of the nation; in a word, exercised official power in life and death over body, and mind, and soul. Its wealth was enormous. The piety of the living and the fears of the dying had, for ages, been augmenting its possessions. The Revolution found it with an annual revenue of two hundred million francs. That with such resources, moral and material, it should be potent in the secular sphere was altogether natural. In many functions of the government it was, in fact, controlling. On occasion it could make its power felt even to the throne. Being thus a partner of the State, it was naturally anxious to conserve that peculiar civil polity so favorable to its own aggrandizement. This espousal by the Church of that despotic order which the liberal party were determined either to reform or entirely supersede, taken in connection with the skepticism of its leaders, explains the hostile attitude which the Revolution, at its very outbreak, assumed toward the Church. While many of its members, and a fair proportion of its inferior clergy, were in accord with the spirit of the hour, with few exceptions its higher clergy, who controlled its policy, had no liking for a movement which they knew would deal roughly with their pretensions. Thus began that breach between Liberalism and Christianity which infidel leaders were able to widen, till at last, in complete divorce, they fought each other through a night of anarchy on which it seemed no morning would rise.

It was therefore likely in advance that, when they came to legislate for the new order of things, their course toward a Church so unfriendly to their aims would not be lenient—not, perhaps, judicious. And so it proved. The coercive temper of the leaders was apparent from the start. Besides antipathy to religion, the financial distress of the nation was inciting them to seize its property. The immense wealth of the Church, could it be devoted to the uses of the State, would ease the present trouble, and enable the nation to begin auspiciously its new career. Hence both interest and feeling impelled them to unsparing confiscation. Authority to dispossess the Church was claimed on the ground that corporate bodies, deriving their existence from civil law, hold their rights by the same tenure; and that, consequently, any titles they possess, having validity

only in the sanction of law, may be altered or annulled by the legislative power. As a reason for applying these principles to the pending question, it was maintained that the wealth of the Church was a moral disadvantage; that riches corrupted the priests, and that consequently a true regard for the interests of religion demanded of them to free the clergy from this great impediment to their appropriate work. After a stormy debate of nearly a month the alienating decree was passed. Its terms were these: "All the property of the clergy is at the disposal of the nation on condition that it shall provide in a fitting manner for the expenses of worship, the maintenance of its ministers, and the necessities of the poor. As to the dispositions to be made for the ministers of religion, they shall be paid each not less than one thousand two hundred francs, not including lodging and the use of a garden." Such was their decision of the gravest question with which the Revolution had to deal. How unwise it was the history must be read fully to appreciate.

The execution of this decree caused intense agitation. The initial step was an order enjoining every holder of a benefice to furnish the courts a detailed list of the property of every kind pertaining thereto. With more than prudent haste decrees followed, first, for the immediate sale of property to the amount of hundreds of millions of francs; next, for the unhousing and suppression of the monastic orders; then, for the pensioning of monks; and last, for the administration of the confiscated property. These respective measures were adopted after prolonged and able, but acrimonious and intensely-irritating, debates. On the side of the deputies, along with argument and eloquence seldom surpassed, there was the frequent exhibition of defiant and exasperating scorn. On the side of the clergy, along with some noble utterances, there were earnest deprecation and frantic appeal. Sometimes there were scenes of frenzied excitement—times when passion rose to such a pitch that bloody collisions were prevented only by force.

In treating the question of property the Assembly had several times violated rights of conscience. This, however, had as yet elicited from the Church party but a passing remonstrance. They fought with desperate earnestness to preserve

their rich endowments; but scarcely an earnest word had yet been spoken in defense of religious liberty. But this was not to last. The steps already taken by the Assembly involved the necessity of going further, and from this point the course of legislation was deplorably inconsiderate of the rights of conscience. When the Assembly took in hand to adjust the framework of the Church to the new civil order an ecclesiastical faction, with many wrongs to avenge, in coalition with the infidel leaders, gave it a constitution utterly subversive of the old organic form. It abolished many bishoprics, almost ignored the jurisdiction of the Pope, suppressed offices and titles, reduced the number of schools, gave to Protestants and Jews and infidels an equal right with Catholics to vote in the choice of Church incumbents, and in effect so weakened and embarrassed the officials thus selected that the ultimate authority in things spiritual rested largely with the civil power. Had this constitution been the work of a Church council it would have been a grievous wrong, but its enactment by a political assembly was an outrage on the dearest rights of man. No wonder it proved a Pandora-box of direst evils to the liberal cause.

In many parts of the country the Catholic population, already much excited by the sale of their churches and monasteries, were unable quietly to bear this new infliction. Mutterings of revolt were heard. The smoldering fires of passion kindled to a blaze as the news of its adoption went abroad. This frenzied discontent made it easy for the disaffected clergy to organize a counter-revolution. Nocturnal meetings were held, and inflammatory speeches made. By tongue and pen the Assembly was denounced as infamous, and its action represented as a crime which it was religious to oppose. Over all the land opposition was organized. By secret correspondence the Pope did all he could to foment the trouble. In many places the enforcement of the Constitution was stubbornly withstood. Irritated by this resistance, the Assembly adopted a measure which had the effect to alienate from the liberal cause many of its warmest friends. It was an order "requiring all who held positions in the Church to take an oath to support and obey not only the laws of the land in general, but to maintain with all their power the Civil Constitution of the Clergy as decreed by the Assembly, and that on pain of ejection from

office, forfeiture of pension, and loss of citizenship." The enforcement of this outrageous oath was commenced with the clerical members of the Assembly. The scene that followed was unspeakably sad, yet truly grand; sad, in that, on the side of those representing liberalism, there was nothing but an insulting exhibition of the most hateful despotism; grand, for noble words and brave deeds on the other side, in vindication of truest liberty. The note of resistance that day struck electrified the Church. Emulous of the grand example set by the clerical representatives, Church officials every-where refused the oath; and when the task of its attempted imposition was completed, it was found that all but four of the hundred and thirty-one Bishops, and a multitude of the inferior clergy, had preferred the forfeiture of office and pension and citizenship to their retention on terms which conscience disallowed. So serious was this result that for a moment even the most radical of the Assembly showed concern to allay the storm they had provoked; but it was fatal to pacific thoughts that Rome about this time threw all its power in favor of the refractory clergy. While the Pope had not concealed his disapproval of all that had been done since the convocation of the States-General, nor left in doubt the stand he would ultimately take, he yet, for reasons of policy, was slow to utter an official condemnation. But silence was no longer politic. The oath was a blow at his supremacy not to be endured, and his fulmination went forth denouncing, protesting, asserting, and closed by solemnly abjuring "all Catholics, in the name of their eternal salvation, to remain faithful to the ancient laws of the Church and to the Holy See." The immediate effect was to rend the Church. One part, embracing nearly all the Bishops, a large proportion of the clergy, and a multitude of members, remained loyal to the Pope; the other accepted the yoke of civil domination. Angry opposition to the former broke out on every side. The nation, rocked in the storm of increasing agitation, began to feel the throes which in the end brought forth Terror.

Surely no clearer demonstration is needed of the hurt to liberty of that arrangement which gives the State control of religion than is furnished by the evils into which it plunged the French nation. It is, however, rendered still more clear by what occurred later in the struggle. As the night of terror

wore away the more candid of the leaders began to admit that error in the matter of organizing religion was the source of their greatest troubles; that freedom of opinion is a right with which laws should not meddle. These principles were at length embodied in the Constitution, and with the happiest results. The storm began to subside, the sky to clear, and the ark of liberty, righting itself, set forth again with fairest promise of getting safely into port. That it failed to enter, or, at least, came in with but a portion of the precious things it carried, the author charges to the perfidy of Napoleon.

The differing estimates of this famous man are among the curious things of history. National antipathy explains the detraction of Scott; the inspiration of Abbott's fulsome panegyric is not easy to assign; but however explained, it is a fact that writers on his career have seemed more intent to gild or blacken his character than to set it in the coloring of truth. Time, however—*le grand justicier du passé*—to use an expression of Montaigne's, at last fades out every false tint, and hangs the perfect picture in its rightful place. We have the conviction that Pressensé has done much to complete that portrait of Napoleon which the future will accept. Conceding his abilities and the value of his services to France, he yet affirms that he was possessed of an "insolent contempt of every superior principle, of all right, of all liberty." In proof, he shows that from the *coup d'état* which made him First Consul he had but a single purpose—to centralize all power in himself, to add the glory of empire to martial renown; that his policy in matters of religion was conceived and followed with the single view to further this design; that to gain the assistance of Rome he re-enslaved religion; that, in a word, he disregarded every right in order to build up a despotism whose order and glory would so contrast with the anarchy and gloom of the Revolution as to blind the nation to its real character. No part of the book has left on us a sadder impression than that which sketches this perfidious course. That the liberal movement, free at length from its great embarrassment, and advancing to success, should be again arrested, was in itself immensely sad, but is all the more to be lamented in its cause. Sorrow kindles to execration at the thought that it was the people's idol who, in the moment when their freedom seemed assured, fettered

them again. But it is a thought we cannot put away: the author sustains the verdict he pronounces by facts which foreclose appeal. No part of the book is more conclusive in its logic than that which fastens on Napoleon the odium of having sacrificed to his own ambition the most precious fruits of the Revolution.

3. Another truth of saddest illustration in that struggle is the intolerance of unbelief. Skeptical leaders were throughout fierce and vengeful persecutors. Their impatience of dissent, beginning with insolent words, exhausted the possibilities of outrage. The sanctioning of mobs, the banishment and massacre of priests, the enormities of the Revolutionary Tribunal, and the final infamous attempt to abolish religion, were exhibitions of intolerance unsurpassed in the history of persecutions. If other proof were needed of the essential proscriptiveness of infidelity it is found in the later history of the struggle, when each successive phase of unbelief, as it rose to power, assailed every other with a hate as merciless as that displayed against religion. Atheism, in the brief period of its ascendency, hurled its bolts against Deism with no less fiendish rage than against Christianity; and when Robespierre triumphed, Deism followed its deniers to the scaffold with as much delight as ever it experienced at the death of priests. In fact the history of unbelief, whether in the bald negations of Atheism, or in the vague affirmations of Deism, or in the floral wreathing of Theophilanthropy, was as intolerant of unbelieving as of religious differences. Its treatment of the latter was so hurtful to the liberal cause, and is hence so prominent among the lessons of the book, that it demands a more particular statement.

Alarmed at the rupture of the Church, the Assembly labored to secure the non-conforming party protection in their worship; but popular passion was mightier than decrees. Liberty of worship for non-juring Catholics was in reality but a name. Life was periled, sometimes lost, in the effort to enjoy what law allowed. Mobs expelled them from the churches assigned for their worship, overthrew their altars, and indulged against them all the promptings of vindictive rage. Under the Legislative Assembly their condition was even worse. The reckless course of this body is explained in part by its peculiar composition, and in part by the circumstances under which it was

called to deliberate. It was largely composed of young men chosen mainly for their revolutionary zeal. Among them were men of splendid talents, but inexperienced in the work of legislation. For a time the leaders were the famous Girondist deputies; but along with these, and soon to be their victors, were the Mountain party, the future men of terror. To these impulsive natures the times were constantly applying the spur of irritation. Many of the Bishops, on surrendering office, had fled the country, and in their exile some of them were concerting with the Pope and with royalists abroad to foment dissatisfaction, hoping so to manage the reactionary movement as ultimately to defeat the Revolution and restore the old *régime*. It was not strange, therefore, that youthful, fiery men, whose attachment to the Revolution was an absorbing passion, were driven by a knowledge of these plots into legislation of unwise severity. Certain it is that compulsion was the single note they struck, and, through a rising scale of harshness, carried to the end. Scarcely had they entered on their work when tidings of increasing agitation poured in from every quarter. In one place a mob massacred two hundred men and women suspected of opposition to the Revolution. The Assembly, by a most iniquitous decree, justified the crime. It was a rapid stride to anarchy, for it pledged impunity to lawlessness. In effect it said to mobs, Riot and kill, the blood of the disaffected consecrates the dagger. This virtual license of the mob soon bore its natural fruit. The revolutionary fury rose to an angrier mood. Wherever it dared, the popular wrath practiced against the non-conforming party every enormity of lawless rage. It increased the trouble that this outrageous treatment was not always quietly received. In sections where the Church party was strong they were far from turning the other cheek when smitten. Blows were given in return. These occurrences kept the Assembly in a fever of excitement most unfriendly to judicious legislation. In order "the more quickly to strike down the enemies of the Revolution," it was proposed to suspend, in their case, the operation of the laws; and though in form, this action was not taken, a decree was passed which virtually outlawed the non-conforming party. It failed of royal sanction; but the veto, besides being widely disregarded, brought on a conflict with the King which convulsed the nation, and in the end

bore him to execution. The immediate effect was a terrible exasperation of the revolutionary party. The treatment of suspected priests became more brutal than ever. From some provinces they were exiled, in others they were crowded into prisons foul from heat and lack of air, where they endured untold sufferings, and in many cases escaped starvation only through succor stealthily conveyed by friends. In frequent instances they were put to death.

Convents declining the services of Constitutional priests were assailed by mobs, forcibly entered, and their inmates brutally treated. Nuns were sometimes whipped with rods. The persecuting spirit of the Assembly culminated in a decree of extradition against accused priests. But they had now quite lost control of the Revolution. Passion was too wild to be kept within the limits of the most proscriptive laws. There was opposition which law had failed to crush, and the mob was now resolved to try the knife. The spectacle exhibited in Paris and in other parts of France in the autumn of 1792 was appalling beyond the power of description. That the deeds of the *Septembriseurs* had their inspiration in hatred of the Church party admits of no dispute. One of the wards of Paris openly voted "that all the priests and suspected persons confined in the prisons of Paris and other cities be put to death." The mob performed the bloody work. "At a half dozen different prisons in Paris the priests were butchered *en masse*, and the provinces followed the example of the capital." But a spirit was now aroused which none could lay. Infuriate crowds, athirst for blood, poured from the alleys and faubourgs of Paris, and, with the aspect of unchained demons, traversed the city day and night, perpetrating butcheries of the most shocking barbarity. These, however, proved but the prelude to the drama of terror. One of the first cares of the National Convention was to organize machinery through which to use the weapons of proscription with discerning aim, and with all the power of the State. A Revolutionary Tribunal and a Committee of Public Safety were created. The first allowed no appeal from its iniquitous decisions; the second arraigned at will the victims of their hate. Together they formed an enginery of murderous proscription more terrible than mobs. These the suspected might elude; that marked them secretly and smote

them as with lightning-stroke. With such accusers and judges, and with the guillotine to execute their vengeful arbitraments, nothing could surpass the terror it inspired. Its bolts were always flying, or ever ready to be hurled. It excites no surprise that this machinery was used to the utmost in religious persecution, when it is remembered that the National Convention was more thoroughly imbued with the infidel philosophy, and numbered more enthusiastic advocates of its pernicious principles, than either of the preceding legislative bodies; but that its spirit was so brutal ought surely to rebuke the pretensions of philosophy to master human passion. The persecution of Nero was hardly more inhuman. When, for instance, want of money prevented deportation of the priests, crowds of them were sent to the scaffold. In different places they were massacred and drowned. Death within twenty-four hours was the decreed fate of every priest returning from abroad "suspected of relations with the enemy." But a perusal of the history can alone impart an adequate impression of the remorseless cruelties practiced by these apostles of philosophy. It shows, moreover, that they had other aims than that professed; that their real object was not so much to compel civil submission as to crush religion. It must forever bar the plea of patriotic ardor, as a palliation of their crimes, that their persecution was now indiscriminate. No sooner did the Terrorists feel sure of power than they began to unmask. Catholics in full accord with the Revolution were no less vindictively pursued than others. The proof accumulates with every act that their real purpose was to strike down Christianity. The work of demolition began with the abrogation of the Christian calendar. The year was made to date from the founding of the Republic; the old weeks were superseded by decades of days; the months were given first a philosophical, and then a poetical, nomenclature; and all this avowedly to free the calendar from all association with religion. At length, when the clubs and the press had duly paved the way, and tentative experiments had shown that it might be safely tried, Atheism made its grand denouement in the Convention. Amid foul-mouthed denunciations and scandalous apostasies Christian worship was abolished, and a worship of Reason decreed. Never surely was there worship so misnamed. The Saturnalia of pagan

Rome were not more licentious and disgusting than the abominations Atheism practiced in the celebration of its worship. Churches were transformed into halls of revelry. "Apostate priests were seen dancing with harlots around bright fires fed by holy books and rituals, copes and relics. And this delirium was propagated like a sort of death-dance throughout the nation." Then, that the new religion might lack nothing of perfection, the Convention hastened to canonize a saint. It was fitting that Marat—the man who, by consent of all, wears the crown of Satanic eminence among the demons of the Revolution—should be awarded this distinction. With enthusiastic demonstrations, his remains were transferred to the Pantheon. "The veneration for this monster knew no bounds. Hymns were written in his honor. On divers stamps he was placed by the side of Christ. Men swore by the sacred heart of Marat. The new worship was complete; it had prostitutes for goddesses, and a man of violence and blood for a martyr and saint."

Now that Christianity was a *religio illicita* in France, its adherents fared worse than ever. They were spared nothing of oppression or outrage in the compass of vindictive power to invent and practice. It seemed the purpose of the Atheistic clique to extinguish, if need be in seas of blood, the last spark of Christian faith. But a rule so monstrous could not last. Availing of the protest which muttered in the popular heart against these disgusting practices, Robespierre, in the interests of Deism, struck down the Atheistic party, and sent its leaders to the guillotine. Their overthrow, however, afforded Christians no relief; for though liberty of worship was reaffirmed by the Convention, in practice it was every-where ignored. The cheerless worship of the Eternal, with which Robespierre was able to displace the indecent and revolting orgies of Atheism, was, with loud protestations of liberality, intensely proscriptive. It was stayed from using terror only by the fall of its founder. It is both a proof of the anarchy which terror had produced, and a fearful instance of retribution, that, in fifty days from the inaugural festivities of the new religion, in which Robespierre had played the role of *pontifex*, and from which he came the arbiter of destinies, he was borne to the scaffold through a storm of execration and abuse

unequaled in the case of any other victim of the guillotine.

The final lesson we may note is the manner in which Christianity endured this severe and protracted assault. Never, perhaps, was it assailed at greater disadvantage to itself than at the opening of the Revolution. So many Delilahs had caressed and weakened it that it seemed at the mercy of its foes. It is to be lamented that the apostles of unbelief found so much in the scandalous abuses of the ecclesiastical system to point and wing the arrows of their hate. Caricature, invective, scorn, poured their missiles with terrible effect on the follies of the Church. Every bolt crashed through some rotten outwork. And though, in reality, religion was untouched by these assaults, and would have been by the utter demolition of its existent organism, yet to a people unaccustomed to distinguish between religion and the Church, it was at the disadvantage of seeming to deserve the derision poured on its corrupt organization. It had the further disadvantage of a false position. Religion and liberty are friends; their grand ideas travel in the same direction; but perfidy to its principles on the part of those claiming to represent religion set them in apparent opposition. The Catholic Church of France has no deeper disgrace than that when the great principle of the Gospel, that in Christ men are equal, was asserting itself, it joined with despotism to perpetuate its negation. It, therefore, was not strange that, cumbered with corruptions, and seeming to oppose the cause it favored, religion was unable for a time to make a worthy defense. Truly it was pitiful to see the clergy so concerned to preserve its external pomp, and yet so careless of the blows which infidels were aiming at its life. But it was a sight soon to disappear. While the course of its assailants was becoming more aggressive, the course of its defenders was becoming worthier of their cause. Losing in the fires of trial much that marred its earlier manifestations, their resistance became truly noble—displayed, in countless instances, a heroism worthy to rank with that which sheds undying glory on the martyr ages of the Church. The volume should be read if only for its witness that no corruptions of form can extinguish the life of Christianity. As samples of this witness we cite the following: "My choice is made," said Abbot Paquot to those who were urging him to take the

oath; "I prefer death to perjury. If I had two lives I might give one of them to you, but as I have but one I shall keep it for God." "These are the golden days of the Church," was the language of many on the way to death; "these are the times to try the courage of her true children." "A large number of nuns, who were confined in a single prison, responded nobly in these words to their persecutors, who charged them with fanaticism: 'It is fanatics who slaughter and kill, but we pray for such.' 'You shall be sent abroad.' 'Wherever we are sent we will pray.' 'Whither would you prefer to be sent?' 'Where there are the most of suffering ones to console, and these are nowhere more than in France.' 'If you remain here it is to die.' 'Then we will die.' These pious women sang aloud, and joyfully, sacred hymns at the foot of the scaffold." The author closes his allusion to the September massacres in these inspiring and admonitory words:

> Nothing is more glorious in all the annals of martyrdom than some of these scenes. They combined an emulation of holy heroism with a heart-trusting piety. The venerable Archbishop of Arles, thanking God for the duty of offering his blood for his cause—those priests confessing to each other, and giving each other the kiss of peace before laying their heads on the block—those answers, kind but firm, and worthy of the days of Irenæus—all these noble manifestations of a religion at that time in such ill repute—all this throws a celestial light on the close of an incredulous century, and reveals the presence of God with an extraordinary power at the very moment when an infamous attempt is about to be made to banish his worship from society. From the blood of all these massacred persons a warning voice arises. It says to all holders of civil power, *Beware of violating the conscience*, for it will surely rise pure and triumphant over your assaults, and leave you covered with defeat and shame.

It is gratifying that the work has been given to English readers in a way so worthy of its merits. The translation by Professor Lacroix not merely preserves the spirit of the original, but also in a high degree that graphic charm which is so often marred or lost in the process of transferring thought from one expression to another. It has been widely noticed by the press, and without exception, so far as we have seen, in terms of commendation. In one or two notices, otherwise favorable, there are statements likely to convey a wrong impression of the English work in one respect. "It is difficult," says one critic,

"to say precisely what this book is. It is not a translation of the original work. Mr. Lacroix in one place calls it an 'abridgment,' in another a 'digest.'" Now if from this the impression be taken that the book has been so modified in the process of rendition as to have lost material identity with the original, it is utterly at fault. We have looked through the French work sufficiently to feel justified in saying, that, while narrative details are sometimes compendiously stated, and speeches on questions lacking the interest for American readers which they had for French are in some instances epitomized, the substance is always presented, and that in other respects the original is fully rendered. This method of preparing the work in English had, we understand, the author's cordial approbation. The interest of the work is enhanced by a biographical appendix, carefully prepared, by the translator. It has, besides, what the original lacks, that requisite of every complete book, a copious index. The publishers show their appreciation of the work in the elegant and attractive style in which they have issued it. They have done the author a favor, and the cause of civil and religious liberty a signal service in sending it forth in a form and at a cost so favorable to its extensive circulation.

Art. VI.—YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATIONS.

One of the most hopeful signs of the times, in a religious point of view, is the enlisting the youthful energy of the Church in the service of the Divine Master. Heretofore that energy has been repressed, rather than developed, in consequence of the imperfect facilities for its employment.

The Christian institutions of to-day need the infusion of young blood and vigorous energy. According to Professor Hungerford, of Vermont, only one in eleven of the Church membership of that State is under forty years of age. This shows that the sympathies of the young are not sufficiently enlisted in the cause of religion; and if *they* are neglected, what shall be the future of the Church? Any organization, therefore, that rallies

> The young and strong who cherish
> Noble longings for the strife,

around the standard of the cross, and enlists them in the army of the Christian workers of the age, is an augury of blessing for the future.

The peculiar temptations to which young men are exposed in the cities make these associations especially desirable. In the great emporia of toil and traffic, the manufacturing and commercial centers of the country, are gathered together a vast aggregate number of young men, most of whom are from the country. Cities will always be the centers where good and evil are manifested in their intensest and most active forms. Like the fabled dragons of old, demanding a daily tribute of human lives, the pitiless vices of the city—its intemperance, its profligacy, and its crime—destroy their hecatombs of victims every year. The cunning Circe, Sin, weaves her web of sophistry and sings her siren song, and flaunts her subtle blandishments; and Pleasure, that Delilah of men's souls, beguiles the conscience into fatal slumber, robs the spirit of its strength, and betrays its victim into the hands of the Philistines. The homeless youth in the solitude of a great city pines for the enjoyment of society. The only sort to which he can obtain access is frequently that of the theater, the billiard parlor, the drinking saloon, the concert hall, or the haunts of still viler resort, whose steps go down to death. After exhausting mental or physical labor he seeks relaxation amid the multiplied seductions on every hand, which have all the charm of novelty, and some of them the additional fascination of being forbidden fruit. He frequently procures excitement for his jaded nerves and overtaxed brain in sensual indulgence in the narcotic weed, the wine cup, or the more subtle, enervating, and destructive vices which despoil both soul and body of their purity and strength.

It was for the spiritual and temporal advantage of this class of young men—to shield them from temptation, to rescue them from the toils of evil, to raise them up when fallen, to furnish Christian society innocent recreation and intellectual stimulus, and for religious fellowship and evangelistic effort—that these associations were formed. They began, like many another important enterprise, in a very quiet, unostentatious manner. The rivers that water the valleys have their springs far off among the mountains, or in some secluded glen; so this stream

of hallowed influence had its humble origin in one of the obscure by-ways of life. Some five and twenty years ago, in a drapery house in the heart of the city of London, a few young men assembled in a prayer-meeting for the promotion of personal piety. They heard of a similar meeting in another commercial house, and invited its members to unite with them. A meeting of young men from both houses was, therefore, held at No. 72 St. Paul's Church-yard,* on the 6th of June, 1844, where it was resolved to form a "Society for improving the spiritual condition of young men engaged in the drapery and other trades." To the religious character of the association its founders soon added the idea of intellectual improvement, and for that purpose established libraries and instituted debates. They also inaugurated the Exeter Hall lectures to young men, which have since become famous throughout the world. These lectures have become a permanent institution, enlisting much of the first literary talent in Great Britain, and attracting thousands to their delivery. In their published form they have reached multitudes throughout the English-speaking portion of the world. In ten years an aggregate of 75,000 volumes was sold, and since that time probably 150,000 more. The Society also instituted Sunday Bible classes, and employed its members in general Sunday-school and Ragged-school work. It adopted a regular system of tract distribution, and in 1851, the year of the first universal exhibition, its members distributed no less than 352,000 tracts among the visitors to the World's Fair, and held 1,550 public and social religious services in the metropolis.

In December, 1851, the first Young Men's Christian Association in America was established at Montreal, Canada, and on the 29th of the same month the first in the United States in the city of Boston, Mass. Similar societies rapidly sprang up in New York, Buffalo, Washington, Cincinnati, St. Louis, San Francisco, and elsewhere, to the number of twenty-five in two years. The felt necessity of some means for the interchange of thought and opinion led to the calling of the first convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on June 7, 1854. Thirty-five delegates were present, and a voluntary confederacy was formed, having a central committee and annual conventions, whose functions,

* Messrs. George Hitchcock & Co.'s

however, were to be merely advisory in their character. These conventions have been held as exhibited in the following table:

Date.	Place.	No. of Delegates.	No. of Associations.
1854	Buffalo, N. Y.	35	25
1855	Cincinnati, O.	52	60
1856	Montreal, Ca.	88	67
1857	Richmond, Va.	52	83
1858	Charleston, S. C.	98	102
1859	Troy, N. Y.	237	182
1860	New Orleans, La.	128	205
1861	New York	43	
1863	Chicago, Ill.	150	
1864	Boston, Mass.	136	
1865	Philadelphia, Pa.	220	192
1866	Albany, N. Y.	259	
1867	Montreal, Ca.	594	245
1868	Detroit, Mich.	502	513

The great Rebellion, though it threatened the very existence of the confederacy of associations, was really the occasion of marvelously developing its energy and usefulness. The convention had been appointed for St. Louis in the spring of 1861, but the outbreak of the war prevented its meeting. The Committee, therefore, called a convention at New York in the month of November to see if the agencies of the association could not in some way come to the aid of the country in that fearful struggle. The result was the formation of that noble organization, the Christian Commission. All the world knows the history of its labors, which gleam like golden broidery on the ensanguined robe of war—like the silver lining of the somber clouds of fate, irradiating the gloom of battle by glimpses of the heavenly light of love and charity. The agents of this commission carried at once the bread that perishes and the bread of life, and healed the wounds both of the body and the soul. They nursed the sick back to life, and by their hallowed ministrations quickened in the soul aspirations for that higher life that is undying. The Christian artillery of the battle-field —the coffee wagons and supply trains of the Commission—succored many a wounded warrior, whose bruised body the deadly enginery of war had well-nigh crushed to death. These plumeless heroes of the Christian chivalry exhibited a valor as dauntless often as his who led the victorious charge or covered the disastrous retreat. By their gentle ministrations to

the stricken and the dying, amid the carnage of the battle-field and in the hospitals, they have laid the nation under obligations of gratitude which should never be forgotten. From November, 1861, to May, 1866, this Commission disbursed both for the benefit of the patriot soldiers of the Union and for the rebel wounded that fell into our hands the sum of $6,291,107. It employed 4,859 agents, working without recompense an aggregate of 185,562 days. These agents held 136,650 religious services, and wrote 92,321 letters for the soldiers. They gave away 1,466,748 Bibles, (in whole or in part,) 1,370,953 hymn books, 8,603,434 books or pamphlets, 18,189,863 newspapers and magazines, and 30,368,998 pages of religious tracts. They also greatly assisted the operations of the Sanitary Commission, which expended in the same time $4,924,048, making an aggregate by the two of $11,215,155 poured out as a freewill offering by a grateful country for the moral and physical welfare of its brave defenders. The world had never before seen such an example of colossal liberality.

During the long years of the war, when the nation seemed convulsed with the throes of a mortal agony, the confederacy of associations was weakened by the loss of its Southern members, and by the destruction of several local branches in the North, but now has more than regained its former strength. There are now in America five hundred and thirteen associations—more than in all the world besides—with probably fifty thousand members, and 100,000 volumes in their libraries. The annual conventions are occasions of especial interest. The inhabitants of the city where they are held open their houses in hospitality, the public meetings are densely crowded, and are addressed by representative men from different parts of the country. In the day sessions the addresses are generally confined to three or five minutes, thus insuring variety and vivacity. These conventions concentrate the Christian sympathy of the communities where they are held, and stimulate their zeal for philanthropic effort. Extensive and powerful revivals of religion are frequently the legacies they leave behind, and the lasting souvenirs of their visit.

The following are the statistics of Young Men's Christian Associations throughout the world, as prepared for the international conference held at Paris in 1867, corrected by the

latest information upon the subject: In Great Britain there are ninety-five associations; in the colonies, except Canada, twelve; in Holland, one hundred and four; in Belgium, eleven; in Germany, seventy; in France, fifty-four; in Switzerland, ninety-five; in Italy, five; around the Mediterranean, five; in the United States and Canada, five hundred and fifteen; in all, nine hundred and sixty-four. The Italian associations are at Turin, Genoa, Naples, Florence, and Milan. There are also associations at Algiers, Alexandria, Beyrout, Smyrna, and Constantinople; at Madras and Calcutta; in Australia, New Zealand, and Ceylon; at the Cape of Good Hope, at Natal, and Sierra Leone. Besides these, there are corresponding members at St. Petersburgh, Buenos Ayres, Honolulu, and Bessarabia. The membership of the continental associations is generally small, frequently not more than ten or twenty. At Elberfeld, however, it reaches four hundred, and at Berlin five hundred and twenty-six. The largest in Great Britain has three hundred members, excepting that of London, which, with its eleven branches, numbers three thousand and thirty-four. In America they are much larger, and have taken a deeper hold upon the popular sympathies. That at Brooklyn numbers three thousand eight hundred and ninety five members; that at New York, one thousand six hundred and fifty-two; or together, five thousand five hundred and forty-seven. The association at Philadelphia has two thousand five hundred members; that at Boston, two thousand three hundred; at Providence, one thousand three hundred; at Troy, one thousand two hundred and fifty; and at Chicago, one thousand.

Thus much must suffice for statistics. We will now notice the scope and tendency of these associations in this country. One effect, we conceive, will be to give a nobler moral tone to business—to prove that it is not a mere selfish game of grab. The national reproach of America, whether deserved or not, is its intense dollar worship; its passionate greed for gain; the eager race for riches, in which all classes of society engage. The tendency of all this is debasing to the intellect and hardening to the heart. The spirit of rash speculation and of reckless extravagance fostered by the Gold Room and Stock Exchange are morally antipodal to religious feeling. But

business, when ennobled and dignified by a lofty Christian principle, will become a high and holy calling. This desirable consummation will vastly increase the resources of the Church, and will unseal fountains of liberality which will water the earth with the streams of an almost boundless beneficence. Men who early acquire the habit of Christian activity and of systematic giving, when with the lapse of years their riches increase, will be moved by that second nature, which is stronger than the first, to liberally endow the Christian institutions of the country. The commercial success of Christian men will prove what seems to be doubted, that religion does not spoil a man for business, nor make him a mere milk-sop in the active relationships of life; and these men will carry their business faculties into the religious enterprises of the Church, and give them a new efficiency and success.

The dissemination of Christian principles among business men would assuredly elevate the political tone of society, and inspire a nobler ethical sentiment in all classes. Legislation would be recognized as the highest function of the patriot-statesman; as a duty to be performed, not in the spirit of blind partisanship, but in a calm judicial frame, and in humble dependence upon that wisdom which cometh from above, and is profitable to direct and to guide into all truth. So, also, the exercise of the franchise would be apprehended as a solemn trust, which a man would no more sell for gold, or place, or power, than he would sell his wife's affection, his daughter's honor, or his son's integrity.

There are, however, some dangers into which these associations may have a tendency to fall, and against which it will be well to guard. There is, for instance, the danger of their active spirits becoming too self-assertive, and being too strongly pronounced in their opinions. Young men are often rash, and sometimes harsh and censorious, in their judgments; "having a zeal, but not according to knowledge." They have not that mellowness of character, that breadth of view, and largeness of charity, which come from experience and long contact with the world. But this danger may be avoided by retaining the presence and sympathy of those who have outgrown their youth. The wisdom of Nestor is no less valuable in council than the valor of Achilles in conflict.

Another danger is that of falling into secularism of tone in the character of the meetings, discussions, general operations, and amusements of the associations. Unless due provision is made for the devotional element, it is apt to be crowded out by business discussions, or by literary or social entertainments. An antidote to this danger is found in the practice of several associations, of having the business transacted in meetings by themselves, and, as much as possible, by committees, and of having an evening set apart every week or fortnight for devotional exercises. The classification of members as active and associate, the former of whom must be members of some Christian Church, secures that the executive of the association shall be such as to guard against undue danger of secularism.

The question of amusements is a difficult one to approach, and must be adjusted to the varied circumstances of the different associations. That which would be appropriate to a crowded city would be unsuited to a country village. In some places gymnasia are employed to furnish opportunity for athletic exercises. They may frequently become valuable auxiliaries to the aims of the institutions.

Nothing will so much conduce to the spiritual well-being as a proper care for the body. Associations may often do much good by providing, for the sedentary classes of office-clerks and others, an opportunity for developing a "muscular Christianity," and quickening their sluggish circulation by systematic gymnastic exercises. But billiards, chess, checkers, and other mere amusements, have also been advocated. There lurks a danger in their adoption. There must be a limit somewhere. If these be admitted, the demand may be made for the introduction of cards, nine-pins, fencing, boxing. The Christian Association is a religious organization, and not a mere secular club. Its members are called by the holy name of Christ, and profess to be his disciples. They should bring no reproach upon that name. In Germany, it is true, the Christliche Junglings Verein is a sort of Christian club for young merchants and others. It is frequently of an avowedly secular character, furnishing board and lodging, and employing instructors in French, English, drawing, and music. The Jongelings Verbond of Holland is a somewhat similar insti-

tution. In America, however, these secular features are generally avoided.

In the patronage extended to lectures, readings, and the like, great care should be exercised. The endorsement of any entertainment by these associations is an implied guaranty as to its character. They should, therefore, employ only such lecturers, and permit only such readings, as will not invalidate their claims to be judicious caterers to the intellectual wants of the Christian public. The New York Association has had excellent art exhibitions at its rooms. It has also provided for its members a course of lectures on physiology and the laws of health—an example worthy of imitation.

The presence of the ladies at the entertainments of the association will be one of their greatest charms and strongest attractions. *Converzationes* and musical reunions might be arranged for this purpose. They need not be formal concerts, but occasions for social singing, where every one may join in the refrain. Music has powerful attractions for even the coarsest natures. Witness the crowded concert halls of our great cities. In New York alone there are fifteen hundred of these haunts of the siren. Some associations seek to offer a counter-attraction by instituting occasions for singing moral and religious pieces, the stirring anthems and revival melodies which form such a noble body of Christian psalmody. These "songs of Zion" will often awaken in the hardest heart thrilling memories of home and childhood; and with their sacred strains, holy lessons will glide into the soul that is barred against every other influence. In this matter, especially, the aid of the ladies is necessary. Without their softer voices the music will be rather harsh. Christian women may thus exert a powerful influence for good.

The question has been asked, What relation do these associations hold to the temperance reform? It is the rule of some Church organizations that no member should buy, sell, or use spirituous liquors. But other Churches do not hold as strongly pronounced opinions upon this subject. Were it not better to leave this question to the individual conscience of each member, and let all work unitedly for the great objects of the association?

The relation of this institution to the Church is an impor-

tant question. It is not the rival of the Church, as some have supposed, but its handmaid. Many ministers and Churches at first looked askance at these associations, and turned toward them the cold shoulder; but they now regard them as their most valued allies. The greater flexibility of their organization makes them most facile and effective instruments by which the Church may carry on much important evangelistic labor. They are to the Church what arms are to the body. They also utilize a large amount of energy, now lying dormant, by employing lay agency, and causing that energy to flow through a greater variety of channels.

The truly catholic character of this institution is one of its most admirable attributes. It brings the most ardent spirits of the different Churches into intimate relationship and co-operation with each other. It rubs off the acute angles of intense denominationalism, and cultivates a spirit of broader catholicity. Christianity is something nobler and more comprehensive than any of man's petty issues, and in some cases has especial facilities for working when freed from sectarian trammels. In certain kinds of evangelistic labor, purely non-sectarian effort disarms prejudice, and is free from every possible suspicion of proselytism—a liability to which suspicion frequently deters ministers and others from engaging in needed work. Moreover, the non-professional character of these lay-services renders them acceptable to a class who reject what they consider the perfunctory visitation of the regular clergy. Again, these associations will form a sort of *corps de reserve* for recruiting the ranks of the Christian ministry. They furnish the opportunity for the exercise of Christian activity, and for the development of whatever "gifts and graces," or special aptness for the work, its members may possess. They will be of infinite service by enabling men to grasp the details of social evils, without which no efforts to relieve them can be of much avail. "Things seen are mightier than things heard." The concrete affects us vastly more than the abstract. The sight of a wounded or dying man moves our sympathies more than the report of a thousand slain in battle. It was his intimate acquaintance with the horrors of Bedford jail that kindled John Howard's enthusiasm in his life-work of prison

reform. So the personal contact of the members of these associations with the various forms of vice and misery abounding in great cities will be their best education in the work of practical philanthropy and social reform.

The associations throughout the country vigorously prosecute evangelistic labor in street preaching, bethel services, tract distribution, cottage and noon prayer-meetings, Bible classes, visitation of the poor, of the prisoner in the jails and of the soldier in the barrack-room, and ministration to the sick and dying in the hospitals. Their members literally fulfill the command of the Divine Master, "Go out into the highways and compel them to come in." In New York, Chicago, and other large cities, they go to the saloons, the billiard-parlors, the concert-halls, to the very borders of hell, to rescue their fellow-men from ruin. They visit the hotels, the boarding-houses, the workshops, to find out strangers coming to the city. They invite them to their rooms, introduce them to Christian families, and throw around them the arms of love and sympathy, to shield them from the snares that surround the path of unsophisticated youth in a great city. There is need for this kind of work. In every city there are young men, once the pride of happy homes, who are making shipwreck of their lives and going down to death; and who so fit to put forth the hand and speak the word as young men like themselves, allied by years, by common hopes and sympathies; young men whose own hearts God hath touched, and who, full of the enthusiasm of their early zeal, yearn to bring their erring brothers to the path of virtue.

These associations are a sort of Christian police, watching over the spiritual interests of society, and rendering innocuous or useful what were otherwise elements of danger to the common weal. Its members are the good Samaritans of the friendless strangers who have fallen among the thieves and plunderers who prey upon their fellow-men. Like the mediæval order of the *Confraternita della Misericordia*, though bound by no conventual vow, they visit continually the sons of want and woe, the sick and in prison, and minister unto them. Their self-denying labors during the visitation of the cholera at New Orleans, and of the yellow fever at Norfolk, Virginia, will never be forgotten by those who witnessed them.

Their work among the firemen of Philadelphia was productive of great and permanent good.

Many of their financial undertakings are "enterprises of great pith and moment." The association rooms in the large cities are frequently noble and costly buildings. In Chicago they erected a magnificent marble hall which would seat three thousand five hundred persons, at the cost of a quarter of a million of dollars. It was no sooner completed than it was burned to the ground; but before the ruins had ceased to smoke $125,000 were subscribed for the erection of another, which has since arisen, phœnix-like, from the ashes of its predecessor. In 1867 that association circulated one hundred and ninety thousand tracts. They received a donation at one time of ten tons of tracts for distribution from Great Britain. The Boston Association spends $8,000 a year, and that of Brooklyn $14,000 a year, in Christian effort. The Executive Committee at New York publishes a spirited quarterly in the general interests of the associations, which has a self-sustaining circulation of two thousand.

There are at least fifty thousand young men in America, and probably as many more in Europe, who are thus bound together in a blessed brotherhood, to toil in the service of the Divine Master for the spiritual welfare of their fellow-men: young men who occupy positions of honor, of trust, of influence, and who will control much of the financial, and political, as well as religious destiny of the age: a noble band of Christian workers, true soldiers of the holy cross, knights of a loftier chivalry than the steel-cased warriors of old! Upon their banners is inscribed the sublime watchword, "Christ for all the world, and all the world for Christ!" Their purpose, to hasten the time when upon every industry and activity of the age shall be written "Holiness to the Lord;" and when the sin-stricken world, like the demoniac out of whom were cast a legion of devils, shall sit clothed and in its right mind at the feet of Christ.

Art. VII.—FOREIGN RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

PROTESTANTISM.

GREAT BRITAIN.

The Disestablishment of the Irish Church.—The long and violent struggle for the abolition of the State Church of Ireland, the full history of which has been traced in the preceding numbers of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," is at an end. In the House of Commons, the majority with which it was first received continued unbroken to the end, and enabled Mr. Gladstone to read it to the Upper House in all important respects the same as it was when introduced into the Lower. In the House of Lords, the second reading of the bill was (June 19) carried, in a house of 300 members and about 20 pairs, by a majority of 33. This was a larger number than the ministers themselves probably expected; but when the details of the bill came to be dissected in committee the work of destruction began. By a number of amendments the Lords endeavored to save some partial endowment out of the wreck of the ecclesiastical property. The amount was estimated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who took an active part in moving amendments, at three millions, which he thought a modest equipment for the Church with which to set out on her new mission. When these amendments were carried down to the Commons they were received with ill-disguised contempt. Mr. Gladstone himself moved the rejection of almost every one of them; even those which he retained in substance he remodeled in form and expression. When the bill, thus altered, was sent back to the House of Lords for its concurrence there was a strong explosion of feeling. Not the Conservative members of the House alone, but such steady Liberals as Earl Russel and Earl Grey were loud in their denunciation of the indignity with which their order had been treated, and they showed their indignation by proceeding to restore the amendments which the Commons had struck out. When the first division was carried against the ministers Lord Granville stopped the further progress of the bill, and every one believed that the measure would be withdrawn. A Cabinet Council, however, led to cooler resolves, and a compromise was effected, by which the clergy who commute their incomes will be allowed twelve per cent. over the value of ordinary lives, while the disposal of the surplus, instead of being left to the discretion of Government, is now to be placed under the direct control of Parliament. These compromises were the result of an interview between Earl Granville and Lord Cairns. The most remarkable amendment which at one time was adopted by the Lords, though it was subsequently abandoned, was a scheme of concurrent endowment, as it was called, by which it was proposed to give parsonage houses and ten acres of land to every clergyman in the Roman Catholic and Presbyterian as well as in the Episcopal bodies. This proposal was first made in committee by the Duke of Cleveland, and rejected; it was afterward moved as a "rider," subsequent to the third reading, by Earl Stanhope, and was then carried by the narrow majority of seven. In both cases it had the warm support of the old Whig party, headed by Earl Russel, and of what may be called the young Tory party, headed by the Marquis of Salisbury. Still more startling was it to find that it was supported by the two Archbishops and by five Bishops of the Church of England. When the proposal came down to the Commons, Mr. Gladstone proposed its rejection; Mr. Disraeli seconded the motion; and thus the scheme was defeated without a debate or a division. After the compromise between the Government and the House of Lords had been agreed upon, the House of Commons readily accepted some insignificant alterations which the Lords again had made, and the bill, so long the subject of a furious controversy, was finally adopted, almost without opposition. The royal assent was given on Monday, July 26, and thus one of the wealthiest State Churches of the world has gone out of existence. The abolition, or, as they call it in England, the disestablishment of the Irish State Church, cannot fail to have far-reaching consequences. It is the most powerful impulse which has of late been given to the movement going on through Europe for remodeling the relations between Church and State

in accordance with the principles which prevail in our country.

ROMAN CATHOLICISM.

THE COMING COUNCIL.—There is now hardly any doubt left that the Œcumenical Council convoked by the Pope will meet at the appointed time, December 8, 1869. From all parts of the world the Bishops of the Roman Catholic Communion have left their Sees to take part in the Council, in accordance with the express command of the Pope, and it may be regarded as certain that the number of those who will be absent will be small. The interest in the subject continues in the Christian world, although it may already be regarded as settled that no Bishops of the Eastern Churches will be present, and that no Protestant, on this occasion, will join the Church of Rome.

Since we wrote the article on the Council in the preceding number of the "Methodist Quarterly Review," a few more replies from eminent dignitaries of the Greek Church, as the Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, have been published. They fully accord with the tenor of the declarations previously made by other Patriarchs and Bishops of the Greek Church, and all in decided terms decline the invitation to attend the Council.

The disposition in the Armenian Church appears to be no less averse to the expectations of the Pope than that of the Greek. In the last number of the "Quarterly Review" we stated that the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople, Bogos, had replied to the Papal Envoy that he would have to consult about this subject the head of the Armenian Church, the so-called "Catholicos," who resides at the monastery of Etchmiadsin, in Asiatic Russia. The answer of the Catholicos, whose name is Kevork IV., has now been published in his official organ, "Ararat." It is dated Feb. 11, 1869. It has had a wide circulation, and it is justly regarded as one of the ablest replies to the Pope which have emanated from the Greek Church. The Catholicos begins with expressing his earnest desire for the union of the Christian Church, but, in considering the letter of the Pope, he has seen with sorrow that the unity which the Saviour of the world desires, and for which he prays to his Father, cannot be attained by the approaching Council. The chief cause of the separation of the Christian Church must be found in the aspiration of the See of Rome to a supremacy over the Sees of the East. The Pope, in the opinion of the Catholicos, should have agreed with the pastors of the Church of the East, in conformity with canonical decisions, to form a distinct plan as to the questions to be submitted to the Council, and after these questions had been unanimously approved by the Eastern Bishops, he should fix the time and place of the Council. The Pope proclaims the throne of Rome to be the center of unity—a doctrine which the Armenian Church, "founded by the holy Apostles Thaddeus and Bartholomew, and by the prayers of St. Gregory the Great," cannot admit, since she recognizes, with the other Eastern Churches, "our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ as the only head of the Church." Hence the Catholicos prescribes to the Patriarch of Constantinople to refuse this invitation to the Council, which has not a legitimate basis, and to forewarn all the Archbishops and Vicars-General of the Church in Turkey not to give place to misunderstandings and discord.

The assertion of the "Civilta Cattolica," the organ of the Roman Jesuits, that the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was personally inclined to follow the invitation of the Pope, is explicitly denied in a letter addressed by the Armenian Archbishop Corena of Nar-Bey to the "Union Chretienne" of Paris, a paper devoted to the interests of the Eastern, and particularly of the Greek, Church. He states that *every Bishop* of the Armenian Church agrees with the views of the Catholicos, and that not one of them will accept the Papal invitation.

The hopes expressed by the Roman Catholic papers with regard to the Coptic Bishops have equally been disappointed. A German traveler in Egypt describes, in a recent number of a Leipzic paper, a conversation which he had with the Coptic Patriarch of Alexandria concerning the Council. The visitor mentioned a report he had heard in Cairo, that the Patriarch designed to attend the Council. The Patriarch replied with a contemptuous smile, "We shall have the Pope alone in his pride. He has asked us to come, but we cannot attend a Council in which he will claim to preside as the head of the whole Church. We recognize only one Lord over us—God, who dwells in heaven."

In the Protestant world but few official demonstrations have taken place

during the last three months with regard to the Council. A few Church assemblies in Europe have passed resolutions restating the reasons why there can be no union between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Dr. Cumming, of London, has written a letter to the Archbishop of Westminster, inquiring whether he would be permitted to plead the cause of Evangelical Protestantism in the assembly of Rome; and when the Archbishop replied that he was not authorized to answer the question, Dr. Cumming addressed the same question to the Pope himself, and expressed his readiness to appear in Rome if permission to address the Council shall be given to him. The celebrated Church historian, Merle d'Aubigné, has written a letter to Arthur Kinnaird, the well-known member of the House of Commons, in which he urges the Protestant world to resume the work of Reformation where, in the second half of the sixteenth century, it was unfortunately interrupted. He proposes that all Protestant Churches of the world should make provision to set apart the 8th of December, 1869—the day when the Council will be opened—for religious services, in which points like the following be discussed: Jesus Christ the sole head of the Church; the word of God the sole source and rule of a Christian life; the righteousness of Christ and faith, instead of works and superstitious ceremonies; religious liberty, in the place of the syllabus; a general priesthood in the place of monasticism and celibacy. He also recommends special prayers for the enlightenment of those who still are under the yoke of the Pope. He does not expect, he says, that the Roman Catholic nations will soon join the Protestant Churches, but he hopes that yet a true Christian spirit may cleanse the Church of Rome from its pagan and Jewish elements, so that the Saviour may resume in it the place which to him alone belongs. In commenting on this letter, the "New Evangelical Church Gazette" of Berlin urges a closer alliance of all the evangelical Churches of the globe, so that the full strength of the evangelical Christendom may be brought out in its struggle with Roman Catholicism and infidelity.

The interest which is taken in the approaching Council within the Roman Catholic Church is rapidly increasing, and has already acquired a great strength. All the Bishops who have thus far spoken of the Council—and the number of those who have spoken is very large—are fully agreed in representing the Council as one of the great events in the history of the Church, and in expecting from it great results. There has never been in the history of the Roman Catholic Church a more perfect accord between the Bishops and the Pope. A combined opposition of a number of Bishops to any act of the Pope has been unknown for a long time. Only one single Bishop, Horvath, in Hungary, is publicly identified with a liberal movement, which strenuously opposes the spirit prevailing in Rome, and sympathizes with the liberal reforms which have of late been introduced into Austria. There may be one or two others among the thousand Bishops who at present constitute the Roman Catholic hierarchy who hold similar views; but if all the Bishops, without exception, should assemble in Rome, there would certainly not be among them half a dozen to advocate any truly liberal reform. Still it is generally known, and it is not denied by any Roman Catholic paper, that with regard to some of the most important questions which, according to the semi-official papers of Rome, are likely to engage the attention of the Council, a considerable number of Bishops do not share the views which are entertained at Rome. Many of the French and German Bishops—among them, in particular, Bishop Dupanloup, of Orleans, one of the most learned Roman Catholic Prelates now living—are known to be earnestly opposed to the wish of the Pope, that the Council may declare the infallibility of the Popes a doctrine of the Church. With regard to the question of religious toleration, and, in general, the relation of the Church to modern society, the Bishops of the United States, of England, of Holland, of Germany, and other Protestant or semi-Protestant countries, are very far from desiring any emphatic declarations on the points contained in the Papal Syllabus of 1864. Should those questions come up in the Council, opposition on the part of these Bishops will not be wanting. Some hope is even expressed by the opponents of ultramontane doctrines that a majority of the French Bishops will make a stand against the designs of the ultramontane party. Two of the most eminent French theologians now living, Prefel and Tedlet, as well as Cardinal Beauvelace, are

said to have exerted themselves to that end with considerable success. The Cardinal is reported to complain that Rome will not listen to the voice of moderation, and that she still avoids to give calming assurances with regard to the intentions of the Council. He is said to have declared that the majority of the French Bishops desire peace with the State, and will not encourage any extreme tendencies. But whether the hope in a liberal attitude of the French Bishops will be fulfilled or not, it may be considered as certain that an overwhelming majority of the Bishops fully share, or at least readily submit to, the views of Rome, and will cheerfully concur in any thing the Pope may desire to have proclaimed by the Council. And in any resolutions that may be adopted there will be an unconditional acquiescence on the part of the minority.

A far more formidable opposition than among the Bishops manifests itself among the learned theologians. Many of the most prominent representatives of theological science in the Roman Catholic world have never concealed their dissatisfaction with the principles of the Papal Syllabus of 1864. Many are in open rebellion against the Church. Some men of eminence have openly left the Church, as a former Bishop of Breslau, who last year joined the Evangelical Church; Dr. Leopold Schmidt, formerly Professor at the University of Giessen, who several years ago was elected Bishop of Mentz, but not ratified by the Pope; Dr. Pichler, the author of the best work on the separation between the Roman Catholic and the Greek Churches, who has accepted a call to St. Petersburg, and is likely to join the Greek Church. A glance over some of the ablest theological papers of Germany, France, and other countries shows that uneasiness and alarm is felt by many of the scholars at the anticipated doings of the Council. The literary defenders of Papal infallibility, and of other like ultramontane views, even if they are Archbishops, like Dechamps of Malines, or Bishops, like Ketteler of Mentz, are handled quite severely by some of the reviewers. This opposition of the prominent scholars to Rome is more latent than outspoken; but decisive action on the part of the Council on questions like the infallibility of the Pope would be the severest blow which for centuries has been dealt to theological science in the Catholic world.

Among the lower clergy in almost every country of Europe there are many who secretly are dissatisfied with the whole constitution of the Church. Their animosity against the heads of the Church generally vents itself in anonymous pamphlets on occasions like the approach of the Roman Council. France, Italy, and Germany are now making numerous contributions, purporting to have priests for their authors, to this class of literature. Many of these priests will ere long leave the Church whether the Council takes place or not. To organize any general secession movement they will be altogether unable, but they may carry with them a number of the liberal laity, millions of whom, all throughout Europe, belong to the Church merely by name. The vote recently taken in a number of German towns, in which the Catholic population voted by an overwhelming majority, and in some instances unanimously, in favor of unsectarian schools, is one of many indications of the anti-Church spirit which is pervading the masses of the Catholic people. In Germany tens of thousands of laymen are joining associations which not only deprecate any further development of ultramontane theories by the coming Council, but demand thoroughly liberal reforms, such as the election of the priests by the laity, the representation of the laity in the Councils of the Church, and so forth. It may safely be expected that this movement will not be put down by the Council, but probably gain in dimension in consequence of the ultramontane and ultra-Papal course which the Council undoubtedly will pursue.

The Governments of Europe which recognize the Roman Catholic Church as the State Church, generally expect that the Council will take some new action on questions directly affecting the relation of the Church to the State, and that claims will be asserted which not a single Government is likely to accept or officially to recognize. On the 9th of April the Prime Minister of Bavaria, Prince of Hohenlohe, (who is a brother of one of the Cardinals,) addressed a circular to all the Governments of Europe which have a large Catholic population, to propose some joint measures with regard to the threatened actions of the Roman Council. The circular has since been the subject of diplomatic correspondence between the Governments of Europe. The

proposition did, however, not meet with much approval. The first to reply was the Protestant Chancellor of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy, Count von Buest. In full accordance with the wise principles which have governed Austria during the last eighteen months, Austria will not meddle at all with this ecclesiastical question, but wait until it learns the action of the Council. Then, if the present liberal ministry shall still be in power, it will know how to defend the rights of the State. The Government of Switzerland has made a similar reply. It is likely that most of the European Governments will follow this example. There has been for several years a powerful movement in Europe toward a complete separation between Church and State; and the Œcumenical Council is likely to do more for strengthening this movement in the Roman Catholic countries than any previous event.

Art. VIII.—FOREIGN LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

GERMANY.

The able work of Dr. J. F. A. Mücke, on the life and works of Emperor Julian the Apostate, is completed by the appearance of the second volume. (*Flavius Claudius Julianus.*) Vol. 2. Gotha: 1869. The author holds evangelical views, as appears from his severe censure of Arianism, but he considers it due to historical truth to give an even more favorable sketch of the character of Julian than Gibbon. He denies that Julian can properly be called an apostate, because he had never received baptism. He by strong arguments refutes the report of a persecution of Christianity by Julian.

The edition of the celebrated Vatican Codex of the New Testament, by Professor Tischendorf, is now completed by the publication of an appendix, containing the Revelation and a comparison of the edition of Tischendorf with those by Cardinal Mai, published at Rome in 1857 and 1859. (*Appendix Novi Testamenti Vaticani.* Leipsic, 1869.) Tischendorf shows that he has corrected the editions of Mai in more than four hundred places.

ITALY.

The national regeneration of Italy has given a new impulse to the study of natural philosophy. An Italian philosopher, Salvator Tugini, has recently published, at his own expense, a new edition of one of the first metaphysical works of the celebrated Giordano Bruno. (*Jordanus Brunus Nolanus De Umbris Idearum.* Berlin, 1868.) This work is very rare, and, according to the statement of Turgini, there are in all the Italian libraries only four copies of it. In his preface he gives a very animated description of the deplorable condition of science in his native country, which, he says, has not produced a prominent thinker since the days of Bruno and Vico. The influence of the former upon the regeneration of thought he compares with the Lutheran Reformation. He calls Bruno a "majestic figure," (*figura maestosa,*) and his philosophy a return to classicism.

Art. IX.—SYNOPSIS OF THE QUARTERLIES, AND OTHERS OF THE HIGHER PERIODICALS.

American Quarterly Reviews.

American Presbyterian Review, July, 1869. (New York.)—1. Mr. Mill and his Critics. Second paper. 2. The Want of Moral Force in Christendom. 3. Consciousness: what is it? 4. The Relation of the Fourth Commandment to Christian Duty. 5. President Wheelock and the Great Revival. 6. Psychology and Ethics. 7. David Hume. 8. Historical Sketch of the Reunion.

BIBLIOTHECA SACRA. July, 1869. (Andover.)—1. The Natural Theology of Social Science. 2. The Philosophy of Nescience; or, Hamilton and Mansell on Religious Thought. 3. Date of the Apocalypse from Internal Evidence. 4. The English Version of the New Testament, and the Marginal Readings. 5. Mount Lebanon.

CHRISTIAN QUARTERLY, July, 1869. (Cincinnati.)—1. The Failure of Protestantism. 2. The Living Issue. 3. Harmony of the Bible and Science. 4. The Spirit of Romanism. 5. The Connection between Baptism and the Remission of Sins. 6. The Line of Life. 7. Mystical or Transcendental Skepticism and Woman's Rights. 8. Apostolical Succession.

EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1869. (Gettysburgh.)—1. Sacramental Presence. 2. The Keys. 3. The Will. 4. Reminiscences of Lutheran Ministers. 5. The Lord's Supper. 6. The Christian Church. 7. The German Colony and Lutheran Church in Maine. 8. The Special Mission of the Lutheran Publication Society.

MERCERSBURG REVIEW, July, 1869. (Philadelphia.)—1. The Written and the Incarnate Word. 2. Sketch of the History of the English Reformation. 3. The Beginnings of the Christian Church. 4. "Touch Me Not; for I am not yet Ascended to My Father." 5. Psychologico-Moral Remarks with Reference to the History and Doctrine of the Fall. 6. German Rationalism and its Lesson for the American Church. 7. Infidelity. 8. The Church in History. 9. Church Union.

NEW ENGLANDER, July, 1869. (New Haven.)—1. The Religion of the Future. 2. The American Colleges and the American Public. 3. Romanism. 4. Forgery in Polemics: The Secret Instructions of the Jesuits. 5. Moral Results of Romanism. 6. The Alabama Question.

NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW, July, 1869. (Boston.)—1. Hereditary Insanity. 2. A Chapter of Erie. 3. The Religion of Ancient Greece. 4. The Poverty of England. 5. Open-Air Grape Culture. 6. Hungary and Roumania. 7. The Laws of History. 8. Volcanoes.

PRINCETON REVIEW, July, 1869. (New York.)—1. St. John's Gospel, its Genuineness. 2. Memoir of the Rev. John Keble. 3. Christian Work in Lower and Middle Egypt. 4. Parables of the Kingdom—Matthew xiii. 5. The General Assembly. 6. Proceedings of the Late Assemblies on Reunion. 7. Exposition and Defense of the Basis of Re-union. 8. The New Basis of Union.

UNIVERSALIST QUARTERLY, July, 1869. (Boston.)—1. The Bible's Worth in History, the Pledge of its Divine Authority. 2. Aion and the Resurrection. 3. The Modern Greek Testament. 4. Biblical Psychology. 5. Müller's Comparative Mythology. 6. The Huguenots. 7. Reconciliation to God.

English Reviews.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN EVANGELICAL REVIEW, July, 1869. (London.)—1. The Exegetical Punctuation of the New Testament. 2. Anglicanism in Ireland. 3. The Late Commercial Crisis: Its Causes, Features, and Lessons. 4. Davidson's Introduction to the New Testament. 5. The Wigton Martyrs. 6. The Presbyterians and the Irish Church. 7. Rationalism in French Switzerland. 8. Religion and Science.

BRITISH QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1869. (London.)—1. Lord Lawrence. 2. The Condition of English women in the Middle Ages. 3. The Latest Phase of the Utilitarian Controversy. 4. Nonconformity in Lancashire. 5. The Language of Light. 6. Rossini. 7. Mr. Gladstone's Statesmanship and the House of Lords.

EDINBURGH REVIEW, July, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. The Unpublished Works of Guicciardini. 2. Lecky's History of European Morals. 3. Victor Jacquemont's Letters. 4. Shakespearean Glossaries. 5. John Pull's Alpine

Guide. 6. Mrs. Somerville on Molecular Science. 7. The Ring and The Book. 8. Freeman's History of the Norman Conquest. 9. Forster's Life of Landor. 10. The Marriage Law of the Empire.

LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW, July, 1869. (London.)—1. The History of the English Bible. 2. Methodism in Sweden. 3. Robert Browning and the Epic of Psychology. 4. Cosmogony. 5. Reports of the Registrar-General. 6. Review of the Abyssinian Expedition. 7. Norway. 8. Modern Judaism and Christianity.

WESTMINSTER REVIEW, July, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Indian Railway Reform. 2. The Four Ancient Books of Wales. 3. Labor and Capital. 4. Patents, Patentees, and the Public. 5. Mr. Mill's Analysis of the Mind. 6. Prostitution in Relation to the National Health.

NORTH BRITISH REVIEW, July, 1869. (New York: Reprint.)—1. Dr. Hampa's Life of Christ. 2. Henry Crabb Robinson's Diary. 3. History of European Morals. 4. Geological Time. 5. Danish Literature—Ludvig Holberg. 6. Memoir of Sir William Hamilton, Bart. 7. The Early History of Man. 8. Walter Savage Landor. 9. The Irish Church Measure.

The article on Geological Time is very important in its bearings upon the theory of human "development by natural selection." Our readers are aware that geology, revealing no transitional fossil forms, furnishes a strong contradiction to this theory. Darwin replies by affirming that scientific geology has discovered but a fragmentary share of the vast amount of past animal existence. He claims immeasurable ages of geological time of which no paleontological record exists. But Sir William Thomson has shown ample reason from natural philosophy for denying that the entire amount of geological ages can be more than one hundred millions of years. For, 1. Go back that amount of time and the earth is a mass of melted matter. 2. The tidal influence of the moon is retarding the earth's rotary motion, minutely indeed, yet so certainly, that go back a hundred millions of years and the earth must have rotated so very fast as to have materially modified its form. 3. So rapidly does the sun give off and diminish its own heat, that go back more than a hundred million years and you have too great a solar heat for animal life. All this damages Lyell's rigid uniformitarianism and cramps Darwinism nearly to death. But the Reviewer makes the following very significant statement, threatening a still more decisive fatality: "We may, with considerable probability, say that natural philosophy already points to a period of some *ten* or *fifteen* millions of years as all that can be allowed for the purposes of the geologist and paleontologist; and that it is not unlikely that, with better experimental data, this period may be still further reduced." "For, elaborate and suggestive as have been all of Thomson's articles, this great question can hardly yet be said to be more than opened; and its future progress rests quite as much with the physical experimenter as with the mathematician."

The article on the Early History of Man maintains, in accordance with the views of the Duke of Argyll in his Primeval Man, that without invalidating Scripture history, we must reject the chronology deduced from Scripture, and maintain an immense antiquity of man, of, say, twenty thousand years. His arguments are very much the same as those of Dr. J. P. Thompson, noticed in our Book Table, drawn from Egyptology, Chinese and Indian archeology, and language. They appear powerful, but not, perhaps, conclusive.

German Reviews.

STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. (Essays and Reviews.) 1869. Fourth Number. *Essays:* 1. BEYSCHLAG, Biographical Sketch of Dr. Carl Immanuel Nitzsch. 2. BRUCKNER, On the Relation between Luke vi, 39, 40, and Matt. xv, 14; x, 24. 3. KÖHLER, The Roman Law and the Christian Church. *Thoughts and Remarks:* 1. VOLZ, The Christian Church of Ethiopia. 2. HOLLENBERG, On Esoteric Religion. *Reviews:* 1. DE LAGARDE'S Genesis Græce and Hieronymi Questiones Hebraicæ, reviewed by Kamphausen. 2. BÖHMER'S Offenbarung Johannis (Revelation of John) reviewed by Weiss.

The recent war between England and Abyssinia made the latter country a subject of special study on the part of a number of able scholars who accompanied the English expedition either as members of the army or as travelers for scientific purposes. The literature which has been published by these men is very voluminous, and is of great interest, not only for the friends of history and geography, but also for the theologian; for not only is the Abyssinian or Ethiopian Church more or less treated of in all the recent works on Abyssinia, but a number of works treat exclusively or chiefly of the religious affairs of that country. Among the works of this class we notice, Flad (German missionary in Abyssinia) *Zwölf Jahre in Abyssinia*, etc., (Basle, 1869;) a brief history of King Theodorus and of the Protestant mission during his government; a work by the same author on the Falashas, or black Jews of Abyssinia.

It was a happy idea on the part of the author of one of the above articles to collect all the information published in recent works on the Abyssinian Church. This church has of late awakened a peculiar interest throughout the Christian world. A number of highly important apocryphal books of the ante-Christian or early Christian period, which hitherto were regarded as having been wholly or partly lost, such as the book of Henoch, the Jubilees, the Ascension of Jesaiah, have recently become known to us for the first time in Ethiopic versions. Several

Church historians, like Werner (*Die Abyssin. Kirche in Zeitschrift für d. gesammte Kath. Theologie*, 1852) and Pichler, (*Geschichte der Kirchl. Trennung zwischen Orient und Occident.* Munich, 1864,) place the origin of the Abyssinian Church in the highest antiquity, the former even at the close of the first century of the Christian era, and according to Stanley (The Eastern Church) it breathes an atmosphere of the East and of antiquity which is not to be found in any of the other Churches of the East. As it appears to be highly probable that the Abyssinian Church will ere long be brought into living contact with other branches of the Christian Church, we give the most interesting points of the article.

Like the Copts, with whom they agree in most points of their doctrine and practice, the Abyssinians circumcise their children on the eighth day after their birth; the boys are then baptized on the fortieth day, the girls on the eightieth day after their birth. The child receives a name at the circumcision. In accordance with a remarkable custom of the most ancient Church, the Abyssinians give to the newly baptized milk and honey. Baptism is performed in a little lake, which for that purpose is dug out before the church towers; the candidates for baptism being three times immersed, and baptized in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Previous to baptism, the different parts of the body are anointed with the sacred oil, in all thirty-six times, a custom which is believed to be related to the old Egyptian belief that thirty-six demons have divided among themselves the different parts and limbs of the human body. Adults after being anointed raise up the right hand, and turning toward the west, swear off Satan, or the prince of darkness; then, turning toward the east, or the sun of righteousness, they repeat the confession of the Christian faith. Then they are again anointed with the Christma in the thirty-six different parts of the body. Another custom at the Abyssinian baptism is the clothing of the persons baptized, both children and adults, with the mateles, or cords five feet long, of blue silk, which all Abyssinian Christians constantly wear to distinguish them from the Mohammedans. The priest, after performing the act of baptism, dips them into the sacred oil, makes by means of them a cross on the head of the person baptized, and then ties them to his neck.

Baptism, as in the ancient Church, was followed by the immediate reception of the Lord's Supper, not only on the part of adults, but also on the part of children, to whom the priest gives with his finger a drop of wine from the sacred cup into which a

little piece of the consecrated bread has been cast. Thenceforth the children receive the Lord's Supper from their tenth to their twelfth year, after which age an Abyssinian rarely receives the Lord's Supper until he reaches about the fortieth year of his age.

The Abyssinians, like the Copts, count the day from evening to evening, and begin the year in the fall with the autumnal equinox. They celebrate, besides the Sunday, also the Jewish Sabbath. The church can be approached only with bare feet. They spend the night from Saturday to Sunday, as well as the night preceding the festival of a saint, in the church. The Lord's Supper is distributed before sunrise, except on fast days, when it is distributed at three o'clock in the afternoon, in order not to interrupt the fasting. The priests receive it daily, the people on Sundays. At least five priests (or deacons) must be present at its distribution. The Abyssinians do not kneel at divine service, but remain in a standing posture, and when they are tired lean on a kind of crutches. During the service they frequently bow, and they also accompany it with singing and dancing. On entering the church they kiss the threshold. The kissing of sacred objects in general is regarded as so essential that instead of "going to church," it is common to say "to kiss the church," and that a religious man is frequently called a "church kisser."

The Lord's Supper is administered in both species, and the Abyssinians are the only Christian sect in which not only the bread but also the wine for the Lord's Supper is prepared within the walls of the church. The bread is leavened, of the finest wheat, and is baked by specially appointed church bakers with great care in an oven in the church premises. It has the shape of round cakes of middle size, is marked with a cross in the form of a roman X, and must always be fresh. Only on the fifth day of the holy week unleavened bread is used in commemoration of the ἄζυμα of Christ, and in general the whole of the Jewish Passover is observed. The wine is prepared from raisins, which are preserved in the sacristy or sanctuary. They are soaked for ten days in water, then they are dried and pressed, and the wine thus gained is mixed at the communion with warm water. A peculiarity of the Ethiopian mass, which is not found in any Coptic liturgy, is the prayer for the dead, (*memento defunctorum*,) which immediately succeeds the absolution; it is regarded by Werner as a relic of high antiquity. To the invocation of the Holy Spirit is added "for evermore," from which Werner infers that the prayer is not for a transubstantiation of the elements, but for the perpetuation of the eucharistic sacrifice and of the

sacramental presence of the Lord in the Church. After the consecration of the bread the people exclaim, "Amen, amen; we believe and are certain this is truly thy body," and after the consecration of the wine, "Amen, this is truly thy body, we believe." Werner regards these exclamations as a relic of the primitive Ethiopic liturgy. The words used on administering the bread are, "This is the bread of life, which has descended from heaven; truly the precious body of Emanuel our God;" and on administering the cup, "This is the cup of life, which has descended from heaven, which is the precious blood of Christ." As a general rule, only the clerics receive bread and wine separately; to the laity a piece of consecrated bread, dipped and soaked in the wine, is given in a spoon.

Whether the Abyssinian Church believes in transubstantiation has been a controverted point ever since Ludolf wrote his classic works on the language, literature, and religion of the Ethiopians. One of the best informed Protestant missionaries who have labored in Abyssinia, the present Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, says that the Abyssinians call the consecration of the bread and the wine at the Lord's Supper "Melawat," (change,) and that such expressions as "change it into thy body, change it into thy blood," frequently occur in the Ethiopic liturgies; but in explaining their belief they usually said that the nature of the bread and wine is not changed; that both remain what they were before; that whoever partakes of them in faith receives with them Jesus Christ; and that therefore they call the body and the consecrated cup the blood of Christ. The author of the above article in the Studien (Volz) thinks many expressions in the liturgies unmistakably indicate an "incipient" belief in transubstantiation; more than this is not claimed even by Roman Catholic writers like Werner.

The wine with which the priest cleanses the cup he drinks, and his hands he does not dry. He remains standing at the door of the sanctuary; the people walk up to him, he sprinkles their faces and gives them his blessing. At the gate of the church stands a clergyman with a round saucer containing unconsecrated wafers, of which he gives one to each person. This closes the divine service.

Of special interest in the Abyssinian Church is the celebrated Tabot, an imitation of the ark of covenant. The churches, with rare exceptions, are round, and have, like the mesquids of the Falashas, after the model of the temple in Jerusalem, three divisions: the vestibule, the sanctuary, and the holy of holies. The

Abyssinians believe that the genuine Mosaic ark of the covenant is still in the church of Asum, the ancient royal city, brought there by Menilek, the son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba, the ancestor of the royal Abyssinian house. In every church of the country is an imitation of the ark, which is regarded as the greatest sanctuary, and an assurance of the Divine presence. It is the center of devotion; presents are offered to it, and the sanctity of the church edifice depends chiefly upon it. It is a little box, mostly made of wood, and upon it are placed the saucer for the bread and the cup used at the Lord's Supper. They are made very artificially, and contain a roll of parchment with the name of the patron saint of the church. It is carried about in procession, and the people prostrate themselves before it in the dust.

It is probable that the great interest which is now taken on all sides in Abyssinia and its early history will yet shed new light on the origin of Christianity in that part of Africa, and on the development of Jewish Christianity in general.

Art. X.—QUARTERLY BOOK-TABLE

Religion, Theology, and Biblical Literature.

Studies in Philosophy and Theology. By Joseph Haven, D. D., Professor in Chicago Theological Seminary. 12mo., pp. 512. Andover: Warren F. Draper. 1869.

These "Studies" are mostly a collection of Professor Haven's articles published at different times in the Bibliotheca Sacra. They are productions of more than ordinary excellence, and are well worthy republication, and a general circulation among the class of minds delighting in thought upon their high themes. Professor Haven's writings are marked by grace and clearness of style, rather than by bold originality or by surpassing depth. He is a very lucid expositor, and often a very conclusive reasoner. We agree with him in most of the outlines of his system, but there are between us some important points and angles of difference.

There are, first, two valuable articles upon Sir William Hamilton. Next comes a discussion of the moral faculties, written with much gracefulness of style, and perfectly correct in its doctrines. The young student in philosophy will hardly find this topic anywhere else more satisfactorily treated. Of studies in

theology there are essays on natural theology, Trinity, miracles, and sin.

We have never admired Dr. Haven's efforts at discussing the freedom of the will. He is necessitarian, but rejects the doctrine of causational necessity of volition, and adopts that of invariable succession. Will is not necessitatively *caused* to the particular volition by the strongest motive, but it always *will* choose according to said motive. By this distinction he expects to escape the *must* choose so and so, and substitute the always *will* choose so and so. But how is a law of invariable succession any less compulsory and fatalistic than a law of causational succession? A *law* is an absolutism, and an absolutism *must* be obeyed. To say that a Will obligated by an absolute law to a given volition can will otherwise is a contradiction. Nor will it do for Professor Haven to deny that he holds this invariability to be an absolute law. He does. For ask him why we may not believe that a Will does sometimes act out of that law and actually choose otherwise, and you will find the Professor (unless put on his guard) will smile with blended compassion and contempt, and tell you "That would be absurd lawlessness, Arminian contingency." That is the choosing according to the given motive is absolute law. And now we ask, Why is an absolute law of invariability any less fatalistic or exclusive of contrary power, or destructive of responsibility, than a law of causational necessity?

Again, why is the *exertion* of a contrary power any more contradictory to law than the *existence* of a contrary power? Why is an *act* contrary to the law of invariability any more lawless than the *power* for the act? That an immutable law should be broken no more invalidates the law than the *possibility* of its being broken. It is as much of the very essence of a law to exclude a contrary power as a contrary fact.

You cannot tack a power of contrary choice upon a law of volitional invariability. When Hume, and Brown, and Comte dismissed cause and causation from the world of science and the universe of events, and substituted universal eternal invariability, did they imagine that it gave any admission to the idea of possible limited variability? The two things will not combine. You might as well try to fasten a live flesh hand upon a steel man; it drops off by heterogeneity. The only valid basis for responsibility is the doctrine of Plato, Cudworth, and Arminius—the doctrine of an agent-cause capable of either of several volitions, the actuality of either result being validly supposable.

On page 115 Professor Haven gives us the following very discouraging sentence: "*In common with Edwards* and most necessitarians, Mr. Mill understands by necessity *simple certainty* of an event." Now it is a flat untruth, of which Professor Haven ought to be chary, to say that Edwards understood by "necessity" "simple certainty." Edwards meant the absolute surety of effect from absolute cause. The following paragraph from Edwards stands not alone, but expresses the gist of his whole book, and the clench of his whole argument:

> If every act of the will is excited by a motive, then that motive is the CAUSE of the act of the will. If the acts of the will are excited by motives, then motives are the *causes* of their being excited, or, what is the same thing, the *cause* of their being put forth into act and existence. And if so, the existence of the acts of the will is properly the *effect* of their motives. Motives do nothing as motives or inducements but by their influence; and so much as is done by their influence is the *effect* of them. For that is the notion of an *effect*, something that is brought to pass by the influence of another thing. And if volitions are properly the *effects* of their motives, then they are *necessarily connected* with their motives; every *effect* and event being, as was proved before, necessarily connected with that which is the proper ground and reason of its existence. Thus it is manifest that volition is necessary.—P. 126.

It is true that Edwards does apply the word certainty to this surety, but it is by taking the word certainty out of its true meaning and applying it to quite another thing, namely, the absolute production of an effect by a cause destitute of power for any other effect instead. It was the great purpose of Edwards's famous argument of Infinite Series to prove that will, like every other cause, is destitute of "contrary power." Now "simple certainty" is merely the *will-be* of an event which *can*, but *will not*, be otherwise. The most unflinching causational fatalist that ever wrote, so far as record can show, was Jonathan Edwards.

In regard to the basis of moral obligation, God wills a thing because it is right, is the true proposition; not, A thing is right because God wills it. It is true that "God has a right to do whatever he pleases," provided he pleases (as he most perfectly does) to do only what is right. It is gratifying to find Calvinistic authors maintain these grounds; it is strange to hear Arminian thinkers maintain that Right takes existence from the divine Will. It is strange, because their entire moral argument, in which they are so earnest, against unconditional reprobation, is that for God to will the sin and damn the sinner would be wrong.

We are obliged to Professor Haven for the following very conclusive reasoning on this point, in fine old fashioned language, by "Dr. Bellamy, the friend and pupil of Edwards:"

If we should suppose (as some do) that there is nothing right or wrong antecedent to a consideration of the positive will and law of God, the great Governor of the world, and that right and wrong result, originally, from his sovereign will and absolute authority entirely, then these absurdities would unavoidably follow:

1. That the moral perfections of God are empty names, without any significance at all. For if there be no intrinsic moral fitness and unfitness in things, no right nor wrong, then there is no such thing as moral beauty or moral deformity, and so no foundation in the nature of things for any moral propensity; that is, there is nothing for God to love or hate, considered as a moral agent. There can be no inclination or disposition in him to love right or hate wrong if there be no such thing as right and wrong. . . . .

2. That in the nature of things there is no more reason to love and obey God than there is to hate and disobey him, there being, in the nature of things, no right nor wrong. Just as if God was not infinitely worthy of our highest esteem and most perfect obedience; and just as if, in the nature of things, there was no reason why we should love and obey him, but merely because he is the greatest and strongest, and says we must—than which nothing can be more evidently absurd. But if these things are so, then it will follow,

3. That there is no reason why he should require his creatures to love and obey him, or forbid the contrary, or why he should reward the one or punish the other, there being, in the nature of things, no right nor wrong; and so the foundation of God's law is overturned, and all religion torn up by the roots, and nothing is left but arbitrary tyranny and servile subjection.

Things divine are often well illustrated by things human. Suppose the Empress of France to be so perfectly the arbiter of fashion that what she wills to wear is confessedly the fashionable style the world over. Could any body then be so absurd as to compliment her as being a *very fashionable lady?* She might be complimented as being tasteful; that is, with obeying the laws of esthetics in setting the fashions. But since whatever way she dresses becomes by that very fact the standard of fashion, no one would ever think of attributing it to her as a merit that she was perfectly *fashionable;* for *fashionable* means *conformed to a fashion* already established. So if whatever way God supposably wills becomes by that very fact the standard of right, no one could attribute to God any merit in being a righteous being.

Professor Haven (on p. 425) seems to say that Darwin's doctrine of "Natural Selection" removes all occasion for a God. Now, we think, Darwin's theory only tells how certain "mind-molded" forms survive and become permanent; it does not tell how, or by what power, they are either originated or molded. It can show how the "fittest forms" survive, but cannot tell how a "fit" should originate, or how substances should protrude into highly complicated design-like shapes, so as to constitute a magnificent and perfectly adjusted organism. The difference between organism and chaos is just the difference between a mind-directed systemization and blind sequences. "Natural selection" demands a continual interposition into chaos by mind-directed

power; that is, a continued series of miracles, presupposing an agent-mind as Cause.

If we seem to have thus far only picked a series of quarrels with the Professor, let it be noted, *first*, that antagonism is the great awakener of thought; and *second*, that our antagonisms are mostly rather with his system than with his methods of expounding it. Apart from these specialties we commend his writings as embodying very subtle thought in very lucid style.

The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry. By JAMES M. HOPPIN, Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology in Yale College. 8vo., pp. 620. New York: Sheldon & Company. 1869.

Professor Hoppin's purpose in this volume is to furnish a text-book in Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. Though intended chiefly for the use of the theological student, he has made it a valuable book for pastors as well. He believes that, while times and men change, so that the preaching successful in one age is unadapted to another, there are certain unvarying principles of preaching which are always true and essential. These principles he has well laid down and illustrated, departing but little from the ordinary plan, and in a clear, fresh, attractive style.

A practical theologian is both preacher and pastor. The two topics of "Preaching" and the "Pastoral Office" are, therefore, with propriety, treated in the same volume. The Introduction is devoted to a consideration of the greatness of the work of the ministry, in a manner impressive to the student or pastor. The subject of Preaching is discussed in two "parts:" first, "Preaching Specially Considered;" and, second, "Rhetoric applied to Preaching." In each part are two "divisions:" the first treating of "The History and Art of Preaching;" the second, of "The Analysis of a Sermon." While the author defines preaching as "literally a heralding of the word of God to man," which embraces all modes of making known the Gospel to men, he states the design of Christian preaching, in its commonly understood sense, to be "so to set forth divine truth, with such clearness, simplicity, love, and dependence upon the Spirit of Christ, as to build up men in the faith and love of Christ—to convert, educate, and sanctify their souls." This is broad, clear, and evangelical; it is the only sensible or safe view to be taken. We have never seen a better sketch of the history of preaching than is given here in about twenty-five pages. The difficulties and faults of preaching are not passed over. Professor Hoppin has little regard for the *memoriter* method of delivery, more for the written, and most

for the extempore. He advises a written sermon for the morning, and an extemporaneous one in the afternoon of the Lord's day, because a man who does not write much cannot speak well; but he adds, "Yet, if one will continue to write and study carefully, and not let down his literary standard, but be constantly advancing it, then he may, and perhaps should, strive to make himself *altogether* an extemporaneous preacher." In any case he would have him strain every nerve, and be equal to the demands of the time.

A student in a theological seminary must be supposed to be familiar with the principles of rhetoric, but their application to preaching is so finely discussed that this division is one of the most admirable portions of the treatise.

In the part of the book which treats of the Pastoral Office, embracing nearly half its pages, the author endeavors to give such counsels as will tend to produce "those strong, hardy, cross-bearing, cheerful, hopeful, wise, loving, and single-minded pastors, who are willing to labor among the poor as well as among the rich and the educated, who are willing to go any where, and to do any thing which is required for the highest good of men." He writes as a Congregationalist; but there is very little which is not applicable to the pastorate of any Church, and no pastor can read his earnest words without a stirring of his soul and a quickening of his zeal. He treats (1) of the pastoral office in itself considered, (2) the pastor as a man, (3) the pastor in his relations to society, and (4) the pastor in his relations to the Church, embracing the two divisions of public worship and the care of souls. Much that pertains to the pastoral life and work can be learned only from experience; but the young minister who has carefully studied and pondered the counsels given in this treatise enters upon his great and noble life-work with broad views of his calling, high aims, and an intelligence that is no mean preparation for the duties of his office.

We are pleased with this volume, and heartily commend it to our ministry for its intrinsic worth as a whole, and especially for its extensive and admirable treatment of the pastoral office. In the latter respect we know no work that surpasses it.

Man in Genesis and in Geology: or, the Biblical Account of Man's Creation tested by Scientific Theories of his Origin and Antiquity. By Joseph P. Thompson, D.D., LL.D. 12mo., pp. 149. New York; Samuel R. Wells. 1870.

In seven lectures Dr. Thompson discusses the deeply interesting question of the concord between Moses and science touching the creation and man. The Mosaic narration of the creative week he

shows, in spite of all difficulties, to present that correspondence with science which stands in contrast with all the fantastic cosmogonies of other races, which cannot be accidental, and which must therefore have been supernaturally composed. On this point the lecturer is very skillful, and very admirably turns the tables upon his scientific objector.

On the antiquity of man he agrees essentially with the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Baldwin, that the received Usherian chronology cannot stand. The order of pre-Abrahamic events in Genesis are, doubtless, true as an outline history, but the supposed chronology can no longer be accepted. The age of the pyramids, the most authentic and increasingly corroborated pedigree of Egyptian kings, the very early appearance of distinct negro faces on the monuments, and the very primitive divergences of languages, conspire in his view to thrust the flood and the Edenic events into a deeper antiquity of an unknown extent. How all this can be reconciled with the sacred text, especially with the carefully-dated genealogies of Genesis, and the Messianic genealogies in the Gospels, Argyll, Baldwin, and Dr. Thompson alike omit to state. It is difficult to read the precisely-worded and formal pedigrees in Genesis without recognizing a distinct chronological purpose.

Dr. Thompson rests the refutation of Darwinism upon the geological argument. The succession of fossil remains reveal no transitional forms. Orderly-ascending gradations there are, but each new grade makes a distinct and separate commencement, suggesting either miraculous creations, or originations by a primordial law not less wonderful and divine. Dr. Thompson seems not aware of Professor Thompson's astronomic disproof of the possibility of sufficient geologic time for the theory of development. He quotes the following valuable passage from Argyll's book: "The Silurian rocks, as regards oceanic life, are perfect and abundant in the forms they have preserved, yet there are no fish. The Devonian age followed, tranquilly, and without a break; and in the Devonian sea, suddenly, fish appear—appear in shoals, and in forms of the highest and most perfect type. There is no trace of links or transitional forms between the great class of mollusca and the great class of fishes. There is no reason whatever to suppose that such forms, if they had existed, can have been destroyed in deposits which have preserved in wonderful perfection the minutest organisms." Upon the whole, Dr. Thompson's Lectures, though containing little that is new to those who have studied the subject, are well worth perusal.

Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets: Lectures on the Vocation of the Preacher. Illustrated by Anecdotes, Biographical, Historical, and Elucidatory, of every order of Pulpit Eloquence, from the great Preachers of all Ages. By EDWIN PAXTON HOOD, Minister of Queen Square Chapel, Brighton. 12mo., pp. 453. New York: M. W. Dodd. 1869.

Under the three leading symbols of his title Mr. Hood classifies the different styles of the Christian ministry, and furnishes a great variety of entertaining and instructive passages in illustration. It is perfectly catholic in its character, including in its comprehensive range the various ages, countries, and denominations of the Christian Church. Of the apostolic age his hero is St. Paul; of the early Church, Chrysostom; of the Middle Ages, St. Bernard; of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Puritan Adams. It is to be followed by another volume treating the pulpit of our own age, discussing Robertson, Pusey, Manning, Newman, Spurgeon, the Abbé Lacordaire; a volume which will apparently leave room for somebody to supply a third volume of American "Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets." The present volume contains some very piquant pages upon the Methodist ministry both of England and America. Our young preachers will find it a very readable and suggestive, though somewhat desultory, book.

Mr. Hood's authorities for American Methodism are Dr. Stevens's History, Sprague's Annals of the American Methodist Pulpit, Strickland's Lives of Asbury and of Gruber, (persistently misspelled Kruber.)

He thus characterizes two celebrated English Methodist preachers:

It has been well said, Dawson's eloquence on any other thought than his own would have seemed fantastic; but he often made his illustrations resplendently beautiful. Thus, one says of him, who heard him preach from the text, "Thou hast crowned me with loving-kindness and tender mercies," "his imagination took fire at the metaphor, and presented before him a regal coronet, studded with numerous gems, having a center-stone of surpassing magnitude, brilliancy, and value; consentaneously this became the crown of 'loving-kindness and tender mercies;' the countless brilliants represented the blessings of Providence and grace; and the center-stone the priceless blessings of salvation. To express this as he wished was more difficult than to conceive it, and several feeble sentences were uttered before the crown was shown to the people; but when, at length, it was exhibited in all its radiant glory, with its center gem of purest luster, the deep *crimson* line of which was caught up and reflected in a thousand lights by the precious stones which clustered around it, the saints shouted aloud for joy."* But Dawson was a Trumpet; the effects he produced when he spoke were amazing; men could not contain themselves; feelings were wrought upon and excited. He was a plain farmer, and had received only the most ordinary education; but there was a bold, strong, adventurous imagination in all he said, which, while it enabled his mind to work steadily in the most difficult paths, and saved him usually from coarseness, vulgarity, and profanity, bore his audiences along with him upward, and compelled them intensely to realize his conceptions and his descriptions.

On the contrary, the great Richard Watson, a minister of the same denomination, and incomparably the greatest man that denomination has produced, was a

* West, "Sketches of Wesleyan Preachers."

Lamp. Robert Hall said of him: "He soars into regions of thought where no genius but his own can penetrate." Tall, calm, graceful, timid, yet erect, his eloquence contradicted, it has been said truly, the maxim attributed to Demosthenes. He had no action, and all his utterances seemed simply an emanation of soul; and vast thought, severe taste, and solemn dignity characterized all his sermons.

Jeremiah and his Lamentations. With Notes, Critical, Explanatory, and Practical. Designed for both Pastors and People. By Rev. HENRY COWLES, D. D. 12mo., pp. 431 and xvii. New York: D. Appleton & Co. 1869.

This volume completes the author's series of Commentaries on the Prophets, the greater as well as the minor, and is to be followed by Notes on Solomon's writings. They are all characterized by the same traits; simple, clear, practical, pious, and usually pertinent. Novelty and profundity are not their aim; yet they exhibit the results of considerable scholarship and research, without the display of erudite references and philology. In this volume particularly, which, as the author states, covers a portion of Scripture frequently regarded as of less general interest than the other prophecies, the notes show a sympathy with the spirit of the sacred writer that gives them special freshness and unction. Scholars will not perhaps deem them of very great value, but the plain reader will prize them as in the main unfolding the sense of Scripture in an easy and satisfactory manner, and leading the devout heart to appreciate the Divine dealings with the chosen people during Jeremiah's period. As we might expect from the author's theological stand-point, these interpretations are tinged with the Calvinistic views of the inevitable and absolute character of God's dispensations, and we think these are sometimes unnecessarily put forth in the exposition. For instance, in commenting on the Prophet's own designation to that office from his very birth, (chap. i, 5,) Dr. Cowles remarks: "The reader should not assume that God's foreknowledge was any greater, or his antecedent plans any more fixed in the case of Jeremiah than in every [any] other case." Here not only are the divine prescience and determination confounded, as is usual with the necessarian school; but the *assumption* with regard to the universality and inexorableness of the latter is quietly shifted from their own shoulders to their opponents! An Appendix to this volume is appropriately occupied with a refutation of the extreme literal wing of the Millenarians, especially Drs. Duffield and Lord; a not very difficult task, since they deny the resurrection of the wicked, at least as simultaneous with that of the righteous, and also maintain that "the kingdom of heaven" was not ushered in by our Lord's historical advent, but awaits his second coming.

The Secret of Swedenborg. Being an Elucidation of his Doctrine of the Divine-Natural Humanity. By HENRY JAMES. 8vo., pp. 243. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869.

Swedenborg is a problem whose "secret" would be well worth knowing could we find (what never yet has appeared) a competent revealer. "The secret" of Mr. James is, that he possesses, for us, little competence in that direction. He is, indeed, a profoundly reverent disciple of the great Swede, and profoundly irreverent in most other directions. He is, if not "a *good* hater," a very intense one. Of this, as of a former work of his which we have had to review, a very striking characteristic is elaborate invective—invective against all systems, worships, and reverences excepting his own. The extant Christianity he pronounces worse than the worst Atheism. "The most flat-footed and flat-headed Materialism of the day, such as that of Carl Vogt, and Moleschott, and Büchner, is preferable in this state of things, as it appears me, to our old fossil supernaturalism."

Credo. 16mo., pp. 444. Boston: Lee & Shepard. 1869.

What Henry James is pleased to style "old fossil supernaturalism," appears in these pages quick with a vivid life. The Bible appears a true "supernatural book;" the risen Jesus, the "Three-One;" Satan and the spirit-personalities are presented as "supernatural beings;" Christian regeneration is the "supernatural life;" and in the eternal future is disclosed a "supernatural destiny." These four supernaturals constitute the topics of the book.

The work is written in an animated, rapid style, and abounds with individualistic touches and suggestive hints. It has made a decided impression upon the public, and makes its impress upon individual minds.

Professor Townsend has reason to be gratified with the success of his work. Ten years more of mature thought and varied reading will enable him to produce something still more fundamental and permanent.

The Four Gospels. Translated from the Greek text of Tischendorf, with the various readings of Griesbach, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, Meyer, Alford, and others; and with Critical and Expository Notes. By NATHANIEL S. FOLSOM. 12mo., pp. 476. Boston: A. Williams & Co. 1869.

A very scholarly work, with a preface written in a deeply reverent spirit. Both translation and notes are Unitarian in leaning, with a tendency to diminish the miraculous element.

History, Biography, and Topography.

The Malay Archipelago: The Land of the Orang-Utan and the Bird of Paradise. A Narrative of Travel, with Studies of Man and Nature. By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE, Author of "Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro," "Palm-Trees of the Amazon," etc. 12mo., pp. 638. New York; Harper & Bros. 1869.

Mr. Wallace is specially distinguished among scientists for having arrived independently at the central idea which Mr. Darwin has elaborated with such brilliant results in his Origin of Species—that animal forms are limitlessly variable in their development, and species is but the present form preserved by favorable conditions. The present work is the record of eight years' scientific life and vigilant observation in the isles of the Indian Ocean. It is the pioneer of a completer knowledge of a region but dimly known in English literature; in fact, one of the opening announcements that the great and wonderful Pacific, rich with incalculable future possibilities, *is coming into history.*

Mr. Wallace, however, has no dashing enthusiasm, no rhetoric, or pictorial fancy. His is the quiet, prosaic enthusiasm of the man of science, who rejoices in catching flying frogs, unique butterflies, fresh species of beetles, and rare birds for stuffing and housing for the museums of the savans. He spends days in hunting the orang, that mockery of the human shape, leaping from tree-top to tree-top, skillfully evading the rifle amid the densest foliage. It is a perfect paradise to him to obtain eighteen species of that unrivaled glory of the winged realm, the Bird of Paradise; and his pages are pictorially glorified with their beautiful figures, adorned by nature with a quaint series of contrivances too clearly *intentional* in their aspects and character to be explicable on the theory of blind development. Most minds are apt to imagine that in this region of romance, where the sunbeam and the moisture blend their powers to paint all nature in the most dazzling hues, and to wreath all being into the most luxuriant forms of beauty, the fancy of the poet would spring into life in the most prosaic brain. Mr. Wallace not only exhibits no such inspiration, but he flings a terrible wet blanket over the enthusiasm of his readers by firmly telling them that these fancy pictures of luxuriant tropical splendors have no real counterpart in nature. Single products there are in the tropics, unsurpassed in brilliancy by the other zones; but the belief that the tropical landscapes and thickets are festooned with an overwhelming overgrowth of ever-blooming vernal glories is an illusion produced by the *collection* of the richest specimens in the

hot-houses of our naturalists. "The fine tropical flowering-plants cultivated in our hot-houses have been culled from the most varied regions, and therefore give a most erroneous idea of their abundance in any one region. Many of them are very rare, others extremely local, while a considerable number inhabit the more arid regions of Africa and India, in which tropical vegetation does not exhibit itself in its usual luxuriance. Fine and varied foliage, rather than gay flowers, is more characteristic of those parts where tropical vegetation attains its highest development, and in such districts each kind of flower seldom lasts in perfection more than a few weeks, or sometimes a few days. In every locality a lengthened residence will show an abundance of magnificent and gayly-blossomed plants, but they have to be sought for, and are rarely at any one time or place so abundant as to form a perceptible feature in the landscape. But it has been the custom of travelers to describe and group together all the fine plants they have met with during a long journey, and thus produce the effect of a gay and flower-painted landscape. They have rarely studied and described individual scenes where vegetation was most luxuriant and beautiful, and fairly stated what effect was produced in them by flowers. I have done so frequently, and the result of these examinations has convinced me that the bright colors of flowers have a much greater influence on the general aspect of nature in temperate than in tropical climates. During twelve years spent amid the grandest tropical vegetation, I have seen nothing comparable to the effect produced on our landscapes by gorse, broom, heather, wild hyacinths, hawthorn, purple orchises, and buttercups."—P. 215.

Mr. Wallace is, of course, observant of the nature of *man*, as presented in these Pacific regions. The two great races are the Papuan, whose center appears to be Australia; and the Malay, who hails from the Asiatic continent. These are two very strikingly contrasted races. The former are an irrepressible, lively, rollicking, ingenious, and inquisitive folk; the latter, with their mild round features are the very embodiment of the phlegmatic, the soft, and the impassive. The Papuan race covers the immense range of the Southern Pacific isles, including the Sandwich. If Caucasian "civilization" overspreads these regions, Mr. Wallace predicts that the Malays will survive as a convenient subservient race, while "extinction" is clearly the "destiny" of the irrepressible Papuan. "A warlike and energetic people, who will not submit to national slavery or to

domestic servitude, must disappear before the white man as surely as do the wolf and the tiger." So that Mr. Wallace applies inflexibly, even to the human race, the great law of the "survival of the fittest."

But in comparison with the primitive life of the isles, Mr. Wallace is no admirer of our present complex civilization. The idea of our philanthropy is a future mundane state, in which right and justice shall so rule that the peace and happiness of all shall be secured. "Now it is very remarkable, that among people in a very low stage of civilization we find some approach to such a perfect social state. I have lived with communities of savages in South America and in the East, who have no laws or law courts but the public opinion of the village freely expressed. Each man scrupulously respects the rights of his fellow, and any infraction of those rights rarely or never takes place. In such a community all are nearly equal. There are none of those wide distinctions of education and ignorance, wealth and poverty, master and servant, which are the product of our civilization; there is none of that wide spread division of labor which, while it increases wealth, produces also conflicting interests; there is not that severe competition and struggle for existence, or for wealth, which the dense population of civilized countries inevitably creates. All incitements to great crimes are thus wanting, and petty ones are repressed, partly by the influence of public opinion, but chiefly by that natural sense of justice and of his neighbor's right, which seems to be, in some degree, inherent in every race of man.

"Now, although we have progressed vastly beyond the savage state in intellectual achievements, we have not advanced equally in morals. It is true that among those classes who have no wants that cannot be easily supplied, and among whom public opinion has great influence, the rights of others are fully respected. It is true, also, that we have vastly extended the sphere of those rights, and include within them all the brotherhood of man. But it is not too much to say, that the mass of our populations have not at all advanced beyond the savage code of morals, and have in many cases sunk below it. A deficient morality is the great blot of modern civilization, and the greatest hinderance to true progress."—P. 597.

If, therefore, this "perfect state" is ever to be attained, we are now only in a condition of very crude transition. That state will only be realized as the result of a high moral effort. It will

be the artistic consummation of which the natural state was but the shadow. Is there any just hope of this high attainment? If through *nature*, it can only be by countless ages of *development*. If through revelation and grace, there may be now the faint dawning morning-ray.

Our New Way Round the World. By CHARLES CARLETON COFFIN. Fully Illustrated. Red and gilt. 12mo., pp. 524. Boston: Fields, Osgood, & Co. 1869.

A half century ago "the tour of Europe" was the summit of touring ambition; then came "the tour of Egypt and Palestine;" now is inaugurated "the tour round the world." Mr. Coffin pioneers the way, in the present volume, with a living spirit, an observant eye, and a rapid, vivid pen. Few writers have more of the gift to make the reader himself an imagining traveler. His book is happily illustrated with pictures from life and extemporized maps, enabling the reader at every step to take his bearings.

Mr. Coffin left New York in July 1866, and spent two years and a half in compassing the globe. Passing through France and crossing the Mediterranean, he takes an interesting survey of Egypt, and gives a full account of the Suez Canal. Thence, through the Red Sea he passes to India, and lays open that wonderful country to our view. Its ancient history, its religions, its races, its cities and ranges of country and clime, all pass under rapid but graphic review. Its rebellion and terrible overthrow, the ingress of European ideas and customs, the progress and promise of the mission work, are described in a true and genial spirit. An equal space is given to China and Japan. Thence our voyager crosses the Pacific, touches at California, rejoicing in the fact that though three thousand miles from home, his foot is on the soil of his own dear country. In California he finds ample scope for his descriptive pen in the scenes both of nature and of a civilization magical in its growth and wonderful in its glorious promise. By the great Pacific Railroad he is soon at home.

His Mediterranean steamer hints to him how the Grand Turk is become European if not Christian.

Upon the deck are eight carriages, boxed in water-proof cases, ordered by wealthy Turks who have been to Paris to see the Exposition. No longer will they ride in cars drawn by oxen. They have been at a snail's pace long enough; henceforth they are to trot. It is a sign of the times—one of the fruits of the World's Fair. Western civilization is making progress on the banks of the Bosphorus. The head of the Mussulman religion broke away from all restraint when he went to Paris. Prayers without number were offered in St. Sophia for his safe return, for the preservation of his morals from contamination with the Franks. He has gone back to Stamboul with new ideas. He wants a railroad

from Constantinople to Widdin on the Danube, and has given a charter to a rich Belgian company. He has already built a road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, to enable the Franks to reach the Holy City. He is ready to give extra privileges to any body who will aid in developing the resources of the Ottoman Empire. His subjects have caught some of the spirit of the West. Henceforth they intend to keep their coaches, to have footmen in livery, to drive spanking teams. Looking at all this from the stand-point of an orthodox Mussulman, we might stroke our beards and exclaim, "What is the world coming to!"—P. 14.

How the railways of India are converting the Hindoos *from* their present religion—whatever they are converted *to*—appears from the following:

Up to 1853 travelers sometimes made their way from point to point in carts drawn by oxen, but the usual conveyance was a palanquin, borne on men's shoulders. Some of the paths were tolerable in dry weather, but during the rainy season wholly impassable. Such were the facilities for travel when the project of constructing railroads was agitated. The plan was opposed by many, not only in India, but in England. It was asserted that the natives never could be induced to enter a railway car on account of their religion, which forbids an intermingling of castes. . . . So incredulous were the public of obtaining any returns for their money, that with difficulty sufficient funds could be obtained for the opening of a short experimental line at Calcutta, and another at Bombay.

Contrary to expectation, it was soon discovered that the natives were eager to avail themselves of this new mode of travel. The success of the experiment was unmistakable, and measures were taken to develop a grand system of railways, to afford more direct and speedy communication between the chief cities of the seaboard and the interior. . . . The railway system of India embraces about five thousand miles. . . . At the commencement of the railroad enterprise the Brahmans petitioned for the running of caste cars. They could not come in contact with men of lower grade. It would defile their sacred persons, and unfit them for their high destiny—absorption into Brahma after death. But the railroad managers had an eye to profits on their investment. They could not put on cars for each separate caste. Such a procedure would be attended with great confusion in management, and increased expense. They therefore adopted the European system of class-cars, and told the Brahmans they could stay at home if they could not accommodate themselves to established rules.

The result is a complete breaking up of caste on the railroad. Now the priest, who is pure enough to enter the most exalted circle of the Hindoo heaven, for the sake of saving a few rupees can sit all day in a locked carriage on a hard bench, between two outcast Pariahs, the vilest of the vile, for whom there is no place in paradise. The Brahman may drop off to sleep, and his head rest upon the shoulders of the degraded wretches, yet he is not defiled! . . . The locomotive, like a plowshare turning the sward of the prairies, is cutting up a faith whose roots run down deep into by-gone ages. It is dragging a mighty train laden with *goods* for the whole human race, and especially the millions of this land. The engine does not turn out for obstructions such as in former days impeded the car of progress; it makes mince-meat of bulls, be they bovine, Brahmanical, or papal. The days of Brahma are numbered, and the time is not far distant when regenerated India will clap her hands for joy over the decision of those who directed that there should be no distinction of caste in railway carriages.—Pp. 99, 103, 106, 107.

In favor of missions and missionaries Mr. Coffin's opinions are very decided:

"Missionaries are humbugs," said a red-faced, beef-eating surgeon of the Indian army on board the steamer from Suez: "India would be much better off without them." "The missionaries have not accomplished much; the money sent out for their support is all thrown away," said another surgeon, for there were several

among the passengers. "There are some very fine men and women among them," said the captain of the steamer, "and they have done a great deal of good."

Facts and figures are better than opinions and prejudices. The census returns give the number of native Christians connected with Protestant Churches in India and Burmah at about two hundred thousand—the result of missionary effort. That is only one feature, for it does not give the great number of children acquiring an education in missionary schools, which are acknowledged to be far superior to those established by the Government. No census can give the facts in regard to the moral influence which has gone out from these schools, but it is so great that army officers cannot now, as in former times, have Nautch-girls to dance for them, except in those districts where there are no missionaries.

The time was when there were no European women in India, and officers and soldiers, from Lord Clive down to the buglers of the regiments, had native mistresses. All Englishmen were Christians in the estimation of Hindoos; they were beef-eaters; drank strong drink, and a great deal of it. Beef-eating is an abomination to the worshipers of sacred bulls; and, according to the Shasters, hard drinkers will find it difficult to enter paradise. Hindoo artists pictured a Christian as an Englishman seated at a table eating roast-beef and drinking brandy, or with a Nautch-girl on his knees.

The missionaries came upon the moral battle-field opposed by idolatry, ignorance, degradation, hatred of the English name, and these false, distorted notions of Christianity, on the part of the natives; also, the hostility of a large portion of the English army, rank and file, especially the rank. But there were some godly men in the army, and all honor to them for their example and influence.—Pp. 197, 198.

The greatest national crime of the last three centuries, the greatest moral disgrace which Christendom has suffered, was England's forcing the "opium trade" upon China at the cannon's mouth. Opium could be raised in India and sold in China at a profit of four hundred per cent. The heathen Emperor, aghast at the demoralization and ruin the drug was producing in China, prohibited its importation. "It is true," said he, "I cannot prevent the introduction of the flowing poison. Gain-seeking and corrupt men will for profit and sensuality defeat my wishes; but nothing will induce me to derive a revenue from the vice and misery of my people." But the English Government, more heathen than heathendom itself, by force of war compelled China to accept the hellish drug. The horrid sale and the horrid effects of the sale are still in full blast to this hour. The indignant language of the English missionary, Martin, is none too strong:

Why, the slave-trade was merciful compared to the opium-trade. We did not destroy the bodies of the Africans, for it was our immediate interest to keep them alive; we did not debase their natures, corrupt their minds, nor destroy their souls. But the opium-seller slays the body after he has corrupted, degraded, and annihilated the moral being of unhappy sinners; while every hour is bringing new victims to a Moloch which knows no satiety, and where the English murderer and the Chinese suicide vie with each other in offering at his shrine.

Works of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D., late one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Edited by Rev. F. G. Hibbard, D.D. Sermons. 12mo, pp. 432. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1869.

Thousands who were entranced by the eloquence of the late Bishop Hamline will gladly hail the appearance of this volume

of sermons. Dr. Hibbard gives us no intimation of the extent to which he intends to publish these "Works," but, as the "manuscript theological, literary, and religious works" of the Bishop were placed in his hands as editor, and the General Conference of 1868 warmly commended their publication, we assume that we have in the present volume only the first installment of a very valuable series.

Bishop Hamline's great intellect and high culture were, from his conversion, fully consecrated to Christ. The thoroughly disciplined powers which gave him eminence at the bar could not, if he were called to the ministry, fail to make him distinguished in the pulpit. From the day in which he was, by his brethren, thrust out upon his six weeks' circuit, he burned to save souls. Preaching was his business. To it he consecrated, from the first, his entire energies, intellectual, moral, and physical. His brilliant genius, extensive reading, keen logic, vigorous thought, and exquisite taste were all brought to the work of saving men, and were as freely expended upon the rustics gathered in a school-house as upon the more polished and crowded congregation in a city church.

It is from this stand-point that these sermons are to be read. They were written, not for the press, but to be preached. As in preparing an argument for the bar he had aimed at success with the jury, so in preparing these sermons he wrote as in the presence of living men, every one of whom he must win to Christ. He aimed at immediate effect, and, to an almost marvelous degree, attained it. We, therefore, find them characterized by great clearness of statement, conciseness of expression, aptness of illustration, power of argument, and that clinching of a point, when once made, which always tells. We are prepared, moreover, for practical and spiritual themes, whose office, however lofty, philosophical, or profound the discussion of them may be, is to lead souls to the cross.

Dr. Hibbard, after a fine Monograph of twenty pages as an Introduction, has placed before us twenty-three of these sermons, apparently so selected as to give the reader not only a variety of topics and an excellence of matter, but a full and fair view of Hamline as a preacher. Two or three of them were prepared for communion seasons, one for a dedication, and another, that on "Christian Patriotism," on the occasion of the death of President Harrison; the rest were for the regular Sabbath service. But what an earnestness, beauty, and force pervade them all! Here and there a word or sentence occurs which exhibits the lack of

the author's revision, but such flaws are more than compensated for by numerous passages of surpassing elegance and beauty so perfect that to touch them would be only to mar them. The training of the lawyer is continually manifest in the method of the discourse, the discussion of legal principles, the use of language, and the avoidance of that stereotyped phraseology into which it is so convenient for preachers to fall, and which the world denominates *cant.* The sermon on "God the Righteous Judge" perhaps best illustrates the effect of his legal studies. That on "Jesus Reviled" is full of melting tenderness, and we fancy we can hear the shouts of the audience as the preacher applied its doctrine. If he could melt to tears, excite to rapture, and win to submission, he could also alarm by the terrible, as in the sermons on "The Sentence against Unbelief," and "The "Wages of Sin." Indeed, we do not wonder that an infidel, who once heard the latter from Hamline's lips, said to a friend that "for days after nothing rang in his ears but *wages! wages! wages!*"

As Bishop Hamline prepared his discourses for the people, this volume may well be received by the people as published for themselves. Nevertheless, as his great argument in the General Conference of 1844 has been read and re-read for its exposition of ecclesiastical law, so our students of homiletics may advantageously study these sermons as the productions of one of the great masters of pulpit oratory, and especially for the freshness and naturalness of their structure.

Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern. In Four Books, much corrected, enlarged, and improved from the primary authorities. By JOHN LAWRENCE VON MOSHEIM, D. D., Chancellor of the University of Gottingen. A new and literal translation from the original Latin, with copious additional Notes, original and selected. By JAMES MURDOCK, D. D. In three volumes. 8vo., pp. 470, 485, 506. New York: Carter & Brothers: 1869.

Mosheim's Church History is one of the standard works which may be, in particular respects, surpassed, but can scarcely be superseded or become obsolete. The translation by Dr. Murdock has been acceptable to Christian scholars on both sides of the Atlantic. The numerous notes, accumulated from various authors, are proof of the classic value of the work. In the history of Arminianism, of course, the Calvinist has the last word, and the tone of Dr. Murdock, in regard to the great and good Arminius, is in bad taste and temper. The remarkably low price (five dollars) at which this great work is now offered, brings it within the reach of every owner of a library.

The Pictorial Field-Book of the War of 1812; or, Illustrations, by Pen and Pencil, of the History, Biography, Scenery, Relics, and Traditions of the Last War for American Independence. By BENSON J. LOSSING. With several hundred engravings on wood, by Lossing & Barritt, chiefly from original sketches by the author. 8vo., pp. 1073. Green and gilt. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1868.

One of the attractive books of the Lossing series, for long years familiar to American households. The present volume unfolds one of the most trying of our early national struggles, and is full of interest both to our curiosity and our patriotism. Over the battle fields pictured here by Lossing, both North and South can look with united pride.

Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D. By Rev. C. ADAMS, D.D. Illustrated. 12mo., pp. 345. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden.

Johnson was one of the most noble characters in English literature, and his biography by Boswell is, in some respects, unparalleled in any literature. The stupendous increase of literature in our day presses the old giant into the background; but Dr. Adams's classic pen makes here a noble effort to bring him forward. It is a noble book for our young men, and young women too.

Bold Frontier Preacher. A Portraiture of Rev. William Cravens, of Virginia. By Rev. J. B. WAKELEY. 18mo., pp. 119. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. New York: Carlton & Lanahan.

The powerful denunciations of slavery by Wesley, Coke, and Asbury were sustained in the South for some time by a few intrepid spirits among the Southern Methodist ministry, whose record is very likely to be lost from history. Mr. Wakeley has endeavored to preserve the doings and utterances of one of these heroes in the present little volume. Had the South, Church and State, listened to and obeyed these monitions, what crimes and sorrows would have been prevented.

Politics, Law, and General Morals.

History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne. By WILLIAM EDWARDS HARTPOLE LECKY, M. A. In two volumes. 8vo., pp. 498, 423. New York: Appleton & Co. 1869.

Mr. Lecky has attained a high reputation as a thinker and writer from his History of Rationalism, written from a decidedly rationalistic stand-point. The present two magnificent volumes are written, perhaps, with an equal ability and an equal assumption of Rationalism. Mr. Lecky opens with an able discussion of the old question of the basis of *the ethical* as debated between the two schools of Utilitarianism and Intuitionalism, in which he strongly advocates the positions of the latter school. Without

any fundamental originality in this discussion, Mr. Lecky states his views with great clearness and freshness of thought and style. Though it has been forcibly, and perhaps correctly, urged by reviewers that this discussion has no proper place here, being so fully disconnected with the body of the history that it might be omitted without diminishing the historical completeness of the work, we should reluctantly consent to lose its value.

Scientific investigation into the nature of ethics are like scientific investigation into the secrets of physics—of primary importance to the attainment of perfection in our views of religion. Whatever a thorough analysis in either department shows to be false or wrong—however it may have been incorporated into her past history or theory—Christianity is bound by her very nature to reject. If adverse criticism could demonstrate in the very sacred text itself the maintenance of a wrong, Christianity would be obliged, by her fundamental doctrines, to admit and repudiate the blemish. If, then, the scientific moralist is able to draw from history new views of morals, as may in many departments be the case, those views forthwith become a part of our present Christianity. It is thus that, through all the progress of mind, Christianity perpetually readjusts and reproduces herself. The transient disappears, the essential stands forever.

We entertain no fear, then, of works like Mr. Lecky's. From his stand-point this is a profoundly conscientious work. Whether it be Philosophy or Religion, Stoicism or Christianity, the Church or the World, all are treated with an intentional boldness yet fairness. No faults of philosopher, saint, church, or system are intentionally disguised or aggravated; no excellences are disparaged or denied. Perhaps his position of calm yet appreciative neutrality was the best possible for the clearest development of fresh truth. We need the cold, adverse comrade to tell us fully and fairly our own faults. Yet though some of the most beautiful and discriminative views are given of the striking superiority of Christianity over all philosophy and every other religious system, and though the triumphs of Christianity are most explicitly attributed to its wonderful fitness for the moral wants of our nature, one pensively feels the solemn absence in his author of one full and heartfelt recognition of the absolute truth of Christianity or the absolute divinity of Christ. In spite of its great central want and its many defects in detail, the work will be found full of interest and instruction to the discriminating reader. There are many passages of great truth and power, which, but for want of space, we should gladly lay before our readers.

National Sermons. Sermons, Speeches, and Letters on Slavery and its War: From the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill to the Election of President Grant. By GILBERT HAVEN. 12mo., pp. 656. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. 1869.

This very handsome volume contains a series of free and bold manifestoes, in eloquent style, on the side of truth and righteousness, extending from the year 1850 to 1868. They mark the epochs of the great contest between liberty and despotism. We need not say that Mr. Haven's positions were ever of the most advanced and sanguine order, generally proving prophetic of coming events. His closing sermon on America's Past and Future is especially predictive, we say not how accurately, of the time when not only color shall disappear from among the number of political and social distinctions, but when it shall be rather provocative by contrast of the esthetic and amative emotions. This would seem to us to involve so nearly a change of both our psychological and physiological structures that we should be rather inclined to classify it with the miraculous. Our own view is, that we need only take care of the present duty, and let that prophetic morrow take care of itself. We have so many present problems on our hands, that we have not time and nervous fluid to spare upon a panic lest our great-grandchild should marry a negro. Indeed, we suspect that the lover of sable beauty in that generation will hardly be able to find an object to love. The proportion of colored faces to white was once one fourth; it is now one eighth; and the next census will find it one tenth. Before our children leave the stage it will be one twentieth; and when our whites reach a hundred millions, the sables and tawnies will probably fall below six millions. As an occasion of political power and plague, as well as an object of philanthropy, Afric America is a vanishing quantity. The schoolmaster is now the truest friend of the negro. Education, industry, and wealth, will bring him natural respect, and dissociate the ideas of color and contempt. When the artificial associations of poverty and slavery are completely removed, the whole matter may be left to our natural feelings such as they will prove to be.

We hope to furnish a full article on this volume.

Educational.

A Practical Introduction to Latin Prose Composition. For Schools and Colleges. By ALBERT HARKNESS, Ph. D. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

Some years ago Professor Harkness made the educational world his debtor by his "Harkness's First and Second Books in Latin."

More recently he has added to that obligation by his excellent Latin grammar. In the Latin Prose Composition we have another installment of the series.

The work is essentially a supplement to both the First and Second Books of Latin and the Latin Grammar. Setting out with the simplest forms and constructions, it carries the student along by a natural and easy progression till he masters the difficulties and elegancies of Latin style and expression. Throughout the entire work the author preserves a judicious balance between grammatical principles and exercises for practice, while peculiarities of usage are skillfully subordinated to regular construction. The book is methodical, fresh, scholarly. V.

Periodicals.

THE HOURS AT HOME (Scribner & Co.) is almost the only monthly magazine which we can unequivocally commend to the Christian family. The conductors do not deem it indispensable to its existence to call any of the semi-infidel clique of our country into its corps of contributors. It is occasionally distinctively, though not offensively, Calvinistic, but never Rationalistic.

Among its articles awhile since were extracts from the letters and diary of Sarah Pierpont, afterward Mrs. Edwards, wife of the great metaphysician. Among these is a remarkably prophetic dream of hers at the time of the birth of the celebrated Aaron Burr.

STOCKBRIDGE, May 10, 1756.

DEAR BROTHER JAMES: Your letters always do us good, and your last was one of your best. Have you heard of the birth of Esther's second child, at Newark? It was born the sixth of February last, and its parents have named him Aaron Burr, Jr., after his father, the worthy President of the College. I trust the little immortal will grow up to be a good and useful man. But, somehow, a strange presentiment of evil has hung over my mind of late, and I can hardly rid myself of the impression that that child is born to see trouble.

You know I don't believe in dreams and visions; but lately I had a sad night of broken sleep, in which the future career of that boy seemed to pass before me. He first appeared as a little child, just beginning to ascend a high hill. Not long after he set out, the two guides who started with him disappeared, one after the other. He went on alone, and as the road was open and plain, and as friends met him at every turn, he got along very well. At times he took on the air and bearing of a soldier, and then of a statesman, assuming to lead and control others. As he neared the top of the hill the way grew more steep and difficult, and his companions became alienated from him, refusing to help him or to be led by him. Baffled in his designs, and angered at his ill-success, he began to lay about him with violence, leading some astray, and pulling down others at every attempt to rise. Soon he himself began to slip and slide down the rough and perilous sides of the hill; now regaining his foothold for a little, then losing it again, until at length he stumbled and fell headlong down, down, into a black and yawning gulf at the base!

At this I woke in distress, and was glad enough to find it was only a dream. Now, you may make as much or as little of this as you please. I think the disturbed state of our country, along with my own indifferent health, must have occasioned it. A letter from his mother, to-day, assures me that her little Aaron is a lively, prattlesome fellow, filling his parents' hearts with joy.

Your loving sister, SARAH.

On this dream we remark, 1. Of the authenticity of its record and of the reality of its occurring there can be no doubt. The "higher criticism" would be obliged to respect and accept it. 2. Its coincidences with facts to take place at the distance of half a century in the future are too numerous, too minute, and too exact, to be solved on the theory of chance or accidental concurrence. 3. We have, then, a clear case of *prophecy;* and the *fact* is not to be ignored under the Rationalistic assumption that prophecy—being supernatural—is of course to be rejected as unhistorical, unscientific, and false. 4. It is remarkable that the facts are not presented to the dreamer in literal form, but artistically draped in allegory; betraying to all appearance the art and design of some unknown mind shaping the conceptions to her mind. It is, therefore, a REVELATION. 5. This revelation is either *natural* or *supernatural.* If *natural*, then the term *natural* is so enlarged as to swallow the supernatural, and so vacate the distinction. The term *nature* may then include superhuman *nature*, super-mundane *nature*, and even divine *nature.* We are then left with this conclusion: Within the range of *nature* in its largest sense, *prophecy* and *revelation* are not only a possible but an actual occurrence. The rule of the "higher criticism," that the Old Testament prophecies must be repudiated as prophecies, because prediction is in nature impossible, is itself to be repudiated.

American Agriculturist. For the Farm, Garden, and Household. 4to., pp. 38. (Monthly.) New York: Orange Judd.

The only farm we have in the world is Mr. Judd's "Agriculturist." It is none the less model and all the more cheap for being a farm on paper. Our management is scientific. Our cows are perfect Canaans, flowing with milk if not with honey; our pigs are orbs of fat, with a snout and a tail for opposite poles; our roosters and turkeys are strutting swells of "fuss and feathers," and our tools and machines are able to perform unutterable marvels of handicraft. Said farm, like the Apocalyptic tree, fructifies every month. We have a "castle in Spain" which we purpose to locate on the premises as soon as we get time to become a Hidalgo.

Miscellaneous.

Our Late Article on Schleiermacher.

Upon Professor Reubelt's learned and interesting article upon Schleiermacher in a late number of our Quarterly Dr. W. F. Warren makes the following valuable suggestions:

"John Wesley *anticipated* Schleiermacher more than half a century,

(*a.*) In rejecting all definitions of religion which make it either a *cognitio* or an *actus.* 'Weder ein Wissen noch ein Thun.' (See Wesley's Definitions of Religion;)

(*b.*) In discerning the defective nature of the traditional (anti-deistic) apology, (Wesley, vol. v, p. 758;)

(*c.*) In constructing theology from the stand-point of a clear Christian consciousness.

He *excelled* Schleiermacher in that he escaped the following errors, into all of which Schleiermacher fell:

a.) Necessitarianism.

b.) Pantheism (for a time.)

c.) Sabellianism.

d.) Denial of a proper atonement.

e.) Denial of Christ's real pre-existence.

f.) Denial of the Personality of the Holy Ghost.

g.) Identification of the Holy Spirit with the *esprit de corps* of the Church.

h.) Identification of religion with one of its constituent elements.

i.) Unsettlement of the Canon.

Facts about Wives and Mothers, being a Selection of Anecdotes having a bearing upon the two most Important Relations sustained by Woman. By Rev. R. Donkersley, author of "Facts about Boys," "Facts about Girls," etc. 12mo., pp. 307. New York: Carlton & Lanahan. Cincinnati: Hitchcock & Walden. 1869.

From a wide course of literature, ancient and modern, Mr. Donkersley has collected a mass of anecdotal illustrations which will, we doubt not, be very acceptable to the class for whom the work is done. It is unique in its kind, and fills a blank space.

Notices of the following books postponed for want of room.

Pres. Woolsey on Divorce Legislation. Scribner & Co.

Garbet's Bampton Lectures. Gould & Lincoln.

Wesleyan University Alumni Record. Orange Judd & Co.

Brooke's Sermons. Fields, Osgood, & Co.

THE DEAD-LOCK.—Our pamphlet on the "Dead-lock of Lay Delegation in the Annual Conferences" was really written as an article for our October Quarterly; but so widely has it been circulated, (with our own consent,) in our Church papers and otherwise, that its insertion is forestalled—fortunately, as giving room for a press of other matter.

The editor of *The Methodist* pronounces our anticipations of strife to be baseless, inasmuch as "the laymen" have spoken, and avowed that they would, as in past times, pursue, in any event, a tranquil and patient policy. We cheerfully accept the intimation, and do not doubt that it will be verified, and a very salutary influence be thereby exerted. But "*the* laymen," as thus designated can be fairly construed as including only that class of our laity with whom Dr. Crooks stands in more immediate connection. He is hardly able to pledge the entire laity of the Church through a possible earnest contest of six or eight future years. Our article was prematurely published by request of parties far more widely and thoroughly cognizant of our entire Church than any of us editors have the means of being.

The editor of *The Christian Advocate* has professed to represent, in very trenchant language, our article as a threat, intended to bring our ministry to vote under stress of terror. We expressly declared that we wrote without any communication from the laymen, and took explicit care to exonerate them from any responsibility for our anticipations of evil drawn from the general qualities of human nature. The editor of the Advocate, therefore, presents to his readers the ludicrous idea that we have uttered an elaborate threat upon the great body of our ministry on our own individual authority! Dr. Bushnell, in his argument against female suffrage, describes in glowing colors the evils that will result, and the terrible things that women will do if allowed to vote. With what wisdom could any opponent pronounce that description a threat? If Dr. Curry will please maturely to analyze his own self consciousness, we doubt not he will fail to find therein the slightest trace of a belief that any menace was either intended or uttered. Meanwhile, as the Conference voting proceeds, the hope gathers strength that the three-fourth vote will be attained. At least so decided will be the majority that we trust (without any personal intimation) that ultimately even the Editor of the Advocate, in deference to the peace of the Church, will lead his Conference in giving an affirmative vote.

INDEX.

Abbott: Jesus of Nazareth, his Life and Teachings.....Page 316
Adams: Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.... 620
Adams: The Weaver Boy who became a Missionary..... 161
American Agriculturist..... 624
American Presbyterian and Theological Review.....181, 298, 442, 605
Anderson: Foreign Missions; their Relations and Claims.... 454
Athenians, The Religion of the..... 165
The Apostle Paul at Athens..... 165
Temple, Statues, and Altars of Athens... 165
Paul delivers his Discourse on Mars' Hill..... 168
The Athenians a "*Religious* People"... 169
Meaning of superstition..... 169
Meaning of the word "Religion"..... 172
Faith of the Athenians in the Being of God..... 173
Altar to the "Unknown God".....173, 182
Man's Consciousness of Dependence upon God..... 176
Prayer Natural and Necessary to Man.... 180
Religious Emotions accompanying Consciousness of Dependence on a Supreme Being 183
Consciousness of Sin, and of Liability to Punishment, confessing need of Expiation by Piaculiar Sacrifices..... 186
Atkinson: The Garden of Sorrows, etc.... 141

Bachman: The Book of Judges..... 464
Bain: Mental Science..... 146
Baker: The Mimic Stage..... 161
Baldwin: Prehistoric Nations, etc..... 469
Baptist Quarterly.....127, 298, 442
Beecher (Chas.): Redeemer and Redeemed. 270
—— Sermons by.....149, 458
Before the Throne; or, Daily Devotions for a Child..... 324
Bellows's Travels in Europe..... 324
Bible Class, My..... 477
Bible Repository, The..... 157
Biblical Monographs..... 422
Saul and Paul..... 422
The Book of Enoch..... 424
St. Paul's Closing Pæan..... 431
Biblical Repertory and Princeton Review, 152, 300, 442, 606
Bibliotheca Sacra.....127, 298, 442, 606
Binney: From Seventeen to Thirty..... 161
Bird: The Victorious, a Poem..... 454
Bishop: A Thousand Miles' Walk across South America..... 163
Blackburn, Geneva's Shield..... 162
Bonar: Light and Truth; or, Bible Thoughts and Themes of the Old Testament..... 162
Boston Theological Seminary, Annual Report..... 474
Bourdillon: The Parables of our Lord Explained and Applied..... 161
Breaking a Butterfly..... 484
British and Foreign Evangelical Review 152, 442, 606
British Quarterly Review.....152, 301, 443, 606
Browning: The Ring and the Book..... 324
Bulletin de l'Academie Royale des Sciences, etc..... 94
Bulletin de la Societe des Sciences Naturelles de Neuchatel..... 94
Bushnell: Moral Uses of Dark Things..... 310

Calamy: Works of the Rev. John Howe, M.A., with Memoir.....Page 142
Cameos from English History, from Rollo to Edward II..... 162
Campbell: The Apostle of Kerry..... 150
Chaplet of Pearls, etc..... 324
Character, How to Read..... 324
Christian Quarterly.....299, 442, 606
Christian Remembrancer..... 152
Church School, The..... 191
The Three Steps in the Culture of a Soul, Illustrated in the History of Israel.... 192
The Work of the Family and of the Pulpit..... 196
The Mission School distinguished from the Church School..... 197
The Church School defined..... 198
The Church School in the Primitive Church..... 199
The Wants of the Modern Church School:
1. The Master's Presence..... 206
2. Ecclesiastical Recognition as a Means of Grace..... 207
3. Earnest, Trained Christian Teachers..... 209
Cleaveland: No Sects in Heaven, and other Poems..... 460
Cobden: A Defense of Jesus Christ..... 140
Coffin: Our New Way Round the World.. 625
Comfort: Folks and Fairies..... 161
Congregational Quarterly Review..... 127
Constance Aylmer..... 162
Conybeare and Howson: Life, Times, and Travels of St. Paul.....316, 484
Cowles: Jeremiah and his Lamentations, with Notes..... 620
Credo..... 621
Cuba, The Case of..... 454

Dalton: A Treatise on Physiology and Hygiene..... 163
Darwin: Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication..... 145
Davies: A Believer's Hand-Book for Christians of Every Name..... 324
Dead-lock, The..... 625
De Mille: The Dodge Club..... 484
Dewart: Broken Reeds; or, the Heresies of the Plymouth Brethren, etc..... 484
Dickens: Works of..... 163
Dixon: Her Majesty's Tower..... 315
Donkersley: Facts about Wives and Mothers, A Selection of Anecdotes..... 625
Douglass: Claudia..... 162
Drew Theological Seminary, Catalogue of.. 474
Dunn: Garden of Spices..... 168
Dupont: Notices Preliminaires, etc..... 94

Edinburgh Review.....152, 301, 443, 606
Episcopal Correspondence on Church Reunion, The..... 447
Episcopal Visitation, Plan of 164
Erckmann-Chatrian: Madame Therese; or, the Volunteers of '92..... 162
Evangelical Quarterly Review, 127, 299, 443, 606
Everett: Changing Base, etc..... 161
Every Month..... 156

Fairbairn: The Revelation of Law in Scripture..... 155
Fiftieth Annual Report of Missionary Society of Methodist Episcopal Church.... 476

Flagg: Three Seasons in European Vineyards.....Page 434
Folsom: The Four Gospels, Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf, etc..... 621
Foreign Literary Intelligence.....125, 441, 605
Germany.....125, 441, 605
Greece..... 126
Holland..... 126
Italy.....127, 605
Foreign Religious Intelligence.129, 292, 436, 601
Germany..... 121
Great Britain.....292, 436, 601
Mohammedanism..... 295
Roman Catholicism.....122, 438, 602
Spain.....120, 427
Sweden..... 122
Foster: Christian Purity; or, The Heritage of Faith..... 459
Freewill Baptist Quarterly..... 127
Fulton: Woman as God made her; The True Woman..... 477

Garden of Eden, Literality of the Account of the..... 338
Integrity of the Scripture Record..... 338
The Edenic Account the First Link in History..... 338
Referred to by later Inspired Writers... 339
St. Paul's Testimony..... 340
The Mystic View of Eden shown to be False..... 343
And Unnecessary..... 344
Gardner: Christ and him Crucified, A Sermon..... 324
Garrett Biblical Institute, Catalogue of.... 474
Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man..... 94
Lacustrine Habitations.....95, 106
Kitchen Middens.....99, 108
Limestone Caverns..... 99
Deltas.....101, 110
River Terraces.....103, 113
The California Fossil Human Skull..105, 117
Conclusions..... 119
Glen Elder Books..... 324
Golden Truths..... 162
Goodwin: Dr. Howell's Family..... 162
Goodwin, John, Memorabilia of..... 485
Origin of his Arminianism..... 488
His Boldness for the Truth..... 489
His "Redemption Redeemed"..... 489
Statement of its Doctrines..... 491
His Theory of Redemption..... 495
— of Atonement..... 496
Predestination..... 498
Ability of Faith..... 499
Estimate of his Qualities and Character . 501
Green: Bible Portraits..... 477
—— Crumbs from the Bread of Life..... 477
—— Rays from the Sun..... 477
Guthrie: Studies of Character from the Old Testament..... 162

Hagenbach: Manual of History of Doctrines 141
Hale: If, Yes, and Perhaps..... 162
Hall's Alphabet of Geology..... 163
Hall: Ronald's Reason..... 161
Hamilton: The Pearl of the Parables..... 162
Harkness: A Practical Introduction to Latin Composition.....163, 692
Harper's Magazine..... 156
Harry Lane, and other Stories in Rhyme.. 161
Haven: Studies in Philosophy and Theology 612
Hawley: Manual of Methodism..... 156
Henderson: Book of the Prophet Jeremiah and that of the Lamentations..... 142
Herald of Health and Journal of Physical Culture, The..... 160
Hibbard: Works of Rev. Leonidas L. Hamline, D.D..... 627
Higginson: Malbone.....Page 434
Home Circle Library, Five Series..... 477
Home Monthly, The..... 160
Hood: Lamps, Pitchers, and Trumpets.... 619
Hoppin: The Office and Work of the Christian Ministry..... 616
Hours at Home, The..... 633
Humphreys and Abbott: Report upon the Physics and Hydraulics of the Mississippi River..... 94

India as a Mission Field..... 30
India a Hopeful Mission Field..... 35
Geography..... 33
Population..... 34
History..... 34
Intellectual Superiority of the Hindoo Race..... 35
Remarkable *Religious* Substratum..... 36
Social Organization..... 37
Providential Aids in Missionary Enterprise..... 38
Statistical Remarks..... 43

James: The Secret of Swedenborg..... 621
Jerusalem Delivered of Torquato Tasso, The, 317
Jewett: Livingstone in Africa..... 434

Kathleen..... 434
Kellogg: Lion Ben of Elm Island..... 161
Ker: The Day-Dawn, and the Rain..... 459
Kinglake: The Invasion of the Crimea, its Origin, etc..... 148
Krummacher: David, King of Israel..... 142

Lacroix: Religion and the Reign of Terror.....141, 560
Ladies' Repository, etc..... 156
Langen: Judaism in Palestine at the Time of Christ..... 461
—— Last Days of the Life of Jesus..... 461
Language, Growth in..... 228
Muller, Marsh, and Whitney ranked together..... 228
Meaning and Import of Growth in Language..... 230
Linguistics not to be classed among Physical Sciences..... 233
Language is an "Institution"..... 234
Unconsciousness of Linguistic Growth... 236
Language must not be studied independently of History..... 239
Law of Love and Love as a Law, etc..... 324
Lecky: History of European Morals from Augustus to Charlemagne..... 630
Lever: That Boy of Norcott's..... 434
Liddon: Divinity of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ..... 137
Life of George Stephenson, and of his Son, Robert Stephenson..... 163
Lindon: Margaret, A Story of Prairie Life 162
Little Spaniard, The..... 162
London Quarterly Review.....132, 301, 444, 607
Longfellow: The New England Tragedies. 153
Lossing: The Pictorial Field-book of the War of 1812, etc..... 630
Luthardt: The Ethics of Luther in their Grounding..... 309
Lyell: Geological Evidences of the Antiquity of Man, etc..... 94

M'Clintock and Strong: Cyclopedia of Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Literature..... 141
M'Cosh, Dr., Inauguration of..... 153
M'Elroy: On the Dynamics, Principles, and Philosophy of Organic Life..... 484
Mackey: The Symbolism of Free-Masonry. 481
Marryat: The Poacher..... 321
Marsh: Lectures on the English Language 228

Marsh: Origin and History of the English Language.....Page 228
May: Dotty Dimple out West..... 161
M. Boucher de Perthes..... 94
Mercersburgh Review.....127, 299, 443, 606
Methodism: Its Method and Mission..... 242
Its Theology..... 242
Its Experimental Missionary System.... 245
Its Grand Civilizing Force..... 249
Its Administrative Ability..... 253
Its System of Ethics..... 257
Governmental Unity Possible in the Widest Church Extension..... 260
Methodism differs from other Churches.. 263
The Mixed Divine and Human Life..... 264
Its Catholic Faith..... 265
The Method of Methodism is Inspiration, in Distinction from Logic..... 266
Methodist Episcopal Church, Origin, Articles, and General Rules of the..... 305
Metropolis of the Pacific, The..... 63
Location of San Francisco..... 63
Climate and Resources..... 65
Growth..... 67
Schools and Churches..... 68
Prospective Prosperity..... 69
Mimpriss: The Gospel Treasury and Expository, and Harmony of the Four Evangelists, in the Words of the Authorized Version..... 414
Muller: Chips from a German Workshop.. 465
—— Lectures on the Science of Language... 228
Murdock: Institutes of Ecclesiastical History, Ancient and Modern, by John Lawrence Von Mosheim, D. D..... 629

Nashville Christian Advocate..... 153
Negro in Ancient History, The..... 71
Scripture Ethnography..... 72
Different Authorities..... 73
Herodotus's Testimony of the two Divisions of Ethiopians..... 76
Sir Henry Rawlinson's Evidence..... 78
Tradition of Foulahs..... 79
Ancient Opinion of Complexion..... 79
The Question of the Ethiopian's Degeneration considered..... 81
Proofs of his Early Slavery considered... 83
Permanence of the Social Status of the Negro in Political States at Home accounted for..... 86
The Negro Capable of rapid Progress.... 87
His Future..... 92
Nevius: China and the Chinese, A General Description..... 314
New American Histories—Peck and Draper 5
Contrast of the two Volumes..... 5
Materialistic Theories not True Philosophy 6
Theory of Dr. Peck's Work..... 8
History Divided into Five Periods..... 9
God's Hand in the Discovery and Settlement of America..... 10
—— in the Period of Revolution and Independence of the Colonies..... 14
—— in the Period of Development..... 16
—— in the Period of Emancipation..... 23
—— in our Present and Prospective History..... 25
Great Value of Dr. Peck's Book..... 29
New Englander, The.....127, 299, 443, 606
Nilson: The Primitive Inhabitants of Scandinavia..... 94
North American Review.....128, 299, 443, 606
North British Review.....128, 444, 607
Noyes: The New Testament, Translated from the Greek Text of Tischendorf... 304

Opium Habit, The..... 162
Optic: Freaks of Fortune..... 161
—— Make or Break..... 161

Parton: Smoking and Drinking.....Page 147
Passages from the American Note Books....152
Peirce: A Half Century with Juvenile Delinquents..... 479
Phelps, Elizabeth S.: The Gates Ajar..... 472
Phelps: Life and Public Services of Gen. U. S. Grant, etc., and Biographical Sketch of Hon. Schuyler Colfax..... 163
Photography to Astronomy, The Application of..... 392
Celestial Photography Originated in America..... 393
Time required to produce Celestial Photographs..... 395
Results of Lunar Photography..... 397
Value of Solar Photography..... 398
Planetary Photographs..... 401
Mapping the Sidereal Heavens..... 403
Superior Value of Photographic Methods. 405
Improved Celestial Photographic Instruments..... 408
Platt: Christian Separation from the World 161
Plymouth Pulpit..... 160
Poetical Works of Alexander Pope..... 317
Poetical Works of Charles G. Halpine..... 317
Porter: The Human Intellect..... 146
Prophecy of Jacob respecting the Messiah, The..... 411
Import of Single Word of Gen. xlix. 10.. 412
Views of the different Scripture Versions 414
"Shiloh" particularly considered..... 416
Scepter not departed from Judah when Messiah came..... 420

Quarterly Book Table.....135, 301, 447, 612

Recollections of Lord Byron, etc., by the Countess Guiccioli..... 474
Reign of Law. By the Duke of Argyll..... 150
Religion and the Reign of Terror..... 569
Unfairness of the Histories of the First French Revolution..... 570
Religious Aspect of the Revolution..... 571
The Author's Qualifications for his Work. 572
Important Lessons of the Book..... 574
Christianity the Only Basis of Liberty.... 575
Disposal of the Property of the Clergy... 578
Indignation toward the Assembly..... 579
Napoleon's Policy in Matters of Religion. 581
Intolerance of Unbelief..... 583
Revolutionary Tribunal and Committee of Public Safety..... 584
Atheism, Abominations of its Worship... 586
Manner in which Christianity endured this severe and protracted Assault..... 587
Riggenbach: Testimonies for the Gospel of John..... 143
—— The Mosaic Tabernacle..... [illegible]
Roosevelt: Five Acres Too Much..... 481

Sack: History of Preaching in the German Evangelical Church from Mosheim until the Last Years of Schleiermacher..... [illegible]
Sacristan's Household, The..... 484
Saul's Interview with the Witch of Endor.. 528
Prevailing Opinion of Modern Divines... [illegible]
Witch of Endor probably a Clairvoyant.. [illegible]
Saul's unhappy Spiritual State..... [illegible]
Successive Misfortunes..... [illegible]
Seeks the Witch of Endor..... [illegible]
Did Samuel actually appear? The Whole Question discussed..... [illegible]
Schaff and Roussel: Romance of M. Renan and the Christ of the Gospels..... [illegible]
Schaff, Dr., Note from..... 163
Schleiermacher: His Theology and Influence 211
His Birth and Early History..... 211
Ability, Influence, and Death..... 213
His Theological Stand point..... 215
His View of Evangelical Faith..... 215

Schleiermacher: His View not free from Determinism.....Page 218
His Views of Christ..... 219
His Mode proving the Existence of God. 225
Wide Influence of his Theology..... 226
Great Similarity between his Theology and that of Methodism..... 227
—— our late Article on..... 635
Scholten: The Oldest Witnesses on the Writings of the New Testament..... 468
Scotia's Bards..... 152
Scott: Fishing in American Waters..... 484
Smith: Theatrical Management, etc..... 168
Smith, Wm.: The Student's Scripture History, etc..... 460
Spurgeon: Evening by Evening; or, Readings at Eventide..... 460
Studien und Kritiken.....188, 444, 608
Sunday-School Journal for Teachers and Young People..... 160

Tauler, John, and his Theology..... 45
Moral Darkness of the Thirteenth Century..... 45
"Friends of God"..... 49
Visit of Nicholas of Basel..... 50
Tauler's First Sermon after his Conversion..... 52
Persecution of him and his Associates... 54
Death of Tauler..... 56
His Theology..... 57
His Anthropology..... 58
His Soteriology..... 59
His Ethical System..... 60
Taylor: Infancy and Manhood of Christian Life..... 142
—— Reconciliation; or, How to be Saved.. 142
Tests of a Valid Ministry and a True Church 825
The Methodist Episcopal Ministry Scriptural..... 825
Comparison with Corinthian Church as to Divine Appointment..... 825
Spiritual Endowments..... 827
Devotedness in Office..... 828
Manner of Executing their Ministry..... 829
Doctrines Preached..... 830
Successful Ministry..... 831
Methodist Episcopal Church the Fruit of an Apostolic Ministry..... 832
Have a Christian Experience..... 833
Their Integrity and Fidelity..... 834
Co-operation in Spiritual Enterprises.... 835
Conclusion..... 836

Thackeray: The Virginians..... 484
—— Vanity Fair..... 484
Theodicy..... 270
Synopsis of Mr. Beecher's Scheme..... 270
His Notion of the Origin of Sin considered..... 274
Depravity..... 279
Atonement..... 282
Scholastic Theory..... 284
The New England Theory..... 286
Beecher's and other Theories of Punishment considered..... 290
Thompson: Man in Genesis and in Geology, etc..... 617
Thomson: Seeds and Sheaves..... 824
Todd's Country Homes..... 149
Townsend: Controversy between True and Pretended Christianity..... 301
Trollope: He Knew he was Right.....324, 484
Troyon: Habitations Lacustres des Temps Anciens et Modernes..... 91
Twenty-Fourth Annual Report of Executive Committee of the Prison Association of New York..... 482

Universalist Quarterly Review...Page 128, 269, 413, 606

Van Oosterzee: John's Gospel, Apologetical Lectures..... 457

Wakeley: Anecdotes of the Wesleys..... 459
—— Bold Frontier Preacher, A Portraiture of Rev. Wm. Cravens, of Virginia... [illegible]
Wallace: The Malay Archipelago..... [illegible]
Westminster Review.....152, 3[illegible]1, [illegible]
Whedon on Matthew..... [illegible]
Dr. Whedon's Style described..... [illegible]
His Historical Synopsis stated..... [illegible]
His Plan of Christ's Sermon on the Mount [illegible]
His Doctrinal View of Depravity..... [illegible]
— of the Trinity..... [illegible]
— of the Atonement..... [illegible]
— of Baptism..... [illegible]
— of Final Retribution..... [illegible]
— of Faith as a Condition of Salvation.. [illegible]
Dr. Whedon's Exposition of Matthew, Chapter xxiv..... 361
His Word-Paintings..... 362
His Pungent Utterances..... 363
White: Galaxy, Vol. VII, No. III, Art. III Is Being Done..... 318
White's Massacre of St. Bartholomew..365, 544
White's History called for..... 367
Date of the Massacre..... 367
Its Prefatory History..... 369
Its Leader..... 372
Successive Persecutions..... 376
"Conspiracy of Amboise"..... 381
The "Colloquy of Poissy"..... 384
Deceit and Cruelty of the Guises..... 387
Unlawful Persecutions under Charles IX. 545
The Peace of Amboise..... 549
Coligny's Relation to the Massacre..... 551
The "Three Years' War"..... 557
Death of Coligny..... 566
Extent of the Massacre..... 567
Whitney: Language and the Study of Language..... 223
Whymper: Travel and Adventure in the Territory of Alaska..... 311
Willing: Through the Dark to the Day..... 162
Wind-Wafted Seed..... 162
Winer: Grammar of the Idioms of the New Testament..... 303
Wood: The Wedding-Day in all Ages and Countries..... 483
Wuttke on Pre-Platonic Ethics..... [illegible]
Morals and Ethics of Heathen Nations.. [illegible]
Ethics of the Chinese..... 510
Brahmins..... 512
Buddhists..... 514
Egyptians and Semitic Nations..... 515
Persians..... 517
Greeks..... 520
Socratic Philosophy..... [illegible]
Later Schools..... 527

Young Men's Christian Associations..... [illegible]
Their Need..... [illegible]
Their Origin..... [illegible]
Their Conventions..... [illegible]
They Originate the U. S. Christian Commission..... [illegible]
Their Statistics..... [illegible]
Their Scope and Tendency..... [illegible]

Zeitschrift für die Historische Theologie..... [illegible]
Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftliche Theologie..... [illegible]
Zoologie et Paléontologie Générales, Nouvelles Recherches, etc..... 94

1 4001